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AND

ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN,

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On an Original Plan.

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EDITED BY

GEORGE GODFREY CUNNINGHAM.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY EXECUTED PORTRAITS, SELECTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

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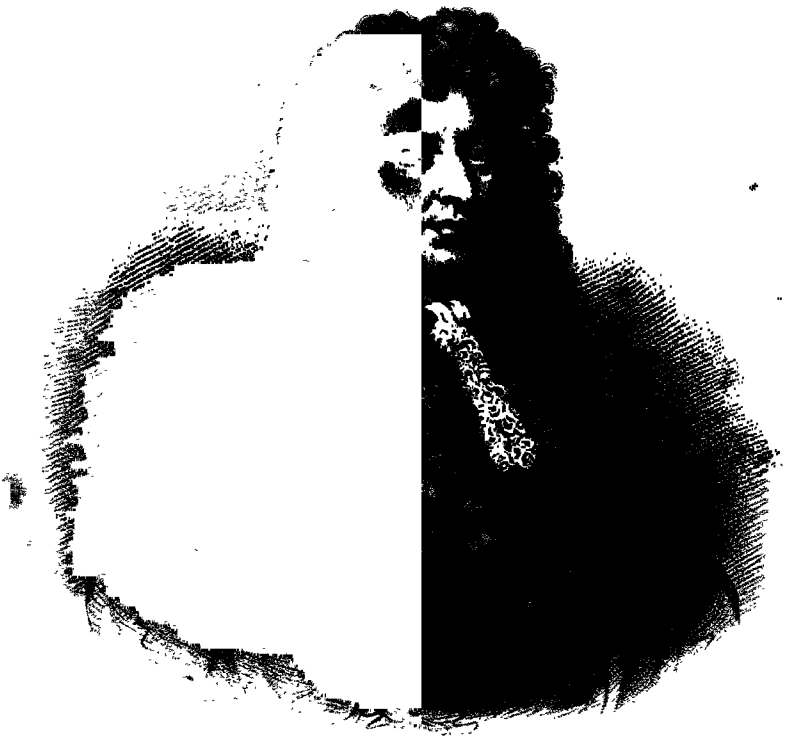
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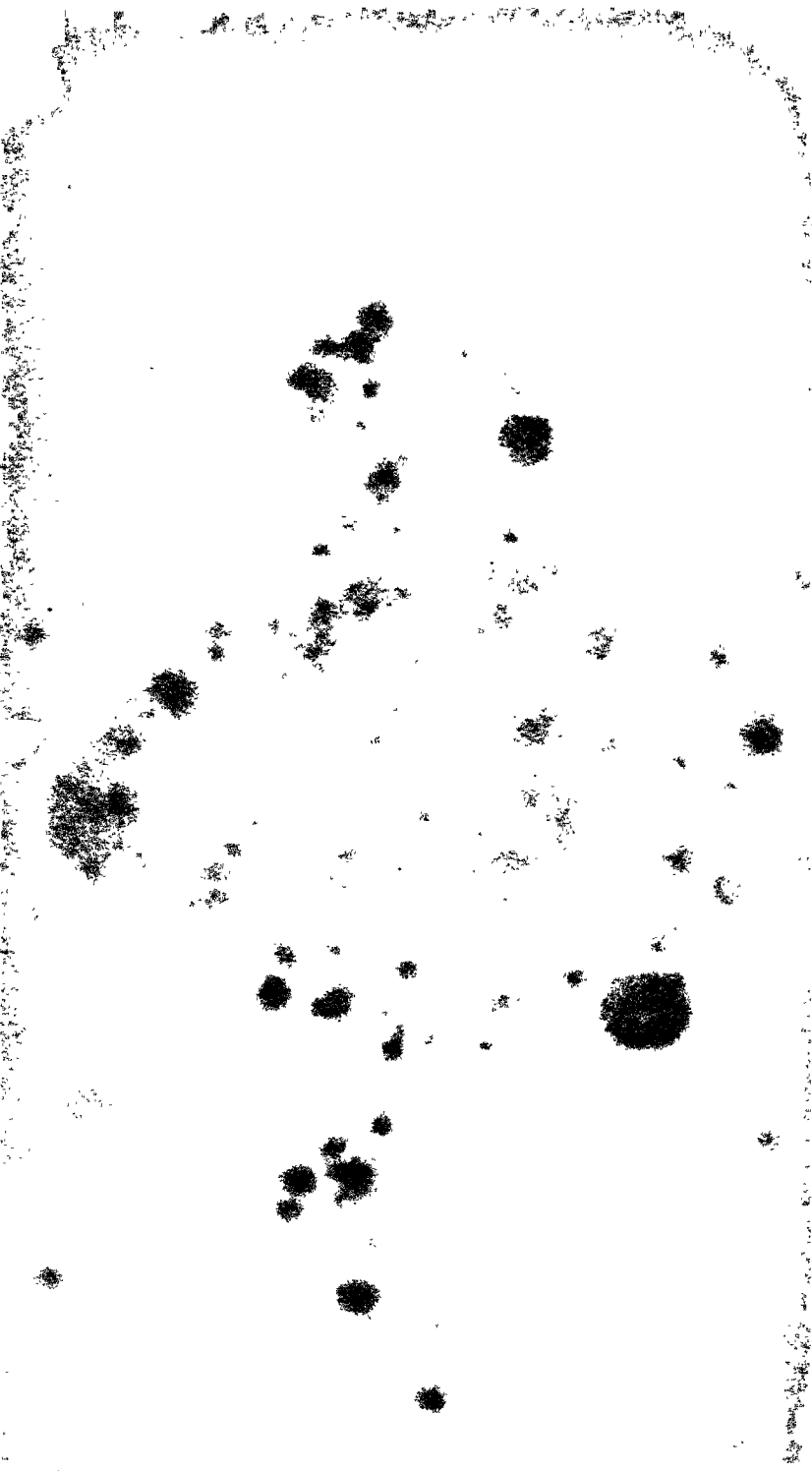


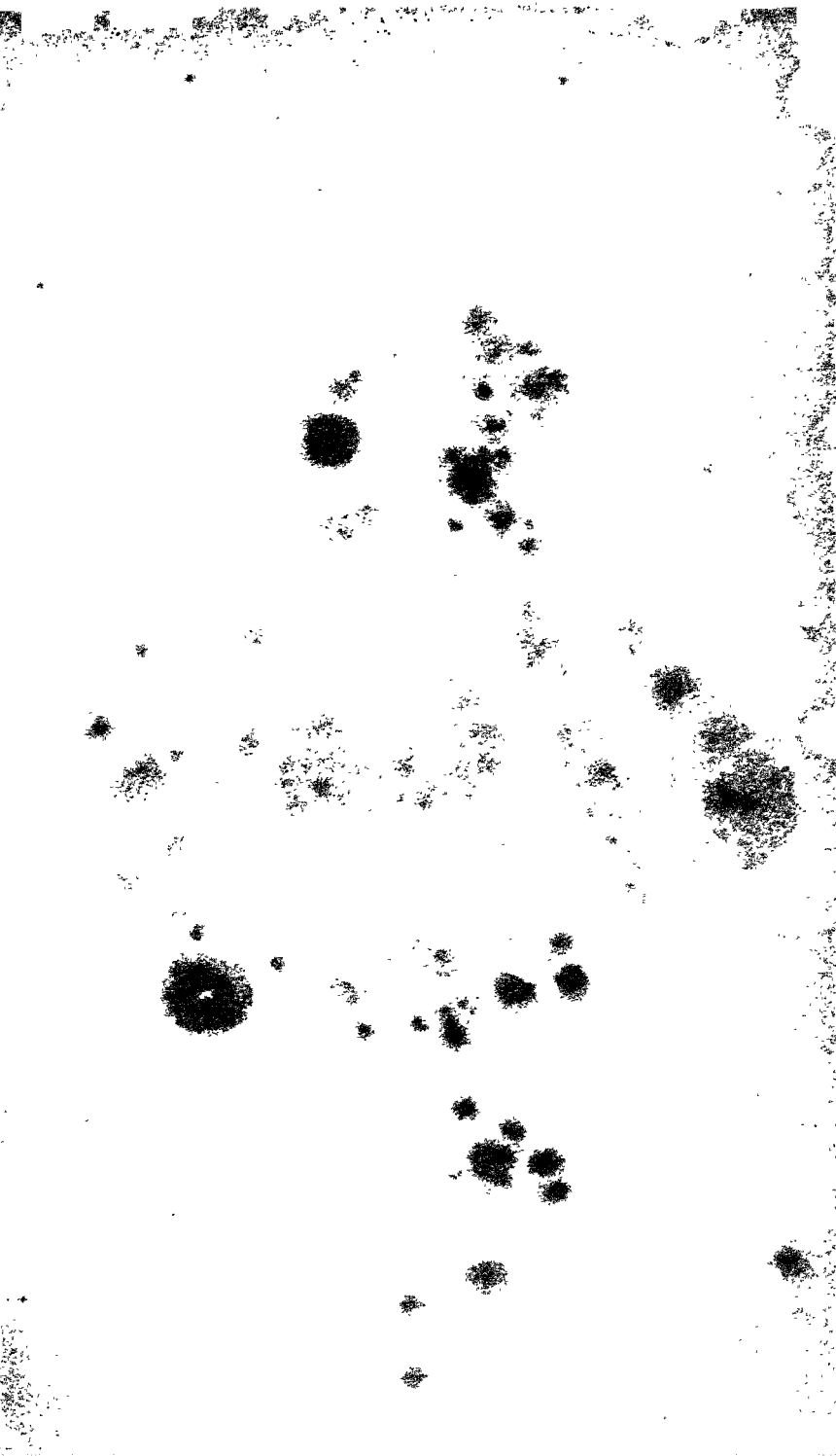
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LIVES OF EMINENT

AND

ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN.

Charles II.

BORN A. D. 1630.—DIED A. D. 1685.

CHARLES II., son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria of France, was born at Whitehall, on the 29th of May, 1630. He was living at the Hague, under the protection of his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange, when his father was beheaded. On the announcement of that event, he assumed the royal title, and began to concert measures for the recovery of the crown of England. The Scots proclaimed him their king, at the cross of Edinburgh, on the 5th of February, 1649; but to this proclamation they appended the provision, that before the new prince should enter on the exercise of royal authority, he should give in his adhesion to the solemn league and covenant. The Scottish parliament also sent commissioners to Holland for the purpose of making a formal offer of allegiance to Charles; but the conditions with which they coupled it were of so embarrassing a kind, at this very critical juncture, that Charles hesitated to pledge himself to them, and at last dismissed the commission with an unsatisfactory answer. An invitation from Ormond to land in Ireland, where the royal cause was now predominant, presented more inviting prospects, and was accepted; but the charms of a mistress detained him, while on his route to Ireland, at St Germain, until the success of Cromwell's arms had annihilated the hopes of the royalists in that quarter. While at St Germain, he gave Montrose a commission to raise the royal standard in the Highlands of Scotland. On the signal failure of that attempt, with characteristic perfidy, he addressed a letter to the Scottish parliament, in which he protested that he had expressly forbidden Montrose to proceed on his expedition, and affected to rejoice in his failure. In the same despatch he declared his willingness to take the solemn league and covenant,—to put down the catholic religion throughout his dominions, and to govern in civil matters by advice of the parliament, in religion, by that of the kirk.[1] These provisions satisfied the Scots, and, in

[1] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 147.

June, 1649, he landed in Scotland, and was received with royal honours. On the first day of January, 1651, Charles was crowned at Scone, after having sworn to abolish all false religions, and to establish the presbyterial government in Scotland and in his own family. The advance of Cromwell, and his repeated victories over the Scottish forces, soon placed Charles in a position of considerable embarrassment; but he escaped the pressing danger of the moment by executing a rapid march into England, from Stirling, in the direction of Carlisle. The protector followed him hard, however; and the battle of Worcester, fought on the 3d of September, 1651, annihilated the dawning hopes of the royalists, and compelled Charles once more to seek safety in flight to a foreign country. His adventures after his escape from the fatal field of Worcester, until he got embarked for France, were of the most romantic description; but are too well known to need detail here. Suffice it to say, that the hardships which he encountered on this occasion did him no small service, by enlisting the sympathies of those to whom they were related, and investing his character—hitherto of little estimation in the public eye—with somewhat of the qualities of a hero and a monarch.

Paris was the place which Charles first fixed upon as a residence during this, his second exile, but his licentious character soon stripped him of the respect of the French court, and, in a moment of spleen, he retired to Cologne, where he continued to relieve the tediousness of exile in no very dignified manner. In a letter to his aunt, the queen of Bohemia, written during the time which he passed at this latter city, we find him complaining of the want of good fiddlers, and of some one capable of teaching himself and his court the new dances![2]

We have already related, in our notice of General Monk, the manner in which that officer effected the restoration of Charles. It is difficult, however, to account for the very general satisfaction with which the prince was received back to the throne of his ancestors, upon the strength of no other provisions than those contained in the celebrated declaration of Breda. That document granted, 1st, A free and general pardon to all subjects of his majesty, excepting such as might afterwards be excepted by parliament. 2d, It declared a full toleration on the subject of religion. 3d, It left the settlement of all differences arising out of occurrences during the revolution, to the wisdom of parliament. And lastly, it promised to liquidate the arrears due to the army. Let us see how these stipulations were observed. A few days after his landing in England, Charles issued a proclamation, in which he commanded his father's judges to surrender themselves within fourteen days, on pain of forfeiture of life and estate. A new act of uniformity was, ere long, promulgated, by which every beneficed minister, every fellow of a college, and every schoolmaster, was required to declare his unfeigned assent to all and every thing contained in the book of common prayer; and every minister was required publicly to declare, that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king. In less than two years from the time of the passing of the act of uniformity, the conventicle act was passed, for the purpose of putting down all non-conformist

[2] Ellis's Original Letters, 2nd series.

worship. These penal severities were followed up by the Oxford act, which enacted, that all non-conforming ministers who should refuse to swear "not to endeavour, at any time, any alteration of government in church or state," should be excluded from inhabiting incorporations, and should not be suffered to come within five miles of any city or place where they had preached. The kind of respect which he bore for the power and authority of parliament was evinced in his speech at the opening of the session of 1664, in which he vehemently urged the repeal of the triennial act, and spoke of his never suffering a parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill.

Charles's council was of an exceedingly heterogeneous character. It consisted of the royal brothers, James and Henry, Hyde the chancellor, Ormond the lord-steward, Lord Culpepper master of the rolls, and Secretary Nicholas. Then came Monk, and his friend, Morrice, and all the surviving counsellors of the First Charles, some of whom had maintained the cause of the parliament against the crown. Of all these, Hyde was the presiding and master-spirit, however, and the counsels given by him Charles implicitly adopted. The trial of the regicides, and the conferences at the Savoy, the trial and death of Argyle, and the re-establishment of episcopacy in Scotland, were among the earliest events of Charles's reign.

In 1662, Charles married the infanta of Portugal. Bishop Burnet says that the king met Katherine at Winchester, in the summer of that year; that the archbishop of Canterbury went thither to perform the ceremony, but that the queen was bigotted to such a degree that she would not pronounce the words of the service, nor bear the sight of the archbishop; and that the king alone repeated the words hastily, whereupon the archbishop pronounced them married persons. He adds, "Upon this, some thought afterwards to have dissolved the marriage, as a marriage only *de facto*, in which no consent had been given; but the duke of York told me they were married by the lord Aubigny, according to the Roman ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses; and he added, that, a few days before he told me this, the queen had said to him that she heard some intended to call her marriage in question, and that if that was the case, she must call on him as one of the witnesses to prove it." Such is the bishop's statement. Lady Fanshawe, however, in her very interesting 'Memoirs,' informs us, that "as soon as the king had notice of the queen's landing, he immediately sent my husband that night to welcome her majesty on shore, and followed himself the next day; and, upon the 21st of May, the king married the queen at Portsmouth, in the presence-chamber of his majesty's house. There was a rail across the upper part of the room," Lady Fanshawe continues, "in which entered only the king and queen, the bishop of London, the marquess Desande, the Portuguese ambassador, and my husband; in the other part of the room there were many of the nobility and servants to their majesties. The bishop of London declared them married in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and then they caused the ribbons her majesty wore to be cut in little pieces, and, as far as they would go, every one had some." This account agrees pretty nearly with that of Bishop Kennet. The licentious monarch now boasted of the pattern of conjugal fidelity that he would

set to his court; and it would have been well for him, and for the nation at large, had he adhered to his resolutions; but his infamous paramour, Castlemaine, resumed her imperious sway within a few days after the king's marriage, and the poor queen was compelled not only to receive her at court, but to treat her as a friend, and load her with favours.

The following particulars from Pepys' diary will better illustrate the shameful licentiousness of this 'most religious and gracious' king, and his court, than any statements of our own:—"In the privy-garden," says Pepys, "saw the finest smocks and linen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw; and did me good to look at them. Sarah told me how the king dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped, every day and night the last week; and that the night that the bonfires were made for joy of the Queene's arrivall, the King was there; But there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street; which was much observed: and that the King and she did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another; and she, being with child, was said to be heaviest.

"Mr Pickering tells me the story is very true of a child being dropped at the ball at court; and that the king had it in his closet a week after, and *did dissect* it; and making great sport of it, said that in his opinion it must have been a month and three hours old; and that, whatever others think, he hath the greatest loss, (it being a boy, as he says,) that hath lost a subject by the business. He told me also how loose the court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain; and how the king is now become besotted upon Mrs Stewart, that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an hour together kissing her to the observation of all the world; and she now stays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine did use to do: to whom the king, he says, is still kind, &c.

"Coming to St James's, I hear that the queen did sleep five hours pretty well to-night. The king, they all say, is most fondly disconsolate for her, and weeps by her, which makes her weep; which one this day told me he reckons a good sign, for that it carries away some rheum from the head! She tells us that the queen's sickness is the spotted fever; that she was as full of the spots as a leopard: which is very strange that it should be no more known; but perhaps it is not so. And that the king do seem to take it much to heart, for that he hath wept before her; but, for all that, that he hath not missed one night since she was sick, of supping with my Lady Castlemaine; which I believe is true, for she says that her husband hath dressed the suppers every night; and I confess I saw him myself coming through the street dressing up a great supper to-night, which Sarah says is also for the king and her; which is a very strange thing.

"Pierce do tell me, among other news, the late frolick and debauchery of Sir Charles Sedley and Buckhurst running up and down all the night, almost naked, through the streets: and at last fighting, and being beat by the watch and clapped up all night; and how the king takes their parts; and my Lord-chief-justice Keeling hath laid the constable by the heels to answer it next sessions; which is a horrid shame. Also how the king and these gentlemen did make the fiddlers

of Thetford, this last progress, to sing them all the obscene songs they could think of! That the king was drunk at Saxam with Sedley, Buckhurst, &c. the night that my Lord Arlington came thither, and would not give him audience, or *could not:* which is true, for it was the night that I was there and saw the king go up to his chamber, and was told that the king had been drinking. He tells me that the king and my Lady Castlemaine are quite broke of, and she is gone away, and is with child, and swears the king shall own it; and she will have it christened in the chapel at White Hall so, and owned for the king's, as other kings have done; or she will bring it into White Hall gallery, *and dash the brains of it out before the king's face!* He tells me that the king and court were never in the world so bad as they are now, for gaming, swearing, women, and drinking, and the most abominable vices that ever were in the world; so that all must come to nought.

"They came to Sir G. Carteret's house at Cranbourne, and there were entertained, and *all made drunk;* and, being all drunk, Armerer did come to the king, and swore to him by God, 'Sir,' says he, 'you are not so kind to the duke of York of late as you used to be.'—'Not I?' says the king. 'Why so?'—'Why,' says he, 'if you are, let us drink his health.'—'Why let us,' says the king. Then he fell on his knees and drank it; and having done, the king began to drink it. 'Nay, Sir,' says Armerer, 'by God you must do it on your knees!' So he did, and then all the company: and having done it, all fell a-crying for joy, *being all maudlin and kissing one another!* the king the duke of York,—and the duke of York the king! and in such a maudlin pickle as never people were: and so passed the day!"

These licentious courses kept the royal finances in a wretchedly low state. With the infanta, Charles had received a portion of £350,000. This sum afforded but a temporary relief to the needy monarch. The chancellor suggested the sale of Dunkirk to the French king as a means of recruiting the royal finances; the proposal was eagerly caught at, and a bargain was ultimately concluded for 5,000,000 of livres. This base transaction roused the public indignation, and Charles was ultimately compelled to dismiss his chancellor, who sought his own safety in exile.

In 1663, a rupture took place with Holland, which, as it proceeded from commercial rivalry, was willingly supported by the nation. The commons voted a supply of £2,500,000 for the expenses of the war, and James, as lord-high-admiral, soon put to sea with ninety-eight sail of the line. Victory crowned the English fleet, after a tremendous engagement off Lowestoffe, on the 3d of June 1665; but the breaking out of the plague in London so depressed the public mind that the intelligence of the triumphant success of the national arms was received without any adequate demonstration of joy. The great fire of London, by which two-thirds of the metropolis were reduced to ashes, added to the national gloom and Charles's embarrassment. An insurrection in the west and south of Scotland, provoked by the intolerance of the episcopal party, next engaged the distracted attention of the ministry. It was repressed by the efforts of Dalziel; but in appearance only. An unsubdued spirit of opposition to prelacy, and a keen sense of injury, still burned in the bosoms of the Scottish whigs, or covenanters, as they were called, and the new and rigorous laws passed by the parliament of Scotland in 1669, 1670, and 1672, aided by the still more tyranni-

cal regulations of the privy council, and the sanguinary administration of that heartless ruffian, Lauderdale, soon drove them once more into open insurrection.

The successful conclusion of Sir William Temple's mission to the Hague in 1668, for the purpose of negotiating an alliance against France, was one of the few public measures of this reign which deserve approbation; but whatever merit was due to the king himself, in this transaction, was more than neutralised by the secret treaty which he entered into with France in less than two years thereafter, for the purpose of changing "the religion and subverting the constitution of England.". Of this treaty little was certainly known at the time. All the parties concerned observed an impenetrable secrecy respecting it. It is now known that the principal articles were—1st. That the king of England should publicly profess himself a catholic, at such time as should appear to him most expedient, and, subsequently to that profession, should join with Louis in a war against the Dutch republic; and 2dly. That, to enable the king of England to suppress any insurrection which might be occasioned by the avowal of his conversion, the king of France should grant him an aid of £2,000,000 of livres, besides assisting him with an armed force. It is uncertain when Charles II. first thought of becoming a catholic. But it is a fact that in the beginning of the year 1659, the duke of Ormond accidentally detected him on his knees at mass, in a church at Brussels. He imparted the secret to Clarendon and Southampton, who judged it prudent to conceal the truth. Accordingly, the act 'for the better security of his majesty's person and government' provided that to affirm the king to be a papist should be punishable by disability to hold any office in the state, civil, military, or ecclesiastical.

Nothing could be more disgraceful than Charles's utter abandonment of every principle of honour, and justice, and morality, from the time that he threw himself into the hands of the five unprincipled ministers, Arlington, Clifford, Buckingham, Lauderdale and Ashley, collectively called *the Cabal.* In 1677, however, he performed a popular act by marrying his niece, the princess Mary, to the prince of Orange.

The next year was distinguished by the pretended discovery of the popish plot, founded upon the monstrous fictions of Titus Oates and Bedloe. The fears of the country were now so effectually excited, that the duke of York found it prudent to retire to Brussels, and Charles was obliged to grant his consent to that great palladium of civil liberty, the *habeas corpus* bill. At last, the king came to an open rupture with his parliament, and finding that he could not bend it to his own purposes, he resolved to govern without it. Already had the blood of Russell and of Sidney flowed upon the scaffold, and new and still fiercer measures were preparing for extinguishing the last spark of liberty, and converting the government of England into an absolute monarchy, when the hand of death arrested the profligate monarch in the midst of his licentious and unprincipled career. He expired in February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The character of Charles II. has been thus drawn by Mr Fox:—"From the facts which have been stated," he observes, "we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while

he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean and treacherous; to which may be added, vindictive and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness, seems to be perfectly justifiable; nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyric. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one, whom motives either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy.

"On the other hand, it would be want of candour to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities; nor was the propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable; and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness—which the Stoics are not perhaps wrong in classing among the moral virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order—has never been denied him; and he had in an eminent degree that facility of temper which, though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it contributes greatly to the happiness of those around us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the queen during the heats raised by the Popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought, in a great measure, to be accounted for upon selfish principles, had at least a strong resemblance to virtue.

"The best part of this prince's character seems to have been his kindness towards his mistresses, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His recommendation of the dutchess of Portsmouth and Mrs Gwyn upon his deathbed, to his successor, is much to his honour; and they who censure it, seem, in their zeal to show themselves strict moralists, to have suffered their notions of vice and virtue to have fallen into strange confusion. Charles's connexion with those ladies might be vicious; but, at a moment when that connexion was upon the point of being finally and irrevocably dissolved, to concern himself about their future welfare, and to recommend them to his brother with earnest tenderness, was virtue. It is not for the interest of morality that the good and evil actions, even of bad men, should be confounded. His affection for the duke of Gloucester, and for the dutchess of Orleans, seems to have been sincere and cordial. To attribute, as some have done, his grief for the loss of the first to political considerations, founded upon an intended balance of power between his two brothers, would be an absurd refinement, whatever were his general disposition; but when we reflect upon that carelessness which, especially in his youth, was a conspicuous feature of his character, the absurdity becomes still more striking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, insinuate that his fondness for his sister was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for such a suspicion; nor does the little that remains of their epistolary correspondence give it the smallest

countenance. Upon the whole, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad king: let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations, for the purpose of making him a monster."

Sir George Ayscough.

DIED CIR. A. D. 1673.

THE maritime annals of Great Britain, during the reign of the second Charles, present many illustrious names, among which that of Sir George Ayscough holds a distinguished place. Sir George was descended of an ancient Lincolnshire family. On the breaking out of the civil wars, he adhered to the parliament; and when seventeen ships went over to the prince of Wales in 1648, Sir George brought his ship, the Lion, into the Thames. This conduct procured for him the confidence of the parliament, who immediately sent him over to the Dutch coast to observe the motions of his late associates. In 1649, he was constituted admiral of the Irish seas; and in 1651 he was sent to reduce the Scilly islands, then held by Sir John Grenville for Charles II. In this latter year he sailed for Barbadoes, where he summoned Lord Willoughby to submit to the authority of the parliament of England, and finally compelled that nobleman to acquiesce in the conditions offered to him.

In Lilly's almanack for 1653, we find the following observations under the head of August 16, 1652:—"Sir George Ayscue, near Plymouth, with 14 or 15 ships only, fought 60 sail of Dutch men-of-war; had thirty shot in the hull of his own ship. Twenty merchantmen never came in to assist him, yet he made the Dutch give way. Why our state shall pay those ships that fought not, we of the people know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part of a generous commander in all his actions." The issue of this action, as well as the strength of the opposing fleets, is variously related by different historians. In the life of De Ruyter, it is affirmed that his squadron consisted of 50 men-of-war; and that advice of their arrival off the isle of Wight having been received by the English parliament, Sir George, who then commanded a fleet of 40 men-of-war in the west, was ordered to stretch over the channel to hinder, or at least dispute the passage of the Dutch fleet; that the two fleets came to close quarters about four in the afternoon, and that the fight was obstinately maintained on both sides until nightfall. Whitlocke says the Dutch fleet consisted of 80 sail; that the action lasted three days; that Sir George Ayscough's squadron consisted of 38 ships of war, and four fire-ships, and that the Dutch admiral was sunk. Ledyard, who probably had access to good private information, says Sir George broke the enemy's line, and weathered them; but that, after this advantage, not being duly supported by the other ships, he retired to Plymouth during the night.

The parliament acknowledged Sir George's merits by granting him an estate of £300 per annum in Ireland, with the present of a sum of money; but not wholly approving of his conduct at Barbadoes, they dismissed him from service. Sir George bore his disappointment with

great equanimity. He retired into the country to a house in Surrey, which Whitlocke describes as so environed with ponds, moats, and water, that it resembled a ship at sea. Here he declared he meant to cast anchor for the rest of his life, but Cromwell prevailed on him to undertake the command of the fleet of Charles Gustavus of Sweden, then threatened by the Danes and Dutch. Sir George was received with great respect by the Swedes, and remained in this service till the death of Gustavus in 1663.

Returning home, soon after the Restoration, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy, and on the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1664, he went to sea as rear-admiral of the blue squadron, in which capacity he greatly distinguished himself in the engagement of the 3d of June, 1665. Next year Sir George hoisted his flag on board the Royal Prince, a ship of 100 guns, and was present at the great engagement which began on the 1st of June, between the Dutch fleet and the English. Towards the evening of the third day of that desperate fight, the Royal Prince unfortunately ran upon the sand-bank called the Galloper, and could not be got off. Sir George defended his vessel, with great resolution, until his men compelled him to surrender. The Dutch paid a high compliment to his bravery and worth in the extraordinary parade with which they exhibited their captive in different towns. He was closely imprisoned in the castle of Louvestein, but obtained his release soon after, and returned to his native country, where he spent the remainder of his days in comparative retirement. The date of his death is not certainly known. It appears that he was employed in 1668, and that he hoisted his flag on board the Triumph in 1671.

Sir Edward Spragge.

DIED A. D. 1673.

ANOTHER name which graces the maritime annals of Charles the Second's reign is that of Sir Edward Spragge, who first appears as captain of the Portland in the year 1661. At the commencement of the Dutch war, in 1665, he was appointed to the Royal James, but was in a short time removed to the Triumph. In the great engagement betwixt the duke of York and Opdam, Spragge behaved with distinguished bravery. His services on this occasion were rewarded with the honour of knighthood. In the ensuing spring he was appointed to the Dreadnought, and served as rear admiral of the white. On the death of Sir William Berkeley, Spragge was named vice-admiral of the blue. In the action with the Dutch of the 24th July, 1666, the blue squadron, which was the weakest in the English fleet, found itself opposed to that of Van Tromp, which was the strongest division of the enemy's fleet. Notwithstanding of the odds in his favour, however, Van Tromp found himself so severely handled that, on the wind shifting, he availed himself of it to get out of the reach of his opponents.

Sir Edward commanded at Sheerness when that place was attacked by the Dutch in June 1667. The place itself was almost incapable of resistance; its whole defence consisted of a platform, on which were

mounted fifteen iron guns. Yet, with these insignificant means, he for a time successfully resisted the approach of the Dutch vessels, and finally made good his retreat to Gillingham. When Van Naes, the Dutch admiral, came up the river again, after his attempt upon Harwich, Sir Edward engaged him about the Hope, and with a considerably smaller force, succeeded in compelling him to retire into his own seas.

In 1669, on the appointment of the constable of Castile to the governorship of the Spanish Netherlands, Sir Edward was sent over to compliment him upon that occasion, and to promote the success of some political measures. In this new capacity he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his royal master. Soon after his return to England he sailed as vice-admiral of the fleet, under Sir Thomas Allen, destined to chastise the Algerines. Sir Thomas returned from the Straits in November, 1670, leaving Sir Edward commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. Towards the latter end of the ensuing April, having received intelligence of a number of Algerine corsairs laying in Bugia bay, Sir Edward determined on instantly attacking them. A first attempt failed, in consequence of an accident which happened to the fire-ship; and in the meantime the Algerines laboured incessantly to secure their vessels by a strong boom made of yards, topmasts, and cables, buoyed up by casks. On the 8th of May a fine easterly breeze having sprung up, Sir Edward bore into the bay, and came to anchor in four fathoms water, close under the castle, from which an incessant fire was kept up upon him for two hours. During this time the boats of the fleet were employed in cutting the boom, and clearing a passage for the fire-ship. When this service was effected, she was sent in, and the whole Algerine fleet, consisting of seven men-of-war, was destroyed. This important and daring exploit was achieved with the loss of only seventeen men killed, and forty-one wounded. It effectually crippled the power of the Algerines, and brought them to terms with the English government.

On the renewal of war with the Dutch in 1671, Sir Edward was appointed to serve in his old station of vice-admiral of the blue, and to him the duke of York confided the trust of equipping the fleet, and arranging every thing that was necessary for its future service. He was present at the battle of Solebay, and sunk one of the largest ships in the enemy's line.

On the death of the earl of Sandwich, Sir Edward succeeded him as admiral of the blue. Campbell says, with regard to this appointment, "When the duke of York, by the passing of the test act, was obliged to part with his command, and the court, to gratify the desires of the nation, lay under an absolute necessity of making use of Prince Rupert, they took care to secure the fleet notwithstanding, by employing on board such officers only as they could best and he could least trust." We are not quite disposed to adduce this statement as evidence that Sir Edward possessed "every virtue that could render a commander great, or human nature respectable."[1] On the contrary, we regard the fact of Sir Edward's appointment, in place of Sir Robert Holmes, whom the prince had specially recommended, as furnishing a very conclusive

[1] Charnock, vol. i. 74.

proof that Sir Edward was, with all his merits as a seaman, entirely under the influence of a corrupt and unprincipled government. The jealousy which existed between Sir Edward and his principal did not, however, prevent these brave officers doing their duty, nor blind them to each other's merits in the hour of battle. We find Prince Rupert, in a letter to the earl of Arlington, highly commending Sir Edward's bravery and indomitable resolution.

In the great and decisive engagement of the 11th of August, 1673, Sir Edward found himself once more opposed to his old rival, Van Tromp. Both, intent probably on encountering each other, had fallen several leagues to leeward of their own fleets. After several hours fighting, during which the two admirals twice found it necessary to go on board fresh ships, Sir Edward found it expedient—the ship in which he was then fighting, the St George, being almost a wreck—to remove on board a third ship, the Royal Charles. This was a necessary, perhaps, but a fatal resolution. The boat in which he placed himself had not rowed ten times its own length from the St George, before it was struck by a cannon shot, upon which the crew endeavoured to return to the St George again, but before they could effect their purpose, the boat went down, and Sir Edward, not being a swimmer, perished in the waves.

Edward, Earl of Clarendon.

BORN A. D. 1608.—DIED A. D. 1673.

RIGHTLY to estimate the actions, and measure the moral worth of this eminent personage, is no easy task. He has been alernately deified and defamed for party-purposes. Southey declares him to have been the wisest and most upright of statesmen. Brodie hesitates not to represent him as a miserable sycophant and canting hypocrite. Hume speaks of him with the greatest respect and admiration. Hallam is cautious and guarded in his praise. Agar Ellis unhesitatingly pronounces him an unprincipled man of talent.

The subject of these conflicting opinions was born at Dinton in Wiltshire, in February 1608. His father was a private gentleman of an ancient Cheshire family of the name of Hyde. At the early age of thirteen, young Hyde was sent to Magdalene college, Oxford, whence, at the invitation of his uncle Nicholas Hyde, afterwards chief-justice of the king's bench, he removed to London, and applied himself to the study of the law. In his twenty-first year, he married the daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, but became a widower in the brief space of six months. Three years afterwards he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, master of requests. He started almost at once into notice at the bar. His good fortune in this respect was probably not a little owing to the rule which, as he himself informs us in his 'Life,' he early adopted, namely, to aim always at good company, and to select for his intimate associates none but persons considerable either for fortune, rank, or accomplishments. How well he carried this maxim into practice, appears from the list of his acquaintances, where amongst other names we find Ben Jonson, Selden, May, Sir Kenelm

Digby, Edmund Waller, Lucius Carey, Sheldon, Morley, Earles, Hales, and Chillingworth. But it was the patronage of the marquess of Hamilton, "who had at that time the most credit of any man about the court," and that of Archbishop Laud, that brought our young barrister most into repute in Westminster hall, and marked him out in the eyes of the world as a rising man. At this period, while diligent in his vocation, he appears to have occasionally indulged himself in the company of such men as the earl of Dorset, Lord Conway, and Lord Lumley, "men who excelled in gratifying their appetites," in other words, abandoned rakes. "In that very time," says Hyde in his Life of himself, "when fortune seemed to smile and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards, he was wont to say, that when he reflected upon himself, and his past actions, even from the time of his first coming to the Middle Temple, he had much more cause to be terrified upon the reflection, than the man had, who viewed Rochester-bridge in the morning that it was broken, and which he had gallopped over in the night; that he had passed over more precipices than the other had done, for many nights and days and some years together, from which nothing but the immediate hand of God could have preserved him."

The best and brightest period in Hyde's history, is that in which he appears to us commencing his parliamentary career. In the long-parliament—in which he represented Saltash—he was active in exposing the court system, and in denouncing the illegal conduct of Strafford. At this juncture he was associated with such men as Falkland, Hales, and Chillingworth. But he had neither the integrity of purpose which distinguished these great men, nor was he comparable to any of them in talents. On the approach of direct hostilities, Hyde withdrew to the king at York, by whom he was exceedingly well received. Towards the end of the year 1642, upon the promotion of Sir John Colepepper to the rolls, Hyde succeeded him in the chancellorship of the exchequer; the same year, he was knighted, and made a privy councillor, in which latter capacity he was ever sedulous in instilling into the ear of his royal master those miserable maxims of ecclesiastical polity which cost him his crown and his life. Southampton and Falkland, would have had Charles to yield some at least of the disputed points of prerogative and church-government, but their prudent counsels were checked and rendered abortive by the influence of Hyde, who had so far won upon the king's confidence and attachment that, in a letter to his queen, written about this time, he says, "I must make Ned Hyde secretary of state, for I can trust no one else." "During his (the king's stay) at Newcastle," says Brodie, "all the entreaties of the queen and his lay advisers, to yield to the presbyterian establishment, had utterly failed, and nothing could move him to accede to the less rigorous propositions of the army; but he had now become surrounded with advisers who approved of his resolution. These were ecclesiastics (Sheldon, Hammond, and others), who, having lost their livings, were hostile to any arrangement that should for ever exclude them from power. Lord Clarendon, too, encouraged him by letters, to the same course. Exempted himself from pardon by all the propositions, he founded all his hopes of being restored to his country, and rewarded by the crown, on a steady refusal of accommodation—which, however fatal it might prove to his present master, would, he flattered himself, ultimately be

triumphant in the person of the prince. It therefore appears, by his private correspondence, that he deemed it better that the king should fall a victim to his principles than yield to his enemies. In the clash of parties he expected that the successor would be recalled unshackled; but thought that if what he supposed the best jewels of the crown were once renounced, they might never be recovered."

It was during his retirement in Jersey, that Hyde projected his two celebrated works, the 'History of the Rebellion,' and 'Memorials of his own Life.' These works have been published separately and under different titles, but they were originally intended to form one and the same book; we may speak of them therefore as one in this rapid sketch of their author. Hyde's historical writings are valuable as the testimony of one who was contemporary with the events he relates. Their style is in general lucid and flowing; and there is an air of liberality and high-mindedness infused into the whole which creates a very favourable impression for the author. Warburton declares that in the knowledge of human nature, "this great author excels all the Greek and Latin historians put together." This is large praise; but it is extravagant and untrue. There is little real political science in the work, and very little accurate analysis of the springs and workings of human conduct and the true motives of agents. "Clarendon's own idea of the 'genius and spirit and soul of an historian,' says an anonymous but able writer, may be gathered from one of his essays, where he speaks of those endowments as 'contracted by the knowledge and course and method of business, and by conversation and familiarity in the inside of courts, and the most active and eminent persons in the government.' Assuredly, whatever could be gained from such sources to the value of a history was combined in his; and it is difficult to resist the first impression of so dazzling and imposing an aggregate. But a closer view discovers by how very wide an interval is separated the ablest man of the world from the truly philosophical historian—how imperfectly the lore of court-intrigues and state-expedients can expound the great events of a political crisis, and how miserable a substitute for genuine candour and tolerance are the guarded phrase and tone of high society. It were vain to look to Clarendon for any thing like a rational account of the first springs of civil commotion; and his pages do not even exhibit the true interdependences and sequences of events at all more clearly than their origin. Every thing is referred to party cabals and personal influences with a truly court-like nearness and minuteness of vision; and the outward show of exemption from the passionate heats of controversy is belied by an intolerant zeal for mere names and forms, which, had it been expressed in uncouth language by uneducated men, would have been stigmatized as desperate and hopeless fanaticism. The historical merits of Clarendon have been modestly compared by his panegyrists to those of the great author of the 'History of Henry VII.' as his essays have in similar style been characterised by their editor as 'an appropriate companion to the little volume which contains the essays of Lord Bacon'—an instance of juxtaposition only allowable in reference to the size of the volumes—unless the circumstance of both authors having been chancellors of England be considered to complete the resemblance. However, the former parallel is at least less extravagant, from the marked inferiority

of Bacon's historical writings to the works of his earlier manhood and maturity, and receives a plausible colour from some outward points of resemblance with Clarendon's productions in the same department. Both employ a style of decoration and diffuseness—both betray a habit of minute observation of particulars apparently trifling, and both are in a certain degree obnoxious to the charge of courtly adulation and obsequiousness. But a more minute analysis of the accidental likeness, will discover the essential contrast. Bacon is diffuse from the exhaustless overflowings of a teeming mind, and ever active fancy—Clarendon from wilful amplifications and redundancies. The fund of observation in the latter is drawn chiefly from the circle of court-intrigue and personality—in the former from that of internal national changes and popular interests, of which courts have for the most part little cognizance. The instances of compromise and courtly adulation in both writers might more fairly admit of comparison, if Bacon had, like Clarendon, been roused to public life by the spirit-stirring alarums of a social revolution—those, however, who read him worthily may judge for themselves whether, like Clarendon, he would have learned from the events of that struggle little else than a besotted predilection for the code of persecution and tyranny."[1]

In May 1648, Sir Edward was invited by the queen to attend her majesty in Paris. He accepted of the invitation, and was continued by Charles II. in his office of the exchequer and his seat at the privy-council. In November 1649, he was sent with Lord Cottington to the court of Madrid, for the purpose of engaging Spanish assistance for his master, but the mission was unsuccessful. From this period until the restoration, he resided mostly at Antwerp. Upon the return of Charles and his court to England, Hyde was rewarded for his many and valuable services with the chancellorship of the kingdom; and in November 1660, he was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon, to which were added, in April following, the titles of Viscount Cornbury in Oxfordshire, and Earl of Clarendon in Wiltshire.

There is no doubt that till his fall, the public conduct of Clarendon was involved, and in a manner identified, with the general administration of the monarchy. Whatever was praiseworthy or obnoxious in the acts of Charles II. as king, originated, not with that dissolute monarch himself, but with his favourite and trusted minister. The declaration from Breda was certainly an extraordinary document viewed as coming from the pen of the man who had been the adviser of Charles I. on all subjects of ecclesiastical polity; that its terms should have been kept would have been still more surprising. A miserable attempt has been made to apologise for the perfidy of Charles and his minister in violating the spirit and letter of that declaration so soon after the restoration. It has been argued that the declaration only bore that until the subject should have been considered and determined by parliament, nobody should be molested on account of his religious principles; but that no pledge of constant toleration was either given or pretended to be given. It seems to us impossible that any man of common understanding or honesty should indulge in such a miserable sophistry as this. The sale of Dunkirk was another act of Clarendon's. Rapin

[1] Westminster Review, vol. xiii. pp. 158 159.

affirms that it was the chancellor who proposed the bargain, negotiated it and concluded it. And D'Estrades, the French plenipotentiary, wrote to Louis XIV. that the chancellor had told him "that the thought of this treaty came from him, and did not conceal that the necessity of the English affairs had inspired him with it." The miserable conduct of the Dutch war was certainly in a great measure owing to the want of firmness and prudence on the part of the chancellor; but Mr Agar Ellis does not hesitate to accuse Clarendon of treachery as well as imbecility in the negotiation of public affairs. "Whether," says he, "Clarendon house was erected with French or Dutch money, or with both, it is impossible for us, at this distance of time, with the slender evidence upon the subject we possess, to decide. After, however, all that has been previously brought forward with respect to the corruption of the chancellor upon the subject of Dunkirk, the question of whether he erected his house with the money so received is not of much importance in any way to either his fame or his character." Pepys, who declares that the chancellor was his 'particular kind friend on all occasions' does not scruple to represent him as an avaricious being whose soul was fixed upon scraping money together. And Lord Dartmouth has the following note on a passage in Burnet: "The earl of Clarendon, upon the restoration, made it his business to depress every body's merits to advance his own, and (the king having gratified his vanity with high titles) found it necessary towards making a fortune in proportion, to apply himself to other means than what the crown could afford; (though he had as much as the king could well grant:) and the people who had suffered most in the civil war were in no condition to purchase his favour. He therefore undertook the protection of those who had plundered and sequestered the others, which he very artfully contrived, by making the king believe it was necessary for his own ease and quiet to make his enemies his friends; upon which he brought in most of those who had been the main instruments and promoters of the late troubles, who were not wanting in their acknowledgments in the manner he expected, which produced the great house in the Piccadille, furnished chiefly with Cavaliers' goods, brought thither for peace-offerings, which the right owners durst not claim when they were in his possession. In my own remembrance Earl Paulett was an humble petitioner to his sons, for leave to take a copy of his grandfather's and grandmother's pictures (whole lengths, drawn by Vandike) that had been plundered from Hinton St George; which was obtained with great difficulty, because it was thought that copies might lessen the value of the originals. And whoever had a mind to see what great families had been plundered during the civil war, might find some remains either at Clarendon house, or at Cornbury."[2]

To these charges Mr Ellis has added some of a still graver character: They are, "his encouragement of the attempts to assassinate Cromwell; the act he passed upon the subject of the religion of Charles II.; and the blasphemous comparison he makes in his history in speaking of the execution of the first Charles. The first will tend to show how little scrupulous he was of the means he employed to compass his ends,—the second displays in full perfection the crooked policy of the thorough-

[2] Cited by Mr Agar Ellis, p. 28.

paced politician,—while the third gives us some notion of the degree of respect for religion entertained by this pretended patron of the Protestant faith. We find abundant proofs in the collection of the Clarendon State Papers, published at Oxford in 1786, of the connivance of the chancellor in the bloody designs of some of the more unprincipled cavaliers to murder Cromwell. Indeed, it appears that a regular account of the proceedings of these ruffians was sent to him, and that they were incited by him to persevere in them. It is not by any means impossible that he may even have been himself the author of some of these brilliant schemes. The death, by natural means, of Oliver Cromwell, on the 3d of September, 1658, prevented the chancellor from assisting in the perpetration of the crime, which it is proved by these documents, he had concurred in meditating. The guilt of intention, however, rests with him in the clearest and most satisfactory manner."

These are grave charges; but it seems due to Clarendon's memory to admit that there exists no positive proof of his ever having engaged in the assassination plot. As to Charles' popery, we have already noticed the fact of Clarendon's being informed of it; and there can be no doubt that he unhesitatingly sacrificed principle to policy in the measure which he adopted to conceal the real state of the king's sentiments on this point.

A perplexing and painful incident in Clarendon's life, was the marriage of his eldest daughter to the duke of York. She had been one of the maids of honour to the princess royal Henrietta, while in exile; and it was while in this situation that the duke first conceived a passion for her, and ultimately married her privately in 1659. Clarendon notices this affair, as if he had been wholly unconscious of the transaction until it blazed abroad. When he heard of his daughter's pregnancy he says that he "broke out into a very immoderate passion against her wickedness; and said, with all imaginable earnestness, that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of his house as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see her again." When he heard that she was married, the case was ten times worse. "He fell"—as he himself expresses it—"into new commotions, and said, if that were true, he was well prepared to advise what was to be done; that he had much rather his daughter should be the duke's whore than his wife; in the former case nobody could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest prince alive. But if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judgment, that the king should immediately cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard, that no person living should be permitted to come to her; and then, that an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it." Something of this sort was strongly enough suggested by the situation in which Clarendon was placed: but who, besides a practised hypocrite, would have acted the part in such perfection? Or who could have acted the abject creature, so pleasing to kings, in a purer style than he did, a short time after, when the king was prepared to sacrifice him to the public indignation, which he had richly deserved? 'I am

so broken under the daily insupportable instances of your majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish God knows I am innocent as I ought to be. But alas! your majesty's declared anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies; whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then), your majesty believed them not to be your friends. I should die in peace (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almighty would free you from further trouble by taking me to himself) if I could know or guess at the ground of your displeasure As I have hope in heaven, I have never willingly offended your majesty in my life, and do, upon my knees, beg your pardon for any over bold or saucy expression I have ever used to you; which, being a natural disease in old servants who have received too much countenance I hope your majesty believes that the sharp chastisement I have received from the best natured and most bountiful master in the world, and whose kindness alone made my condition these many years supportable, has both enough mortified me as to this world, and that I have not the presumption, or the madness to imagine, or desire, ever to be admitted to any employment or trust again." The conclusion is worthy of the rest. He prays the king that he may be allowed to spend the small remainder of his life in some parts beyond the seas, never to return, where he may pray for the king, and never suffer the least diminution in his duty or obedience. This is a most extraordinary passage, and sets the chancellor in a very despicable and ridiculous light.

The first open attack upon Lord Clarendon was made by the earl of Bristol, who, in 1663, exhibited a charge of high treason against him in the house of lords. The charge was made in a fit of personal resentment, and issued in the discomfiture of its author. Not so, the displeasure of Buckingham and Lady Castlemaine. His refusal to allow his wife to visit the latter, had given mortal offence both to Charles and his mistress; and from that moment she readily conspired with Buckingham to work his ruin. An opportunity soon presented itself. When the Dutch fleet rode victorious in the mouth of the river, Clarendon had advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and support his troops by forced contributions. This counsel was now represented as a plan to govern the kingdom by a standing army and without a parliament. The imputation fired the public mind, and the flame was nursed by insinuations of venality and ambition, artfully directed against Clarendon. At last seventeen charges were framed by a committee of the lower house, upon which Clarendon was impeached at the bar of the house of lords. The bishops and many of the peers supported him; and after several animated debates, the impeachment was dismissed. But the commons held to their point; and the king himself having resolved to get rid of him, he was compelled to yield to his fate, and secretly withdrew to France. He bore with impatience the tedium of exile, and often petitioned for leave to return home; but the king was inexorable, and allowed his devoted servant to breathe his last in a foreign land. He died at Rouen in Normandy, in 1674.

"It is not easy," says a writer to whom we have been greatly indebted in the course of this article,—"It is not easy to ascend from

particulars to any general estimate of the character before us, as no philosophical or moral oasis appears in the life of Clarendon uninvaded by the blinding dust and hot breath of faction. Neither his futile efforts to philosophise upon events which he only viewed through a microscopic and discoloured medium, nor his affected equanimity in adverse affairs, which is belied by traits of bitter spite and vain anticipation, give any evidence of reflective and well-centred existence. Yet we cannot withhold our pity from the poor diseased old man, cast off by royal gratitude and by foreign hospitality; while we admire that force of self-delusion which led him, as he says, 'not to reflect upon any one thing he had done of which he was so much ashamed as he was of the vast expense he had made in the building of his house,' and that impotence of mind which laid him prostrate (to employ his own words,) 'so broken under the daily insupportable instances of his majesty's terrible displeasure, that he knew not what to do, hardly what to wish.' Alas for human nature! that such helpless debasement should be compatible with a rule of life which many still panegyrise as a pattern of the highest morality. Alas for mankind! that if such instances affect them with a feeling of indignant amazement, that emotion rarely penetrates to the origin of the evil in the absence of some grand and guiding principle of action. There was a moment in our history when the civic wreaths of yore seemed interwoven with the mild domestic life of later ages. But it is past; and even youth deserts the school-themes of antiquity, and the monuments of old English patriotism, for the perplexed and tortuous paths of modern practical politics. Many a mind that would have spurned the slavish lessons of prerogative is poisoned with the lore of balances, influences, and compromises,—many an eye that would have kindled in the star-chamber sinks beneath the satire of some frivolous circle,—many a heart that would have sympathised and bled with Hampden's, learns to idolise human power, in the example of Cromwell; to disbelieve in human virtue, on the authority of Clarendon."

Sir William Morice.

BORN A. D. 1602.—DIED A. D. 1676.

SIR WILLIAM MORICE was born at Exeter in the year 1602. His father, Dr John Morice, was chancellor of the diocese of Exeter. After the preliminary course of education, young Morice was entered of Exeter college, Oxford, where he had for tutor the learned Nathaniel Carpenter. Such was the diligence manifested by the young student, that Dr Prideaux used to say of him, "that though he was but little of stature, yet, in time, he would come to be great in the state." Having commenced bachelor of arts, he retired to his paternal estate, where he devoted himself to study. Prince, in his 'Worthies of Devon,' says that, in his younger years, he "was very much addicted to poetry and apothegmatical learning." He took no part in those convulsions of the state which now commenced, though it is highly probable that he was a moderate royalist in sentiment. In 1645 he was chosen to represent his native county in parliament,—an honour wholly unsolicited on his

part; but he refused to take his seat in the house, till the members excluded by the army-faction were restored by Monk. In 1651, he was appointed high-sheriff of Devonshire.

It is generally agreed that Morice was the only person in Monk's confidence as to his real intentions between Richard's abdication and Charles's arrival. He also received a letter from Charles, urging him to use all his influence towards effecting the Restoration, and Clarendon represents him as one of the principal agents in bringing about that event. To render his co-operation more effective, Charles appointed him his secretary of state, and Monk made him colonel of a regiment of infantry, and governor of Plymouth. He was one of those gentlemen who welcomed the restored king to Dover, where he received from him the honour of knighthood. Shortly after this he was chosen a privy-councillor. After having honourably filled the office of secretary of state for more than seven years, Sir William retired, in 1668, to his estate at Warrington, in Devonshire, where he died in 1676. His eldest son was created a baronet in 1661.

Sir William may be considered as one of the last of the lay-puritans, —a character that almost ceased with the act of conformity. That act, obliging those who had, in the former times of episcopacy, been moderate in their service, and who, with some dislike to a few ceremonies, yet retained so much affection to the establishment as to dislike separation still more, now to act a more decided part, a stronger line was henceforward drawn between the episcopalians and the nonconformists,—a line which has continued to this day, and which still acts as a barrier between the two parties. In his doctrinal sentiments, Sir William was a moderate Calvinist. His views on church-government are not so easily ascertained. He was not an episcopalian; he was not a presbyterian; still less was he an independent. Perhaps an episcopacy modified according to Usher's plan was that system of church-government which most nearly coincided with his own views. His work on the Lord's Supper evinces his almost universal reading and profound learning.

Bulstrode Whitelocke.

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1676.

BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE, son of James Whitelocke, a learned English lawyer, was born on the 6th of August, 1605, in Fleet-street, London. He was educated at Merchant-tailors' school, and from thence went to St John's college, Oxford. Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was president of St John's at the time, and being the intimate friend of young Whitelocke's father, treated him with much kindness. He left the university without a degree, and went to the Middle Temple, where he commmenced the assiduous study of law, and soon entered upon the practice of that profession.

In 1640, Whitelocke was chosen burgess for Marlow in Buckinghamshire. He acted as chairman of the committee appointed to manage Strafford's impeachment, and bore himself in that office with great firmness and dignity. He had early acquired the reputation of a

good common lawyer; in so much so, that Hampden is said to have frequently consulted him on the subject of ship-money; and to his professional reputation was soon added that of being a good parliamentary speaker, and an adept in the technicalities and forms of the house. His early conduct was marked by moderation, and an apparent desire to soothe and conciliate the contending parties; but as soon as hostilities had actually commenced, he adhered closely to the parliament, and accepted under them the office of deputy-lieutenant of Bucks and Oxford. In January, 1643, he acted as one of the commissioners for treating with the king; soon after, he sat as one of the lay-commissioners in the Westminster assembly of divines. Charles appears to have reposed more confidence in Whitelocke and Hollis than in most others of their party. He even condescended to solicit their advice in framing an answer to the propositions which they had themselves been the bearers of from the parliament. Whitelocke hesitated at first to comply with their request, but before leaving the king he made a hasty memorandum of what he judged might form the substance of an answer to the parliament's proposals, and left it upon the table of the king's withdrawing room. For this transaction, both he and Hollis were impeached in 1645, but after a long and severe scrutiny, the commons acquitted them of all blame in the transaction.

Whitelocke was now one of the leading men of the commonwealth, and he used his influence to restrain and moderate the excessive intolerance of the presbyterian party, especially in respect of their claim to the divine right of their order of church government. In the year 1645, the house of commons ordered all the books and manuscripts of the lord-keeper Littleton, whose estate had been sequestered, to be given to Whitelocke. In his 'Memorials,' Whitelocke alluding to this, says, "he undertook this business, as he had done others of the like kind, to preserve these books and manuscripts from being sold, which the sequestration would have done, but he saved them, to have the present use of them, and resolving, if God gave them a happy accommodation, to restore them to the owner, or to some of his family." On several other occasions, Whitelocke showed his regard to the interests of literature, particularly in preventing the sale of the king's library and collection of medals. "Being informed," he says, "of a design in some to have them sold, and transported beyond seas, which I thought would be a dishonour and damage to our nation, and to all scholars therein; and fearing that in other hands they might be more subject to embezzling, and being willing to preserve them for public use, I did accept of the trouble of being library-keeper at St James's, and therein was encouraged and much persuaded to it by Mr Selden, who swore that if I did not undertake the charge of them, all those rare monuments of antiquity, and these choice books and manuscripts would be lost: and there were not the like of them, except only in the Vatican, in any other library in Christendom."

Cromwell gave Whitelocke more of his confidence than might have been expected, seeing that the fact was known that he had been consulted by Essex's party on the subject of impeaching Cromwell. It does not, however, appear that Whitelocke used any great efforts to return and secure the confidence of so important a personage. When the trial of the king had been decided upon, he was named one of the

committee of thirty-eight, who were appointed to draw up the charge; but he never attended the sittings, and refused afterwards to pronounce his approval of the proceedings of the high court of justice. His memorandum on the king's death is thus expressed:—"Jan. 30, I went not to the house, but stayed all day at home, in my study and at my prayers, that this day's work might not so displease God as to bring prejudice to this poor afflicted nation." Yet there was certainly a degree of trimming and vacillation about Whitelocke's conduct at this crisis, for, in the month of February following, we find him pronouncing his disapprobation of the vote of the house, of the 5th of December, namely, "that his majesty's concessions to the propositions of the parliament were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom;" and he even drew up the act for abolishing the house of lords, with his own hand, although he had formally dissented from that contemplated measure.

On the 8th of February, he was appointed one of the three lords commissioners of the new great seal of the commonwealth of England. He urges the following reasons as his apology for the acceptance of this trust: "because he was already very deeply engaged with this party; and because the business to be undertaken by him was the execution of law and justice, without which men could not live one by another—a thing of absolute necessity to be done." On the 14th of the same month he was chosen one of the thirty members of the council of state, and a few months after he was elected high-steward of Oxford. Cromwell still continued to favour him with much of his confidence, and frequently consulted him on professional points. He at last got him appointed ambassador to Christina of Sweden. In this situation he displayed very respectable diplomatic talents, and concluded a well-based alliance between the two countries in 1654. The journal which he kept while employed in this embassy, was published by Dr Morton in 1772. It is a curious and valuable document, and is printed literally from Whitelocke's manuscript. After his return home, he received the thanks of parliament, and had £2000 ordered him for the expenses of his embassy. He appears, however, to have been dissatisfied with his treatment upon the whole, and talks of himself in the conclusion of his journal as having performed "a most difficult and dangerous work" for a very thankless government.

Richard Cromwell restored the great seal to him, which he had resigned in 1655; but his office ceased on Richard's deposition. During the confusion which followed, it has been suspected that Whitelocke negotiated a good deal with Hyde and the leading men among the royalists; but there is no clear proof of this; and the neglect amounting to contempt with which he was subsequently treated by Charles is some testimony in favour of his integrity. He died on the 28th of January, 1676. The first edition of his 'Memorials of the English affairs,' was published in 1682; the second in 1732. He also wrote Memorials of early English history which were published in 1709.

Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle.

BORN A. D. 1592.—DIED A. D. 1676.

This accomplished nobleman was the eldest son of Sir Charles Cavendish, younger brother to the first earl of Devonshire. He was born in the year 1592, and privately educated under his father's roof. In 1617, he succeeded to his father's fine estate, and in 1620 was raised to the peerage by the titles of Lord Ogle and Viscount Mansfield.

Charles I. advanced him, in 1627, to the earldom of Newcastle-on-Tyne. He now got involved in politics in spite of his unambitious and retiring disposition. He excited the jealousy of Buckingham, and won the friendship of Wentworth; but the king withstood the attempts of the favourite to displace the earl from his confidence, and in 1638 appointed him governor to the prince of Wales. The earl proved a munificent as well as faithful subject. He gave the king a most superb reception at Welbeck house when on his way to his coronation in Scotland; and within a year or two afterwards made the king and queen "a more stupendous entertainment" at Bolsover castle. He also assisted Charles's necessities with a free gift of £10,000, and a body of horse equipped at his own expense, when preparing to awe the Scottish covenanters into submission. Soon after his return from Scotland, whither he had accompanied Charles, he resigned his office of governor to the prince.

In the beginning of 1642 he met the king at York, and took possession with troops raised by himself, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. One of the first subsequent acts of the parliament was to declare Newcastle a traitor to the state, and excepted from any pardon; while the king, on his part, appointed him general of all forces to be levied north of the Trent. In his military command he was at first very successful, and was rewarded by a grant of the title of Marquess of Newcastle; but the battle of Marston-moor annihilated his army, and with difficulty he made his escape to Scarborough where he immediately embarked for Hamburgh. After spending some time successively at Hamburgh, Amsterdam, and Paris, he finally settled at Antwerp, where, though greatly depressed in his finances, he contrived to beguile the tedium of exile with literary composition, encouraged, doubtless, by the example of his countess, herself an authoress of high reputation in these times. He wrote four lays, and a treatise on the training and management of horses.

After an absence of eighteen years, he once more set foot on his native land in the suite of Charles II.; and on the 16th of March, 1664, he was elevated to the dignities of Earl of Ogle and Duke of Newcastle. He died on the 25th of December, 1676, having passed the closing years of his life mostly in retirement. Clarendon thus sketches his character: "he was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding, in which his delight was. Besides that, he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune,

but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him and by him."

Sir Matthew Hale.

BORN A. D. 1609.—DIED A. D. 1676.

MATTHEW HALE was born at Alderley, in Gloucestershire, on the 1st of November, 1609. His father had been educated for the bar, but abandoned his profession from conscientious scruples. Burnet says, "he gave over the practice of the law, because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleading, which, as he thought, was to tell a lie." The father dying before Matthew was five years old, his guardian placed him under the tuition of a puritan teacher, and afterwards sent him to Magdalene hall—Oxford, where Obadiah Sedgwick then presided—with the intention of educating him for the ministry. His proficiency, both at school and at college, was for a time extraordinary. According to the custom of the age, he studied Aquinas, Saurez, and Scotus; but the young puritan at last fell into bad company and habits, and for a time abandoned study altogether. Being gifted by nature with a powerful and agile frame, he became fond of all athletic exercises, and acquired great skill in the art of fencing. At last he renounced divinity and resolved to trail a pike in the prince of Orange's army.

From this resolution he was turned aside by an apparently trifling circumstance. Being obliged, in a suit of law, to watch the progress of the case himself, and act as his own solicitor, he was brought into frequent contact with Sergeant Granville, who soon discovered that his young client was possessed of many of those qualities which would fit him for the successful study of the law. He conjured him to give up his military views, and finally succeeded in marching his protegee to Lincoln's inn, where he was admitted towards the close of the year 1629. He now made up for the time which he had lost, by pursuing his studies with astonishing ardour and diligence. One of his first resolutions, on coming to London, was, that he would never again visit the theatre, from which he was conscious he had received the greatest injury. He also exchanged the gay clothing of a young man of fashion for a plain and student-like habit, and with such intense resolution did he enter upon the work now before him, that for some years he devoted no less than sixteen hours each day to study. Yet he still occasionally mixed with gay company, nor did he wholly abandon such society until an incident occurred which deeply affected him. One of his companions, at a convivial party, having indulged so deeply in draughts of wine as to fall speechless and senseless on the floor, Hale was so deeply affected by the sight that he instantly retired into another room, and solemnly vowed never more to be guilty of intemperance, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, but he religiously observed his vow, though he was sometimes railed at for not drinking the king's health after the Restoration. An entire change appeared now to be produced on his mind: he forsook vain company, and devoted himself

exclusively to the duties of religion, and the study of his profession; he also took a strict account of his time, and probably composed that scheme for the daily distribution of his time and regulation of his life, which Bishop Burnet has preserved. He was afterwards enabled to declare, that for a space of thirty-six years he had never on one occasion been absent from public worship; yet he was far from being an ostentatious professor, and neither prayed nor gave alms 'to be seen of men.' He also kept the hours of the hall constantly in term time, and seldom put himself out of commons, as it is called, in the vacation. He was very diligent in his researches; and, according to the laborious practice of the day, compiled a common-place book of what he read, mixed with his own observations, of which an eminent judge, who afterwards had an opportunity of inspecting it, was heard to say, that "though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could have done it better."

It was Hale's good fortune, at this early period of life, to secure the friendship of two no less distinguished persons than Selden and Vaughan. The former prompted him to extend his pursuit of learning beyond the strict limits of his profession. He soon became skilled in the Roman law and ancient history. He also made considerable progress in the mathematical sciences, and added to his other acquirements a respectable knowledge of medicine, and a more than ordinary acquaintance with divinity. His indefatigable industry enabled him to achieve what, in the case of ordinary men, would have been an impossible task, and to acquire an extent and variety of learning which would have utterly distracted minds of a weaker texture and less energetic habits. He rose early, was never idle; scarcely ever inquired after, or talked about, the news of the day; entered into no epistolary correspondence, except such as business demanded; and spent very little time at his meals or in bodily recreation.

Mr Hale was called to the bar about the commencement of the civil war between Charles I. and the parliament. The time was unpropitious, and particularly trying for the members of the legal profession. He chose Pomponius Atticus for his model at this juncture; and like that distinguished Roman, he passed unhurt through those distracted times, by adhering steadily to two rules of conduct; the one of which was to engage in no faction, nor meddle with any public business,—the other, always to lean to the side of the oppressed. There was prudence at least in this conduct. He seems, however, from the very first, to have had a bias towards the presbyterian party, influenced, doubtless, by the principles of puritanism which had been so early instilled into his mind. This avowed neutrality in politics, and the high personal respect in which he was held by both parties, pointed him out from the first as a desirable advocate to such of the prerogative party as were put upon trial for political offences. He accordingly appeared as counsel for the earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, the duke of Hamilton, and the lords Holland, Capel, and Craven. On the trial of the latter nobleman, the attorney-general threatened Hale with the displeasure of the government, but he spiritedly answered, that "he was pleading in defence of those laws which they declared they would maintain and preserve; that he was doing his duty to his client, and was not to be daunted with threatenings." Wood informs us that Hale

subscribed the solemn league and covenant in 1643, and that he appeared several times, with other laymen, in the Westminster assembly. His views of prelacy must at this time have been very different from what they were at a later period of his life.

On the death of Charles I. Hale, less scrupulous than Vaughan, took the engagement, "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, without a king or house of lords." Soon after this, he was appointed one of a committee to consider the reformation of the law. The committee met several times, but effected little. On the death of the king, and the resignation of six out of the twelve judges, Hale was offered a seat in the common pleas. At first he scrupled to accept the proffered dignity, but upon being urged to it by all his friends, and having had his scruples satisfied by Drs Shelden and Henchman, he came to the resolution, "that, as it was absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers." On his appointment to the bench, he refused to take any part in the proceedings instituted against individuals for political offences; and at last declined even to sit on the crown side at the assizes, being doubtful of the legality of the commission under which he acted.

In 1654, Hale was elected one of the representative knights of the shire, for the county of Gloucester. On taking his seat, he moved that the legislative authority should be affirmed to be in the parliament of the people of England, and a single person qualified with such instructions as that assembly should authorise; but that the military power, for the present, should reside in the protector. He likewise exerted himself greatly in exposing the madness, injustice, and mischief, of a proposition which had been made for destroying all records in the tower, and settling the nation on a new foundation; and such was the zeal and success with which he acted on this occasion, that "he stopped even the mouths of the frantic people themselves." When the protector died, Hale refused to receive a new commission from Richard Cromwell. In the same year, he was returned as one of the members for the university of Oxford; and, in 1660, he appeared as knight of the shire for the county of Gloucester, in the parliament which recalled Charles II. He was not, however, for admitting the king without reasonable restrictions, being no friend to the indefeasible right of prerogative. He moved that a committee be appointed to look into the propositions that had been offered by the king during the war, that from thence such propositions might be digested as would be fitting to send over to his successor. The motion was opposed by Monk, who urged the danger of delay in the then agitated state of the country.[1]

After the Restoration, Hale was of opinion that nothing could be done more beneficial to all parties, than to pass an act of indemnity; and he applied himself with great diligence to frame and carry through such a measure; but the design was ultimately abandoned in consequence of a vote of the servile commons in opposition to it. It was not without considerable real reluctance that Clarendon had persuaded Hale again to undertake the arduous duties of a judicial station. Among other serious objections, he urged the smallness of his estate, and the greatness of his expenses and debts. "My estate," he says, "is

[1] Burnet's Own Times.

not above £500 per annum; six children unprovided for; and a debt of £1000 lying upon me." Notwithstanding, however, of these and other objections, he was soon afterwards appointed lord-chief-baron. Clarendon, on delivering the commission, told him, "that if the king could have found an honester and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; but that he had preferred him because he knew no other who deserved it so well." It was usual for all chief barons to receive the honour of knighthood, but Hale studiously shunned the customary honour, and it was only upon meeting the king at the house of the chancellor, by an arrangement of which he was unconscious, that he was unexpectedly knighted.

Sir Matthew Hale filled the office of chief baron for eleven years, managing the court and all proceedings in it with singular prudence and justice. He was celebrated, not merely for rigid impartiality, but for diligence, punctuality, and generosity. Complaints were indeed sometimes made that he did not despatch business with sufficient speed; but his slowness in deciding arose from his anxiety to put suits to a final end, and he succeeded so well in what ought always to be the great object of a judge, that his decisions were seldom reviewed, and still less frequently reversed. In the treatment of criminals, Sir Matthew behaved with great humanity; his addresses to the condemned were so affectingly pathetic, as well as serious and devout, that many pious people used to make a point of attending trials when he sat on the bench. It is at the same time an humbling reflection, that this great and good man was so far subject to the superstitious credulity of the times, as to pass sentence of death on two old crazy wretches for the alleged crime of witchcraft.[2]

On the 18th of May, 1671, Sir Matthew Hale was promoted to the office of chief-justice of the court of king's bench. He did not preside long, however, in this court. Finding his strength rapidly failing him, he made an earnest application for his writ of ease, but such was the general satisfaction which his conduct as chief-justice had given, that the king delayed for some time the granting of his request. At length, he executed a deed of surrender of office with his own hand, which he delivered into chancery on the 21st of February, 1675, having on the previous day, surrendered to the king in person, who, contrary to his desire, continued his salary for life. After his retirement, he suffered much from asthma and dropsy, under which complaints he finally sunk. On Christmas day, 1676, he breathed his last, without a struggle or a pang. He was interred in the churchyard of Alderly, among his ancestors.

Sir Matthew was twice married. By his first wife, Ann, daughter of Sir Henry Moore of Faly, in Berkshire, he had ten children, six of whom arrived at maturity, but two only survived him. By his second wife—who was much beneath his own rank, having been, according to the Hon. Roger North, a servant in his household—he had no child.

Sir Matthew Hale was justly ranked among the brightest ornaments of his time. As a judge, his knowledge of law was profound, and his integrity stainless. Roger North says, "his voice was oracular and his person little less than adored."[3] But the same authority insinuates

[2] State Trials, vol. vi. [3] Life of Lord Guilford.

that he was not wholly above and beyond undue influences. "If the dissenting, or anti-court, party was at the back of a cause, he was very seldom impartial, and the loyalists had always a great disadvantage before him." "I have heard Lord Guilford," North adds, "say, 'Hale's foible was leaning towards the popular.'" These accusations will probably enhance the reader's estimation of this excellent judge. It was no small matter in these times to avoid leanings and inclinations the other way. Hale was always friendly and tolerant towards dissenters, and had much intercourse with their leading men, particularly with Richard Baxter. But in his own principles, he was a decided churchman, and the intimate friend of Usher, Wilkins, Ward, Barlow, Barrow, Tillotson, and Stillingfleet. "As a lawyer, and especially as a constitutional lawyer," Mr Henry Roscoe says, "Hale has perhaps never been equalled. His young rival, the lord-keeper, North, 'revered him for his great learning in the history, law, and records of the English constitution.' Comparing him with Sir Edward Coke, he transcended even that great luminary of the law in the accuracy and extent of his antiquarian knowledge, in his intimate acquaintance with the records, and in the orderly arrangement of the vast stores of learning which he had acquired. The respect paid to his legal opinions even in his own day was such, that when sitting as the puisne baron of the exchequer, and delivering his opinion last, at variance with that of his brothers, the latter, struck with the force of reasoning displayed in Hale's arguments, have been known to retract the opinion they had expressed. His published professional works are worthy of the high reputation which he enjoyed while living, and will for ever remain as monuments of his diligence and profound learning. To his great work on the Pleas of the Crown, reference is made, as to the records of the law themselves. His admirable 'Analysis of the civil part of our law' supplied Sir William Blackstone with the idea of his Commentaries, which have been termed 'A superstructure raised on the foundation of Lord Hale's previous digest and distribution of the subject.' Many of the invaluable treatises and collections compiled by the industry and learning of Sir Matthew Hale still remain unpublished. At the close of the last century, the excellent treatise, 'De jure maris, de portubus maris, and concerning the custom of goods,' a work full of profound learning, and most important in a constitutional point of view, was published by Mr Hargrave in the first volume of his Law Tracts. That gentleman was also fortunate enough to obtain another short tract, entitled, 'Considerations touching the amendment of law,' which he has in the same manner given to the public. At the present moment, when the amendment of the law has not only engaged the attention of the legislature, but has become a subject of no inconsiderable interest with the people at large, it will not be unprofitable to state what were the opinions of Sir Matthew Hale as to the possibility of effectuating so important an object. After some observations on the evils arising from 'over-hastiness and forwardness to alterations in the laws,' he proceeds to remark upon 'the over-tenacious holding of laws, notwithstanding apparent necessity for, and safety in the change.' The principles which Hale here lays down, though most obvious and simple, are yet most admirable, and well deserve the attention of those legislators who can see nothing in our institutions requiring reform. 'We must remember that laws

were not made for their own sakes, but for the sake of those who are to be guided by them; and though it is true that they are and ought to be sacred, yet if they be or are become unuseful for their end, they must either be amended, if it may be, or new laws be substituted, and the old repealed, so it be done regularly, deliberately, and so far forth only as the exigence or convenience justly demands it: and in this respect the saying is true, *Salus populi suprema lex esto.*' * * * 'He that thinks a state can be exactly steered by the same laws in every kind, as it was two or three hundred years ago, may as well imagine that the clothes that fitted him when a child should serve him when he was grown a man. The matter changeth, the custom, the contracts, the commerce, the dispositions, educations, and tempers of men and societies, change in a long tract of time, and so must their laws in some measure be changed, or they will not be useful for their state and condition; and besides all this, time is the wisest thing under heaven. These very laws, which at first seemed the wisest constitution under heaven, have some flaws and defects discovered in them by time. As manufactures, mercantile arts, architecture, and building, and philosophy itself, secure new advantages and discoveries by time and experience, so much more do laws which concern the manners and customs of men.'

"The multiplication and growth of the laws are urged by Hale as inducing a necessity for their revision and reduction:—'By length of time and continuance, laws are so multiplied and grown to that excessive variety, that there is a necessity of a reduction of them, or otherwise it is not manageable. * * * And the reason is, because this age, for the purpose, received from the last a body of laws, and they add more, and transmit the whole to the next age; and they add to what they had received, and transmit the whole stock to the next age. Thus, as the rolling of a snow-ball, it increaseth in bulk in every age till it becomes utterly unmanageable. And hence it is that, even in the laws of England, we have so many varieties of forms of conveyances, feoffments, fines, release, confirmation, grant, attornment, common recovery deeds enrolled, &c. because the use coming in at several times, every age did retain somewhat of what was past, and added somewhat of its own, and so carried over the whole product to the quotient. And this produceth mistakes: a man, perchance, useth one sort of conveyance where he should have used another. It breeds uncertainty and contradiction of opinion, and that begets suits and expense. It must necessarily cause ignorance in the professors and profession itself, because the volumes of the law are not easily to be mastered.' The mode in which Sir Matthew Hale proposed to accomplish the desired reform in our juridical system is pretty fully explained by him:—that the king, on the address of both houses of parliament, should direct the judges and other fit persons to prepare proper bills to effectuate the object:—that these bills should be brought into the house of commons:—that after having been twice read and committed, the judges should be called before the committee to explain the reasons and grounds of the proposed alterations; and that those learned persons should again attend the house of lords for the same purpose. 'Bills thus prepared and hammered,' adds Sir Matthew Hale, 'would have fewer flaws, and necessity of supplemental or explanatory laws,

than hath of late times happened.' It is to be much regretted that the tract from which these extracts have been made is left imperfect by the author, and the particular alterations which he probably intended to recommend are consequently unknown. A few pages only are devoted to these subjects, from which, however, some valuable suggestions are to be gathered. The observations on the propriety of rendering the county court a cheap and efficient tribunal are especially worthy of notice. In the year 1796, Mr Hargrave also published the excellent treatise of Hale 'On the Jurisdiction of the Lords' House of Parliament,' and in the preface expressed a hope that he should be enabled to present to the public a complete edition of Lord Hale's works; a design which, unfortunately, has never been completed."[4]

Beyond the strict limits of his own profession, Sir Matthew Hale's chief study was theology. The Rev. T. Thirwall, who has edited a selection from his moral and religious treatises, says of them, they "may be considered a species of extemporary meditations, the production of a head and heart fraught with a rich treasure of human and divine knowledge." His principal religious treatise is entitled 'The Primitive Origination of Mankind considered and examined according to the Light of Nature.' His 'Contemplations, moral and Divine,' have long been favourably known to the religious world. They are evidently unlaboured productions, closet meditations, never designed to meet the public eye; but they are vigorous sketches, significant of a mind of high and original powers.

Digby, Earl of Bristol.

BORN A.D. 1612.—DIED A.D. 1677.

GEORGE DIGBY, eldest son of John, first Baron Digby, was born in October, 1612, at Madrid, where his father was then English ambassador. While yet a child of only twelve years, he became an object of public attention, from the circumstance of his having presented an appeal for his father at the bar of the house of commons, with a simplicity, and grace of action and expression, which won the hearts of all the spectators. We have already had occasion to allude to the discord betwixt Buckingham and Bristol on the subject of the projected marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta. It was the persecution to which Bristol was subjected on his return home from his Spanish embassy, that gave occasion to his appeal for redress; and that he had not over-estimated the talents of his child, when he resolved to make him the bearer of his appeal, was proved by the result.

In 1626, George Digby was entered of Magdalene college, Oxford, where he run a very splendid career, distancing all competitors, and that apparently without any great study or effort on his part. On leaving college, he joined his father, then living in a sort of honourable exile at his seat in Dorsetshire. In this retirement, young Digby appears to have given himself entirely up to study and reading; he ranged through almost every branch of literature, and made those va-

[4] Roscoe's 'Lives of Eminent British Lawyers,' in Lardner's Cyclopedia.

ried accessions of mental wealth with which he afterwards astonished all who came into contact with him. But his ambition had not yet been roused, either by a desire of personal distinction, or a sense of his father's wrongs. At last, an incident occurred which determined him to throw the whole weight of his power and influence into the scale against the court. During one of his short occasional visits to London, a rencontre occurred between himself and a gentleman of the court. He wounded and disarmed his antagonist, but the scene of their contest was unluckily within the precincts of the palace, and for this offence he was seized and treated with great personal indignity. An opportunity of revenge soon occurred, for he was elected to serve for the county of Dorset in the parliament which met on the 13th of April, 1640. During the brief space of its sitting, young Digby not only contrived to make it appear what side he meant to join, but what might be the value of the accession made in his person to the party into whose arms he had thrown himself.

Having been again returned for Dorsetshire to the long parliament, he was immediately fixed upon as the mover of a select committee to frame a remonstrance to the king on public grievances, which he did in a very splendid speech, only six days after. We cannot forbear quoting one passage from his address on this occasion :—"It hath been a metaphor frequently in parliament," said he, "and, if my memory fail me not, was made use of in the lord-keeper's speech at the opening of the last, that what money kings raised from their subjects, it was but as vapours drawn up from the earth by the sun, to be distilled upon it again in fructifying showers. The comparison, Mr Speaker, hath held of late years in this kingdom too unluckily. What hath been raised from the subject by those violent attractions, hath been formed, it is true, into clouds, but how ? To darken the sun's own lustre ; and hath fallen again upon the land only in hailstones and mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our liberties, and to blast and wither our affections ; had not the latter of these been kept alive by our king's own personal virtues, which will ever preserve him, in spite of all ill-councillors, a sacred object both of our admiration and love." From this period, Digby was marked out as one of the leaders of the party now engaged in checking the influence of the court. His eloquence rendered him a most valuable and efficient auxiliary at a time when so much needed to be done in the way of invective and impeachment. The road to the very highest pinnacle of a patriot's wishes was now open to him ; and the universal expectation of his friends and associates was, that he would seize the golden opportunity and fulfil their most ardent wishes. But, in the hour of trial, he was found wanting. At the very moment that the impeachment of Strafford was going forward, and while professing to take an active part in the measure adopted for bringing that notorious political profligate to justice, Digby was secretly negotiating with the crown. His overtures were, of course, eagerly grasped at, and Digby prepared to throw off the mask by continuing to act with Strafford's prosecutors, but with increasing coolness. His demeanour at length roused the suspicion of the house, and he was called upon for explanation of various points in his recent conduct ; but the king interfered to extricate him from his embarrassment by calling him, on the 9th of June, 1641, to the house of peers. Digby

now printed the speech which he had delivered against the third reading of Strafford's attainder bill; the commons, in their indignation, voted that it should be burnt by the hands of the hangman.

The ill-advised impeachments of the 5th of January, 1642, were among the first fruits of Digby's confidence with the royal ear. On the retreat of the five members, with Lord Kimbolton, into the city, Digby offered to seize them with an armed force; but the king, less infatuated than his councillor, rejected the proposal. Digby was now the object of universal odium and execration; he saw and felt his disgrace and danger, and fled to Holland. Weary at length of inactivity, he ventured to return to England, and contrived to reach York undiscovered, where he had an interview with the king. But on his return to Holland with some confidential communication to the queen, the vessel in which he had embarked was taken at sea and brought into Hull. Here he had the singular address so to move the feelings and enlist the sympathy of Sir John Hotham, then governor of Hull, on his behalf, that he concealed his knowledge of the rank and quality of his prisoner, and connived at his escape. Soon after this, we find him behaving with great gallantry at the battle of Edgehill, and subsequently at the siege of Lichfield; but on a disagreement with Prince Rupert, he threw up his regiment and returned to court. On the death of Falkland, Digby became principal secretary of state to the king; he was about the same time elected high-steward of the university of Oxford. In his new capacity of secretary, Digby exhibited little talent. His project for a treaty between the king and the city of London, wild in itself, was frustrated by the mismanagement of the correspondence relating to it; he was soon after gulled by Brown, who commanded at Abingdon, into negotiations which, while they had for their professed object the delivery of that important place to the king, were entered into by Brown with no other view than to gain time for putting himself into a better state of defence. Again, in October, 1645, he hastily entered into an intercourse with Lesley, and some other commanders of the Scottish forces then in England, without first having made sure of his men, and was greatly surprised when he discovered that the crafty Lesley had imparted their whole correspondence to the parliamentary party. His acceptance of the lieutenant-generalship of the forces north of the Trent, on the dismissal of Prince Rupert, was an equally unadvised and rash step. He had no military talents, but he never discovered the fact until he found himself cut off by Lesley's army from returning into England, after having vainly attempted to form a junction with the marquess of Montrose. In this dilemma, he adopted the sudden resolution of leaving his men and embarking for the Isle of Man, from whence he went to Ireland.

His favourite scheme now was to get the prince of Wales persuaded to raise his standard in Ireland; but failing in this, he retired to France, where the Cardinal Mazarine showed him some little attention. We soon after hear of him as having entered the French army as a volunteer, and commanding a troop of horse, chiefly composed of English gentlemen, in what was called the war of the Frondeurs. In this service he greatly distinguished himself by his personal bravery, and was rewarded by Louis with a very lucrative monopoly. His succession to the earldom of Bristol by the death of his father, completed his title

to estimation in the eyes of his new friends. New singularities, however, soon took possession of him. With a professed love of money amounting to avarice, and whilst he was universally supposed to be amassing enormous wealth, he was indulging in secret in the most amorous dissipation and unbounded extravagance. From this dream of delusion he was at last awoke by the necessity of his circumstances, —he found himself without a penny, and took up a new whim to ascend the highest ladder of ambition. His first idea was to supplant Mazarine as premier of France. With his usual precipitancy and blindness to the most obvious consequences, he instituted all sorts of intrigues to this end, and quickly found himself dismissed from all his employments, and shunned and abandoned by the whole court. He now wandered in a state of positive destitution into the Spanish camp in the Netherlands; but here his fame had preceded him, and none seemed willing to enter into friendship with such an unstable and intriguing character. Yet such was the extraordinary fascination of his manners, and such the address with which he wielded the varied talents which he unquestionably possessed, that in spite of their previous disinclination to intimacy with him, the principal officers in the Spanish army soon found him their trusty companion; and even the celebrated Don John of Austria took him to his bosom as his confidential friend.

His next freak was to embrace Catholicism. How far the man was conscientious in this change of religious profession, it does not become us to judge, on the slender evidence we possess on the subject. It is strange, however, that he never seems to have dreamt of his conversion operating to the prejudice of his political advancement in his own country. On presenting himself in England, he was indeed received with external marks of respect by Charles, but no office either in the state or the court was offered to him; and, in his blindness to what must have been obvious to every other person but himself, he imputed the neglect with which he was treated to the malignant influence of Clarendon. His bitterness soon manifested itself in the charge of high treason which he preferred against the chancellor in the house of peers, on the 10th of July, 1663. The measure, as might have been anticipated by any one else but himself, ended in his own disgrace. He remained for two years concealed, or rather affecting to conceal himself; at last the duchess of Cleveland obtained a private audience for him with Charles. From this period, his public life may be regarded as having closed. He died on the 20th of March, 1677, at Chelsea, where he was buried.

Andrew Marvell.

BORN A. D. 1620.—DIED A. D. 1678.

THIS eminent English statesman and poet, who has been honoured with the name of 'the British Aristides,' was the son of a respectable clergyman of the church of England. He was born at Kingston-upon-Hull, on the 15th of November, 1620, and probably received the first rudiments of education under his father, whom Echard calls 'the facetious Calvinistic minister of Hull.' Young Marvell was early distinguish-

ed for remarkable proficiency and quickness of mind. Indeed, at fifteen years of age, his father sent him to Cambridge, where he was admitted, in 1635, as a student at Trinity college: Mr Cooke, the editor of the edition of his works in 1726, erroneously states this as on the 14th of December, 1633; but the admission-book of Trinity college has the following entry,—p. 266, "13th April, 1638. Andrew Marvell juratus et admissus," which is the record of his election to a scholarship on the foundation. We have no evidence of his attaining academical honours, or towards what profession he directed his studies.

The Jesuits, who were then making converts with industrious proselytism among the young men of distinguished abilities, inveigled Marvell from college to London, where his father followed and rescued him from their fangs; and it appears, that, like every youthful mind of ardent and undisciplined feeling, he went through the usual course of rapidly succeeding extremes and inconsistent opinions. So powerful and vigorous an intellect could not but subside into rational and wise views of the principles of human conduct, and the civil government of man; and in proportion to the difficulty of discovering truth, is the usual estimation of its value.

From the time of his admission on the foundation at Trinity college, in 1638, to the year 1640, in which he lost his father,[1] he appears to have pursued his studies with indefatigable application; that event seems to have given some new character to his views and prospects which, at this distance of time, and with the scanty information of his early life, cannot now be discovered. It is certain, however, that he gave up his residence at college: and, with other students, absented himself so long from his exercises, that the masters and seniors came to a resolution on the 24th of September, 1641, to refuse them the benefits of the college, and gave them three months to make the *amende honorable*. Marvell does not appear to have manifested any penitence, but was publicly expelled for non-residence. This story, however, probably means nothing more than that Marvell, as a scholar, did not take his degree at the regular time, which, by the rules of Trinity college, now vacates of scholarship, and, which probably did at the time and in the instance in question. Captain Thompson, his last biographer, supposes that this intermission of his studies and residence was caused by new snares of the Jesuits; but this is improbable,—a burnt child dreads the fire. It is much more probable, that the political turmoils which preceded the breaking out of the civil wars, engaged his attention; and that a small independency, on the death of his father, relieved him from the necessity of earning his bread in the dry and uninteresting study of technical law. But however this may be, he appears to have extended the plan of his education, in travelling abroad some considerable time, "through most of the polite parts of Europe."

His poem of Flecnoe, a humorous satire on an Irish priest at Rome, Richard Flecnoe, an incorrigible poetaster, is the first recorded instance of his satirical writing; though possessing considerable humour, it is composed in a slovenly metre. It has, however, the

[1] Marvell thus speaks of his father in 'The Rehearsal Transposed':—"He died before the war broke out, having lived with some reputation both for piety and learning; and was, moreover, a conformist to the [illegible] ceremonies of the Church of England, though I confess none of the most over-zealous or eager in them."

merit of originating one of the best satirical poems in the language, Dryden's M'Flecnoe against the 'lambent dulness' of Thomas Shadwell.

It has been supposed that Marvell, at this time, made his first acquaintance with Milton, who was then in Italy; and who, though twelve years older than Marvell, had left Christ's college only four years before the date of the latter's admission. "At Rome," says Hartley Coleridge, "Marvell first saw Milton, then a young and enamoured roamer in classic lands, who was soon to make 'all Europe ring from side to side,' already a poet, not of promise merely, but of high achievement, in the flower of manly beauty, in the vernal warmth of high and generous daring; not even in the proudest days of her Republic, had Rome to boast two nobler youths than Milton and Marvell. No doubt they sympathised in passionate indignation to see priestcraft throned on the seven hills. D'Israeli has written a book upon the 'Quarrels of Authors,' why does not he, or somebody else, write one about the 'Friendships of Authors?' Why is it, that the little good that has been on earth has never found an historian?"

In Paris, Marvell wrote a severe poem on one Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, a whimsical abbot, who pretended to prognosticate the fortunes of people by the character of their hand-writing. After his return home, we hear no more of Marvell for the space of twelve years. Some of his biographers, determined to fill up the chasm, have sent him as secretary to a Turkey embassy; but unluckily it does not appear that Cromwell had any minister at the Ottoman court. This long blank in the biography of such a man, at such an era, is unaccountable; though it cannot be doubted, from subsequent circumstances, that he must have been the warm and bold friend of the popular party. In 1653, by the transcript of a curious letter from him to Oliver Cromwell, the original of which is unknown, the latter, it appears, had appointed him tutor to his nephew. This letter is extremely interesting, and, in some degree, unfolds Marvell's opinion on education; he writes that his pupil was of a "gentle and waxen disposition;" that "he hath in him two things which make youth most easy to be managed,—modesty, which is the bridle to vice—and emulation, which is the spur to virtue." There is more wisdom in the simplicity and tenderness of these sentiments than first meets the eye.

In the second part of the Rehearsal Transposed, he says, in reply to some reproaches of Dr Parker, "I never had any not the remotest relation to public matters, nor correspondence with the persons then predominant, till the year 1657, when, indeed, I entered into an employment, for which I was not altogether improper, and which I consider to be the most innocent and inoffensive towards his majesty's affairs, of any in that usurped and irregular government, to which all men were then exposed." This office was that of assistant Latin secretary to the commonwealth, with Milton; which sufficiently proves he was an accomplished scholar, and of tried integrity. It is true, that the sentence above quoted betrays a great dissatisfaction at the issue of the struggle for liberty in Cromwell's usurpation; and it is more than probable, that Marvell, with Fairfax, and many other of the great characters of the times, in the choice of evils, longed for the Restoration.

From the death of Cromwell till the parliament of the 25th of April,

1660, we have no account of Marvell, although he was elected in 1658 member of the town of Hull. His parliamentary career was remarkable for patriotism and genius; he was the bold advocate of the people, with assassination staring him in the face, "when truth and chastity were crimes in the lewd circle of Charles' siren court," and when a general prostitution of public integrity made patriotism singular and vulgar. He corresponded every post with his constituents, which is said to be the last instance of that valuable relation between representatives and their suffragans. This correspondence still exists in the corporation's records of Hull; and Captain Thompson published a considerable portion in his edition of Marvell's works. The letters are highly curious for their historical and parliamentary information. In one of them we find him thanking the corporation conjunctively with his colleague, for a barrel of ale: "We must give you thanks for the kind present you were pleased to send us, which will occasion us to remember you often; but the quantity is so great that it might make many sober men forgetful." "The most remarkable feature in his parliamentary despatches," says Hartley Coleridge, "is, that he scarcely ever speaks of himself. He says little or nothing of his own aid or opposition to any particular measure, though it is not difficult to perceive the drift of his opinions. To his private affairs he scarcely alludes, unless it be to thank the corporation for some present or inquiry. He, indeed, manifestly writes under some degree of restraint, knowing that the sanctity of a seal is not always respected by a jealous government in perilous times. The first letters, from November 20th to December 29th, refer chiefly to the settlement of the revenue; the excise, half of which was given to the king for life, and the other half granted *in perpetuum* to the Crown; the abolition of the Court of Wards; the £70,000 per month for the disbanding of the army; the tonnage and poundage; the £100,000 to be raised upon lands in the several counties, (the apportioning of which gave rise, as might be expected, to much and angry discussion,) which £100,000 was afterwards levied upon the excise of ale and beer; and the £1,200,000 to be settled upon his majesty. The Act of Indemnity, and the trial of the regicides, transpired before the commencement of the correspondence, and Marvell makes no allusion to either. Perhaps he could not have done so without committing both himself and his correspondents. Of ecclesiastical matters he says but little, though he speaks with approbation 'of that very good bill for erecting and augmenting vicarages out of all impropriations belonging to archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, or any other ecclesiastical person or corporation, to £80 per annum, where the impropriation amounts to £120, and where less, to one moiety of the profits of such impropriations.' He casually mentions, once or twice, the king's declaration in religious matters, which it was proposed to pass into a law; but the bill to that effect was lost by 183 against 157. This declaration was intended to satisfy the Presbyterians; and would, in fact, had it been carried into effect, have grafted the Presbyterian system on Episcopacy, and reduced the hierarchal power to little more than an honourable presidency.

"On the rejection of this measure, Marvell observes, 'so there's an end of that bill; and for those *excellent things* therein, we must henceforth rely only on his majesty's goodness, who, I must needs say, hath

been more ready to give, than we to receive.' In all his earlier letters he speaks respectfully and favourably of Charles and the royal family, and seems to have entertained hopes of a just and equal government, a true and comprehensive amnesty of all past offences between prince and subject, between all sects and parties, between each man and his neighbour.

"In speaking of the measures then on foot for establishing the militia, he advises rather to 'trust to his majesty's goodness,' than to 'confirm a perpetual and exorbitant power by law.' This sentiment not only shows that the patriot was not then ill-affected towards the restored line, but proves him to have been a truly wise and liberal statesman; unlike too many champions of liberty, who, in their dread of prerogative, have unwarily strengthened the tyranny of law, a thing without bowels or conscience, and overlooks the chronic diseases of custom, which slowly but surely reduce the body politic to a condition of impotence and dotage."

He is reported to have spoken but seldom in the house, but to have possessed great personal influence over the members of the commons, and also with the peers. His exertions in favour of religious liberty, and against the excise, were particularly noted. In 1663 he retired from his parliamentary duties, and accompanied Lord Carlisle as secretary to Russia; but he appears to have accepted this appointment rather from private friendship than on public grounds. He continued there and in Sweden and Denmark, nearly two years. On the 15th of October, 1665, we find him attending the parliament at Oxford. From this period to October 1674, Marvell's correspondence gives a regular account of the proceedings of the two houses; and the prorogation of parliament, in November, 1675, terminates his parliamentary labours.

We have no room here to particularize, or quote the various prose works in which he boldly advocated the public cause. He was proof against every assault on his invincible public integrity. Neither the personal compliments of the king himself who delighted in the wit of his society,—nor the golden offers of Charles's treasurer, Danby, who, with difficulty found him in his "elevated retreat, in the second floor of a court in the Strand," the very day he borrowed a guinea,—could daunt his courage or stay his opposition to the government, much less tempt him to prostitute his pen in its behalf. His personal satire against the king himself, his tracts against popery and the ministry, his desperate literary battles with Parker and others, repeatedly endangered his life. But it was all to no purpose on the part of his enemies; he was a rock amidst the foaming ocean; his Roman virtue was incorruptible. He at last died suddenly on the 29th of July, 1678, while attending a public meeting in the town-hall of Hull—it is supposed by poison, as his health had been remarkably good previous to his seizure. Thus, probably, was the threat actually fulfilled,—"If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Dr Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat!"

> "But whether fate or art untwined thy thread
> Remains in doubt; Fame's lasting register
> Shall leave his name enrolled as great as those
> Who at Philippi for their country fell."

As a specimen of Marvell's prose style, the following ironical observations on the invention of printing must suffice :—"The press (that villanous engine), invented much about the same time with the Reformation, hath done more mischief to the discipline of our church than the doctrine can make amends for. It was a happy time, when all learning was in manuscript, and some little officer, like our author, did keep the keys of the library. When the clergy needed no more knowledge than to read the liturgy, and the laity no more clerkship than to save them from hanging. But now, since printing came into the world, such is the mischief, that a man cannot write a book, but presently he is answered. Could the press but at once be conjured to obey only an *imprimatur*, our author might not disdaine, perhaps, to be one of its most zealous patrons. There have been wayes found out to banish ministers, to find not only the people, but even the grounds and fields where they assembled, in conventicles; but no art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of letters. Two or three brawney fellows in a corner, with meer ink and elbow grease, do more harm than a hundred systematical divines, with their sweaty preaching. And, what is a strange thing, the very spunges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole book, and were anciently used for that purpose, are become now the instruments to make them legible. Their ugly printing letters look but like so many rotten tooth drawers; and yet these rascally operators of the press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a set, and as biting and talkative, as ever. O, printing! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind!—that lead, when moulded into bullets, is not so mortal as when formed into letters! There was a mistake, sure, in the story of Cadmus; and the serpents' teeth which he sowed were nothing else but the letters which he invented. The first essay that was made towards this art, was in single characters upon iron, wherewith, of old, they stigmatized slaves and remarkable offenders; and it was of good use, sometimes to brand a schismatic; but a bulky Dutchman diverted it quite from its first institution, and contriving those innumerable *syntagmes* of alphabets, hath pestered the world ever since, with the gross bodies of their German divinity. One would have thought in reason, that a Dutchman might have contented himself only with the wine-press."

The following fine lines are from his Horatian ode to Oliver Cromwell :—

"Though justice against fate complain,
And plead the ancient rights in vain:
But those do hold or break,
As men are strong or weak.
Nature, that hateth emptiness,
Allows of penetration less;
And therefore must make room
Where greater spirits come.
What field of all the civil war,
Where his were not the deepest scar?
And Hampton shows what part
He had of wiser art:
When twining subtle fear with hope,
He wove a net of such a scope,

That Charles himself might chace
To Carisbrook's narrow case;
That thence the royal actor borne,
The tragic scaffold might adorne,
While round the armed bands,
Did clap their bloody hands:
He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene;
But with his keener eye,
The axe's edge did trye.
Nor call'd the Gods with vulgar spight,
To vindicate his helplesse right:
But bow'd his comely head
Downe, as upon a bed.
This was that memorable houre,
Which first assured the forced power;
So when they did designe
The capitol's first line,
A bleeding head where they begun
Did fright the architects to run.

Sir Henry Blount.

BORN A. D. 1602.—DIED A. D. 1682.

SIR HENRY BLOUNT figured in a critical period of his country's history, both as a politician and a man of letters. It was his good fortune also to enjoy the confidence of the ruling parties successively. He was the third son of Sir Thomas Pope Blount of Tittenhanger, in the county of Hertford, a cadet of the very ancient house of the Blounts of Sodington in Worcestershire. He was born in December 1602. He received the rudiments of education at the school of St Alban's, whence he removed to Trinity college, Oxford, in 1616. On leaving Oxford, he went to Gray's-inn, where for some time he applied himself to the study of the law. In 1634 he went abroad, for the purpose of enlarging his acquaintance with mankind, and visiting the most celebrated cities of France, Spain, and Italy. His travels soon begot in him an ardent desire to see more of the world, and, having made acquaintance with a Turk at Venice, he resolved to visit the Turkish dominions in company with him. With this view he embarked, on the 7th of May 1634, on board a Venetian galley, in which he sailed to Spalatro, and thence continued his journey by land to Constantinople. From Constantinople he went to Egypt and visited Grand Cairo. Returning to England in 1636, he published an account of his travels, and became known to society by the appellation of 'the great traveller.' His book is entitled, "A Voyage into the Levant, being a brief relation of a journey lately performed from England, by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt, unto Grand Cairo; with particular observations concerning the modern condition of the Turks, and other people under that empire." It was first published in 4to in 1636. In 1638, a third edition appeared in the same size. Wood says it was so well esteemed abroad that it had been translated into French and Dutch. But the author of the introductory discourse to Churchill's 'Collection of voyages,' says of Blount's works: "It is very concise,

and without any curious observations, or any notable descriptions. The account,' the same writer adds, "of the religion and customs of these people, is only a brief collection of some other travellers; the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on." We suspect the latter is the juster criticism of the two. Blount travelled too hastily to furnish a very accurate account of the different countries through which he passed. He left himself no time to correct first impressions, and he gave the fruits of his observations with a precipitancy little characteristic of an accurate and pains-taking thinker. However, his work served to introduce him to the notice of Charles I. who appointed him one of his gentlemen pensioners, and, in 1638, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

On the breaking out of the civil war, he followed the example of the elder branches of his family, who were all eminent royalists, and attended the king to York and Oxford. After the battle of Edgehill, he returned to London, and succeeded in making his peace with the dominant party, whose confidence he even gained, as we soon after find him appointed member of a committee for ascertaining and remedying the existing abuses in the administration of the law. He was also appointed commissioner from Cromwell for the trial of Don Pantalion Saa, the brother of the Portuguese ambassador, charged with murder. His colleagues on this occasion were Dr Richard Yorick, Dr William Clarke, and Dr William Turner, all eminent civilians. In 1655 his name was inserted in the list of commissioners appointed to consider the trade and navigation of the commonwealth, and how its commerce might be best encouraged and promoted. His services were of considerable value on this occasion.

On the Restoration, he was appointed high-sheriff of the county of Hertford, which office he filled until his death in 1682. He appears to have been a man of rather an acute though ill-ordered intellect, fond of novelties and paradox. Wood supposes that the 'Anima Mundi,' published by his son Charles Blount in 1679, was in a great measure written by the father, who was known to have occasionally indulged in metaphysical speculations somewhat akin to those of Spinosa.

Lord William Russell.

BORN A. D. 1639.—DIED A. D. 1683.

THIS distinguished leader in England's great struggle for civil and religious freedom, was the third son of William, the fifth earl of Bedford, and was born on the 29th of September, 1639. On the death of his elder brother, Francis, he became Lord Russell. He received his education at Cambridge, after which he went abroad, and resided some time at Augsburg. He spent the winter of 1658 at Paris, and returned to England in the following year. Upon the Restoration, he was elected member for Tavistock, and appears to have entered pretty freely into the gaieties of Charles's dissolute court. It was not till after his marriage, which took place in 1669, that he "applied himself with earnestness, both in meditation and action, to fulfil the duties of a Christian." His wife was the daughter of Wriothesley, earl of Southamp-

ton, and widow of Lord Vaughan. She was an amiable and highly accomplished woman, and probably exercised a very material influence on the character of her second husband.

Lord William represented the county of Bedford in four successive parliaments; but, during the first twelve years that he sat in the house, he never joined in the debates. It was not till the year 1672, when the great party was formed for the purpose of preserving the liberties of the nation against a secret French alliance and a Popish successor, that Lord Russell stept forward, prepared to sustain a glorious part in the struggle which followed. His 'factious connection'—as it has been called—on this occasion with Lord Cavendish, Sir W. Coventry, Col. Birch, Mr Porole, Mr Littleton, and some others, has been very ably vindicated by Lord John Russell, in his 'Life of his kinsmen.'[1] "There are persons," says the noble biographer, "who think the name of party implies blame; who, whilst they consider it natural and laudable that men should combine, for any other object of business or pleasure, and whilst they are lavish in bestowing their confidence on government, which must in its nature be a party, find something immoral and pernicious in every union of those who join together to save their country from unnecessary burdens or illegal oppression. To such persons Lord Russell's conduct must appear indefensible. But to all those who allow that party may sometimes be useful, and opposition often even necessary, I may safely appeal for the justification of his conduct. To overthrow a scheme, so formed as that of Charles and James, it was not sufficient to give honest but unconnected votes in the house of commons. It was necessary to oppose public discussion to secret intrigue, and persevering union to interested combination; it was necessary to overlook the indiscreet violence of partisans, to obtain the fruits of the zeal from which it sprung; it was necessary to sink every little difference in the great cause of the Protestant religion, and our ancient freedom; in fine, it was the duty of the lovers of their country to counteract system by system, and numbers by numbers. It may likewise be remarked, that the manner in which this party opposed the crown, was characteristic of the nation to which they belonged. In any of the continental monarchies, a design on the part of the king, to alter the religion and the laws of the kingdom, would have been met either with passive submission, insurrection, or assassination. For in those countries, men who did not dare to speak the truth to their sovereign, were not afraid to take up arms against him. But in England, the natural and constitutional method of resisting public measures, hurtful to the liberty or welfare of the people, is by a parliamentary opposition. This was the only course which Lord Russell and his friends ever thought of adopting, and they did it under circumstances extremely discouraging; for they could expect little support in a parliament chosen in the heat of the restoration, and still less assistance from a press restrained by the curb of a license act."[2]

Lord Russell made his first speech in parliament on the 22d of January, 1674. The house had already refused the supplies, and the duke and Lord Clifford had been removed from their respective offices

[1] London, 1820, 2 vols. 8vo.
[2] Life of Lord W. Russell, vol. i. p. 63, 64.

of high-admiral and high-treasurer; the redress of grievances now occupied its attention. Lord Russell, in his speech, complained of the shutting of the exchequer, and of the attack on the Smyrna fleet. He accused the ministers of receiving pensions from France, and called upon all good and true men to look to the interests of their country. The opposition proved effectual. Charles found himself necessitated to consult his commons upon the expediency of making peace; the alliance with France was broken; the ministers of the crown were struck with a salutary dread of consequences to themselves, and the king had no longer a council to whom he could confide his pernicious machinations. After a prorogation of fourteen months, parliament again met in April, 1675, when Lord Russell moved an address to remove Earl Danby from the king's presence, on the ground of mismanagement at the treasury. Danby escaped for this time; and Charles renewed his shameful secret treaties with the French king, who had already pensioned his profligate ministers. During the session of parliament which met in January, 1678, an interview took place between Lords Russell and Hollis, and the marquess de Rouvigny, long the head of the protestant interest in France, who had been sent over by Louis to confer with the popular party, which has been made the ground of a malignant charge by Dalrymple, who attempts to represent Russell as holding corrupt intercourse with the French court at this time. From such a charge it is hardly necessary to vindicate the memory of Russell. Barillon himself admits that in the first interview with Rouvigny—who, it should be remembered, was Lady Russell's cousin—Lord Russell indignantly refused the offers of money which the agent of Louis was authorised to make.[3] In the list of persons to whom he had distributed bribes, which Barillon transmitted to his court, the name of Lord Russell does not occur; and even if it had been mentioned, we should have felt strongly disposed to suspect the agent's dishonesty rather than Russell's disloyalty. The English lords openly expressed to Rouvigny their want of confidence in his master; but on being assured by him that Louis did not feel it to be for his interest to make the king of England absolute, they did enter into an agreement to hinder, if possible, the war with France, on the condition that Louis would compel Charles to dissolve the existing parliament. There was nothing criminal in this; it was only attempting to give to foreign interference already admitted, a salutary direction, and making Charles's intrigues the means of his own defeat. Besides, a dissolution of parliament was anxiously desired by every patriotic member of the house; the agreement with Rouvigny, therefore, was in perfect consistency with the patriotic professions of Russell.

At length the parliament was dissolved, in January, 1679, but not through foreign interference. The invention of the Popish plot had alarmed the members. The duke himself had been threatened with a motion for his removal from the king's presence and counsels, and Danby had been impeached of high treason. The former supported the dissolution from the dread that parliament might adopt ulterior measures affecting his succession to the throne; the latter readily came

[3] Milord Russell repondit qu'il servit bien faché avoir commerce avec des gens capables d'être gagnés par de l'argent.

to an understanding with the country-party that in the event of a dissolution his withdrawal from public affairs would suffice to shelter him from any more serious consequences. The elections turned out more adverse to the duke than he had anticipated. In April, 1679, Lord Russell, admitted to a new privy-council, formed at the suggestion of Sir W. Temple, gave his opinion and vote in favour of the plan of limitation in the event of a Popish successor; but he afterwards saw reason to alter his views on this point, and, after his retirement from the council, he seconded Colonel Titus in his motion for the appointment of a committee to draw up a bill "to disable James, duke of York, from inheriting the imperial crown of this realm." The lords rejected this bill after it had passed the commons; but the country party continued to press it, and Russell called upon the commons to refuse supplies. A prorogation took place in January, 1681, which was followed by a dissolution. The next parliament met at Oxford on the 21st of the same month. On the 26th, the exclusion bill was again introduced on the motion of Sir R. Clayton, seconded by Lord Russell. Charles now resolved to govern without a parliament, and the reign of terror commenced.

It was this state of affairs which led to the conspiracy of the dukes of Monmouth and Argyle. Lord Russell associated with the conspirators for the sole purpose of procuring the exclusion of the duke, and redress of grievances. But the plot was discovered about the same time with the Rye-house affair, and Lord Russell, being apprehended, was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, on the 13th of July, 1683. No proof was adduced on the trial either of his designing the death of the king, or even assenting to it; and, upon the showing of his enemies themselves, both the spirit and letter of our laws were violated in his condemnation. In the outset of the trial, one of those moving circumstances which abound in the catastrophe of this gallant nobleman's story, occurred. When told by the chief-justice that he might employ any of his servants to act as his secretary during the progress of his trial, he replied, "My wife is here, my lord, to do it." Lady Russell had announced to him her intention of being present the night before; and she nobly fulfilled the arduous task which she took upon her. Lord Russell, after his condemnation, was prevailed upon to petition for his life; he did so with reluctance, and without the least hope of success. As he folded up the packet, he remarked, "This will be printed, and will be selling about the streets when I am dead." The last week of his existence was spent in serious preparation. Bishops Burnet and Tillotson were much with him. On the evening before his execution, he took a last leave of his children; his wife supped with him, at his request; he talked very cheerfully with her, and kissed her four or five times before she left him. When she was gone, he said, "Now the bitterness of death is past," and dwelt for some time in a strain of deep but subdued tenderness, on her many excellencies, and her unshaken attachment to him in his extremity. His servant requested he might sit up in his chamber while he slept. This he refused, and was locked up between eleven and twelve, leaving orders to be called at four. When his servant came at that hour, he found him sound asleep, and shortly after being awakened, he fell asleep again. Dr Burnet coming in woke him, saying, "What, my lord, asleep!" "Yes, doctor," he

said, "I have slept heartily since one o'clock." He then desired him to go to his wife, to say that he was well, and had slept well, and hoped she had done so. After his speech on the scaffold, and some time spent in devotion, he knelt down, and prayed three or four minutes by himself. He then undressed himself, and took off his cravat, without the least change of countenance. "When he had lain down," says Dr Burnet, "I once looked at him, and saw no change in his looks; and, though he was still lifting up his hands, there was no trembling, though in the moment in which I looked the executioner happened to be laying his axe to his neck to direct him to take aim. I thought it touched him, but am sure he seemed not to mind it." The executioner, at two strokes, cut off his head. Thus fell, to gratify the revenge of a miscreant, one of England's best and greatest citizens. It is said that Charles wished to save him, but "was forced to consent to his death, otherwise he must have broke with his brother."

We do not regard Lord William Russell as a man of brilliant talents. It was the moral weight of his character which gave him his influence with the nation. Burnet, who knew him well, has left the following portrait of him:—"Lord Russell was a man of great candour, and of general reputation; universally beloved and trusted; of a generous and obliging temper. He had given such proofs of an undaunted courage, and of an unshaken firmness, that I never knew any man have so entire a credit in the nation as he had. He quickly got out of some of the disorders into which the court had drawn him, and, ever after that, his life was unblemished in all respects. He had from his first education an inclination to favour the nonconformists, and wished the laws could have been made easier to them, or they more pliant to the law. He was a slow man, and of little discourse, but he had a true judgment, when he considered things at his own leisure: his understanding was not defective; but his virtues were so eminent, that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other."

The life of the good, the noble-minded, the unfortunate Lady Russell, is so identified with that of her illustrious lord, and the circumstances of his trial and death, that it is unnecessary to devote a separate memoir to the record of her life and virtues, though she deserves to live for ever in the remembrance of her countrywomen, as an ornament and model of the sex. "The peculiarity which is most striking in Lady Russell," remarks the biographer of her husband, "is, that she was esteemed and consulted by her contemporaries, and has been admired and esteemed by posterity, without any ambitious efforts of her own. She neither sought to shine in the world by the extent of her capacity, nor to display, by affected retirement, the elevation of her soul; and when circumstances obliged her to come forward on the stage of history, she showed herself in the appropriate character of a wife and a mother." She was the second daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, by his first wife, Rachael de Rouvigny. She was born about the year 1636; and in her seventeenth or eighteenth year was given in marriage to Francis, Lord Vaughan, eldest son of the earl of Carberry. She early became a widow; for in 1667 she appears to have received the addresses of Mr Russell, then only a younger brother. She survived her lord forty years. Her eldest son, the duke of Bedford, was snatched away by the small-pox,

in the vigour of life. Her second daughter, afterwards duchess of Rutland, died in child-bed within a year of her brother's decease; her eldest daughter, the duchess of Devonshire, was left singly to close her mother's eyes, on the 29th of September, 1723, at the great age of 86. On the accession of the prince and princess of Orange, one of the first acts of the government was the reversal of Lord Russell's attainder, while his widow became the object of universal respect and consideration. Tillotson applied for her sanction of his acceptance of the dignity offered him by King William. Lady Sunderland, the wife of one who had been a principal adviser of Charles II., at the time of Russell's execution, lived to solicit Lady Russell's intercession; and even the duchess of Marlborough thought it necessary to assure herself of Lady Russell's approbation in the critical juncture of advising the princess Anne to acquiesce in the settlement of the crown on the prince of Orange. There appears to be no other foundation, however, than this circumstance, for Madame De Stael's assertion, that Lady Russell was often consulted by King William's ministers, and by Queen Anne herself, on political measures.

Algernon Sydney.

BORN A. D. 1622.—DIED A. D. 1683.

THE name of ALGERNON SYDNEY ranks among the most illustrious of which the annals of England can boast, and yet his life was distinguished by no extraordinary actions,—he was neither a leader in the camp nor the senate,—his family influence was but small—and his fortune barely competent to his maintenance. It was the virtues of his personal character alone that invested him with that moral dignity and that celebrity which, in spite of the affected disregard of some, have made his name immortal on earth.

Algernon Sydney was the second son of Robert, earl of Leicester, who was nephew of the renowned Sir Philip Sydney. He was born in 1622.[1] In 1636, Lord Leicester was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France; his family went with him to Paris, where, and subsequently in Italy, Algernon had an opportunity of receiving a very liberal education. His stern love of country, which in him was rather a platonic sentiment than a cherished passion, is the more remarkable, it has been justly observed, as it can scarcely be said to have grown in its native soil. Being destined for the military profession, application was first made to the prince of Orange for a troop of horse for him in the Dutch service; but this not being obtained, his father, on being appointed to the government of Ireland, sent him into that kingdom, with his elder brother, Lord Lisle, as a captain in his own regiment of horse, in which service he highly distinguished himself against the rebels. After two years of service in Ireland, he was recalled to England, where he immediately espoused the popular cause, though his father adhered to the king, and was appointed to the command of a troop in Manchester's army. In the course of a few

[1] Some have said 1617, but Meadley has corrected this error.

weeks he obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and fought with much gallantry at the head of his commander's regiment in the battle of Marston Moor. On his recovery from the wounds which he had received in this action, he was promoted to the command of a regiment of horse in Sir Thomas Fairfax's army. "Sanctus amor patriæ dat animum," was the motto which he chose for his banner, and which became the watchword of his life.

In 1646, he was appointed commander of the cavalry forces in Ireland, but the service was much impeded by a misunderstanding with Lord Inchiquin, and Sydney returned to England in 1647. In 1648, he was named governor of Dover castle, and, when it was determined to bring the king to trial, he was appointed one of the commissioners; he attended several of the preliminary consultations in the painted chamber, but he retired into the country before the unhappy monarch was arraigned. It is proper, however, to add, that Sydney, considering the king as having been guilty of violating the constitution, and putting his subjects unlawfully to death, approved the sentence of the court. When at Copenhagen, after the revolution, it was observed to him one day in company, that he had not been guilty of the late king's death, he indignantly replied: "Guilty! do you call that guilt? Why, it was the justest and the bravest action that ever was done in England or any where else!" But when, during his exile, a plan to assassinate the prince of Wales was submitted to him, he expressed his unqualified abhorrence of the proposal, and prevented the execution of it.

In 1651, Sydney was elected a member of the council of state. In this situation he continued to act until Cromwell, under the title of protector, dismissed his republican co-operators, and virtually seized the sovereignty, In Lord Leicester's journal, we find the following curious memorandum:—"Wednesday, April 20th, 1653. It happened that Algernon Sydney sat next to the speaker on the right hand. The general said to Harrison, 'Put him out;' Harrison spake to Sydney to go out, but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The general said again, 'Put him out;' then Harrison and Worsley put their hands upon Sydney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out; then he rose and went towards the door." Sydney now retired to Penshurst, and is supposed to have employed some part of his leisure in composing, or at least sketching, his matchless 'Discourses on Government.' In 1654, he visited the Hague, where he gained the acquaintance of the illustrious De Witt. At the restoration of the long parliament, he returned to England, and accepted an appointment to go with Sir Robert Honeywood and Bulstrode Whitelock, to mediate a peace between Denmark and Sweden. By the time this negotiation was concluded, Charles II. had been restored to the throne of his father, and Sydney, though strongly urged by Monk to return, retired to Italy, after explaining the motives of his conduct in a long letter to a friend, of which we shall quote some parts: "I am sorry," he says, "I cannot in all things conform myself to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I should willingly submit my interest to theirs; but when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over as soon as the act of indemnity is passed, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own judgment

and choice. I confess we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think that being exiled from it is a great evil, and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which used to be esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty which we hoped to establish oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty, which we hoped God, by our hands, would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the parliament, court, and army, corrupted; the people enslaved; all things vendible; no man safe, but by such evil and infamous means, as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see, that all I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety? Ah! no; better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty; or at least not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life but by doing an indecent thing, he shows me the time is come wherein I should resign it: and when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shows me, I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the king glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers; let them rejoice in their subtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps, they may find, the king's glory is their shame; his plenty the people's misery; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for destroying a nation, which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world; and that others may find, they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery, a dear price paid for that which is not worth the life that is accompanied with it. The honour of [illegible] have ever been in making the nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the interest of it, to satisfy the lusts of one man.—When the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I will stay away till the storm be over-passed. In short, where Vane, Lambert, Haselrig, cannot live in safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in England, I should have expected a lodging with them; or though they may be the first, as being more eminent than I, I must expect to follow their example in suffering as I have been their companion in acting.—I have not learnt to make my own peace, by persecuting and betraying my brethren, more innocent and worthy than myself. I must live by just means, and serve to just ends, or not at all.

After such a manifestation of the ways by which it is intended the king shall govern, I should have renounced any place of favour, into which the kindness and industry of my friends might have advanced me, when I found those that were better than I, were only fit to be destroyed.—My thoughts as to king and state depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prosperity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary"

The fugitive patriot, with a heart secretly bleeding for the degradation of his own country, made himself a curious and acute spectator of the intrigues and contentions of foreign courts. His patrimony had been greatly reduced by an advance which he had made to his brother-in-law, Lord Strangford, and an unfortunate difference having taken place with his father, his pecuniary means were altogether of a very limited and uncertain kind. Yet he bore his hard fortune with a degree of equanimity and patience which his persecutors might have envied. The following passage, which occurs in one of his letters, shows what a noble and vigorous mind Sydney possessed, and how independent he truly was of aid from without:—"He that is naked, alone, and without help in the open sea, is less unhappy in the night when he may hope the land is near, than in the day when he sees it is not, and that there is no possibility of safety Whilst I was at Rome, I wrote letters without much pain, since I had not so divided my time as to be very sensible of losing an hour or two; now, I am alone, time grows much more precious unto me, and I am very unwilling to lose any part of it." In 1663, he left Italy, and travelled through Switzerland, where he spent some weeks with his early friend Ludlow, and his companions in exile. He then proceeded to Brussels, where he occupied himself for a time with a plan for engaging in the service of Austria with a body of troops which he proposed to raise from among his old republican companions at home. The scheme was rejected by the English cabinet, and Sydney next urged the French government to invade England, for the purpose of restoring the commonwealth. This project also came to nothing, but Sydney was allowed to live quietly two years under the avowed protection of Louis XIV. An anecdote is related of him strikingly characteristic of his haughty and stubborn independence, at the time when he was enjoying an asylum, and perhaps experiencing the bounty of this self-willed monarch:—"The king of France having taken a fancy to a fine English horse, on which he had seen Sydney mounted at a chace, requested that he would part with it at his own price. On his declining the proposal, the king, determined to take no denial, gave orders to tender him money, or to seize the horse. Sydney, on hearing this, instantly took a pistol and shot it, saying, 'that his horse was born a free creature, had served a free man, and should not be mastered by a king of slaves."[2]

In 1677, by the interest of the earl, his father, he obtained permission to visit England. His father died soon after his arrival, and a long and vexatious suit in chancery, with his elder brother, compelled him to convert what he had intended as a temporary into a permanent

[2] Meadley, p. 151.

residence in England. Finding himself likely to remain a citizen of England, he made several attempts to get into parliament, in which he was strenuously supported by the celebrated quaker, William Penn; but court influence and intrigue prevailed against him, and frustrated the efforts of the liberal party to place such a valuable man in parliament. Sydney now knew himself to be both feared and hated by the government; he felt also its snares to be around him, but he quailed not at the imminent peril of his situation. With the scaffold and the axe almost before him, he pursued his undaunted career as the public opponent of whatever measures appeared to him pernicious to the national interests. When, in 1681, Charles dissolved the parliament at Oxford, and put forth a declaration, or appeal to the public, in vindication of his conduct, the opposition instantly met it with a counter-declaration, the rough draught of which is said to have come from the pen of Sydney. He also made himself conspicuous by his opposition to Sir William Temple's scheme of an alliance between England, Holland, and Spain, against France. In the progress of this affair, he is accused of having accepted two sums of five hundred guineas from Barillon, a French minister at the court of London. On this point there is no express evidence; and the following just and candid observations of his biographer, Mr Meadley, deserve consideration:—"It is no wonder that Barillon should avail himself of the opportunity of conciliating his favourable dispositions, as Rouvigny had attempted with Lord Russell in a preceding year: and it was no easy matter for Sydney to decline altogether the advances of a minister, whose country had afforded him an asylum in the time of need. The discovery, however, of their intercourse, as it appears in Barillon's correspondence with his sovereign, has been thought to cast a shade over his character, and belie the integrity of his mind. And yet, no evidence has been adduced to show, that he countenanced any one of that ambassador's projects, which was hostile to the interest of his own country, or avowed a single sentiment inconsistent with his former life, Barillon, indeed, explicitly declares, that, though exposed to suspicion from his connection with Lord Sunderland, Sydney's principles were still unchanged.

"It must, however, be conceded, that the receipt of two sums of money, with which Barillon has separately charged him, admits not of an easy defence; though much, no doubt, depends on the manner in which such sums were accepted, and the purposes to which they were applied. There is, in fact, an essential difference between the mercenary hireling who betrays his country, and the man who receives money, from a quarter otherwise objectionable, at a great national crisis, and solely on a public account. But, whilst the demerit of the action arises chiefly from the motives of the receiver, no explanatory documents have hitherto appeared: Barillon simply charging Sydney with the sums in question, as a part of his secret disbursements. The ambassador, indeed, insinuates, that, having hitherto given Sydney no more money than had been expressly ordered, he had by no means satisfied his demands; but should find it easy to engage him altogether in his master's interest, by advancing a still larger sum.

"As, in estimating the credibility of any single witness, every thing turns on the character and situation of the party; without disputing the

general authenticity of Barillon's statements, his fidelity may be fairly questioned, in a case where he was doubly interested to deceive. He might at once be induced to enhance the importance of his own services, by including such a man as Algernon Sydney amongst his adherents; and to charge, as the price of his engagement, sums which had been otherwise appropriated: a suspicion which derives additional weight from two passages in the Letters of Madame de Sevigné, where he is said to have grown rich in his employ.

"Or, if Sydney received money from this minister, it was doubtless for some public purpose, as he is understood to have made occasional disbursements among his own inferior partizans. Even on this less probable view of the subject, his character may be free from stain; unless it be received as an indisputable maxim, that, in resisting the oppression of an arbitrary government, it is immoral to accept of foreign aid. In the general conduct of nations, it has rarely happened, that the best purposes have been effected by the exertions of the pure and well-principled alone; and a man like Sydney should not be too harshly censured, if, in endeavouring to maintain his country's freedom, he occasionally sought for, or derived assistance from, less disinterested and ingenuous minds.—

"Of the arrogant pretensions of Barillon, Sydney had been long aware; and, in alluding to his mistaken views of his own influence, had spoken of him to Savile in the language of unfeigned contempt. 'You know,' said he, July 10, 1679, 'Monsieur de Barillon governs us, if he be not mistaken; but he seems not to be so much pleased with that, as to find his *embonpoint* increased, by the moistness of our air, by frequently clapping his hands upon his thighs, showing the delight he hath in the sharpness of the sound, that testifies the plumpness and hardness of his flesh; and certainly, if this climate did not nourish him better than any other, the hairs of his nose, and nails of his fingers, could not grow so fast, as to furnish enough of the one to pull out, and of the other to cut off, in all companies, which being done, he picks his ears with as good a grace as my Lord La.' It is probable, therefore, that Sydney merely tolerated the intercourse of this minister, without entering into any of his views of policy, as they regarded the interest of France alone."

We must now hasten over some lesser incidents in Sydney's life, to notice, in a few words, his arrest, trial, and execution, in 1683, on the pretence of his being concerned in the Rye-house plot, a scheme for the assassination of the king and the duke of York, on their return from Newmarket. He was brought to trial soon after sentence had been pronounced on Lord William Russell, and though no evidence appeared against him, the bloody Jefferies did not hesitate to convict him of a specific charge on the testimony of his unuttered and unpublished thoughts and opinions, as gathered from his manuscripts which were seized. Sydney defended himself with undaunted fortitude, and in the short interval between his trial and execution, drew up an appeal to posterity on the injustice of his fate. How well that appeal has been responded to let the oft-repeated popular sentiment bear witness—"The cause for which Hampden bled in the field, and Russell and Sydney on the scaffold!"

On the morning of the 7th of December, he was led forth to the

place of execution on Tower-hill. He ascended the scaffold with a firm step and undaunted mien. Having made the necessary preparations, he kneeled down, and after a solemn pause of a few moments, calmly laid his head upon the block. Being asked by the executioner if he should rise again, he instantly replied, "Not till the general resurrection.—Strike on!" The executioner obeyed the mandate, and severed his head from his body at a blow.

Finch, Earl of Nottingham.

BORN A. D. 1621.—DIED A. D. 1682.

HENEAGE FINCH, one of the best lawyers on the side of the court during the contest with the parliament, was born on the 23d of December, 1621. His father was speaker of the house of commons in the first parliament of Charles I. Heneage was educated at Westminster and Christ church. He studied law in the Inner Temple, and soon acquired a very extensive practice as chamber-counsel; to which line he prudently confined himself during the domination of the commonwealth-men.

Immediately after the Restoration, he was named solicitor-general. In April, 1661, he was elected to serve in parliament for the university of Oxford. His career in the house was as unpopular as high church and royal prerogative principles could make it; but it served to secure for him the confidence of the king. On the 9th of November, 1673, he was made keeper of the great seal, upon the dismissal of Shaftesbury. On the 10th of the succeeding January, the title of Baron Finch of Daventry, in the county of Northampton, was conferred on him; and in December, 1675, he received the title of lord-high-chancellor. On the 12th of May, 1681, he was raised to the dignity of earl of Nottingham. He died in the following year.

To the above bare chronological outline little can be added. Finch was a good lawyer, and a discreet man, but he neither possessed nor advanced pretensions to the character of a leader in the troublous times in which his lot was cast. Lord Orford says of him, and with justice, that he was 'a great temporiser.' Yet Burnet allows that he was 'a man of probity, and well versed in the laws.' The truth seems to be that where interest did not intervene, Finch, like most other men moving in the eyes of the public, acted circumspectly and with a due regard to the laws which he was appointed to administer; but we can discover no traces in his history and character of that intrepid virtue which distinguished so many of his political and professional contemporaries. His speech, on passing judgment on Lord Stafford, would alone suffice, if no other evidence of the fact was on record, to show that his mind was under some of the worst influences which a servant of the crown is exposed to. His speeches and discourses on the trials of the regicides might also be referred to in proof of the same remark.

Lord Guilford.

BORN A. D. 1640.—DIED A. D. 1685.

Francis North, afterwards Baron Guilford, and lord-keeper of the great seal, was the second son of Dudley, Lord North. His earliest education was received under a Presbyterian schoolmaster. He was then removed to Bury school under the superintendence of 'a cavalier master.' and in 1653 became a fellow-commoner of St John's college, Cambridge. Being destined for the bar, he was admitted of the Middle Temple in 1665. Here he studied with great diligence, and on being called to the bar was much noticed and encouraged by the attorney-general Sir Geoffrey Palmer, who often employed him to search authorities for him. He made his first public appearance in arguing the writ of error brought on the conviction of Hollis and the other five members. The talent which he displayed on this occasion procured for him the rank of king's counsel on the recommendation of the duke of York. His practice now rapidly increased; and, on the 23d of May, 1671, he was appointed solicitor-general on the elevation of Sir Edward Turner, and, according to custom, received the honour of knighthood. While he held this office he was returned to parliament as member for Lynn; and on the promotion of Sir Heneage Finch to the woolsack, Sir Francis succeeded him as attorney-general. Practice now "flowed upon him like an *orage*, enough to overset one that had not extraordinary readiness in business." Yet with all his professional engagements, he found time for more liberal studies, and acquired considerable knowledge of the modern languages.

On the death of Sir John Vaughan, chief-justice of the common pleas, Sir Francis North was promoted to the vacant dignity. He now applied himself to the reformation of the abuses which existed in the practice of that court, and had a principal hand in framing the famous statute of frauds and perjuries, of which Lord Nottingham is reported to have said that every line was worth a subsidy. "He was," says his admiring biographer and younger brother, Roger North, "very good at waylaying the craft of counsel, for he, as they say, had been in the oven himself, and knew where to look for the pasty." On the formation of the Whig administration under Sir William Temple, Sir Francis was constituted a member of the privy council. On the death of Lord-keeper Finch, Sir Francis, after some dallying with Rochester, received the seal from the hand of the king himself, with this warning, "Here, my lord, take it; you will find it heavy!" "The evening that we spent upon this errand to Whitehall," says Roger North, "some of us stayed in expectation of his coming home, which was not till near ten; little doubting the change that was to happen. At last he came with more splutter than ordinary, divers persons (for honour) waiting, and others attending to wish him joy, and a rabble of officers that belonged to the seal, completing the crowd which filled his little house. His lordship, by despatching these incumbrances, got himself clear as fast as he could, and then I alone staid with him. He took a turn or two in his dining-room and said nothing, by which I perceived his spirits were

very much soiled; therefore I kept silence also, expecting what would follow. There was no need of asking when the purse with the great seal lay upon the table. At last his lordship's discourses and actions discovered that he was in a very great passion, such as may be termed agony, of which I never saw in him any like appearance since I first knew him. He had kept it in long, and after he was free it broke out with greater force, and, accordingly, he made use of me to ease his mind upon. That which so much troubled him, was the being thought so weak as to take ill usage from those about the king (meaning the earl of Rochester) with whom he had lived well, and ought to have been better understood. And instead of common friendship, to be haggled withal about a pension, as at the purchase of a horse or an ox, and after he had declared positively not to accept without a pension, as if he were so frivolous to insist and desist all in a moment, and, as it were, to be wheedled and charmed by their insignificant tropes; and what was worse than all, as he more than once repeated, 'to think me worthy of so great a trust, and withal so little and mean as to endure such usage as was disobliging, inconsistent, and insufferable. What have I done?' said he, 'that may give them cause to think me of so poor a spirit as to be thus terrified with?' And so on with more of like animosity which I cannot undertake to remember. And, after these exhalations, I could perceive that by degrees his mind became more composed."

In the court of chancery the lord-keeper pursued his general reforms, and experienced the usual opposition which has always attended all attempts to "purge out the peccant humours" of that court. The accession of Sunderland, Godolphin, and Jefferies, to the cabinet, placed the lord-keeper in a painful position; but he had the fortitude to adhere to his principles as a protestant, and, though he stood single in his opposition, stoutly resisted the motion made by Jefferies for a general pardon to the imprisoned recusants. The death of Charles, and the accession of James II., exposed his principles to a still severer test; and his constitutional opposition to sundry measures proposed by Jefferies, soon rendered him highly obnoxious to the court. At the opening of the new parliament he was not even consulted as to the substance of the king's speech, much less entrusted, as had been the custom hitherto, with the drawing up of it; his decrees in court were "most brutishly and effrontuously arraigned;" at court and at council "nothing squared with his schemes;" and he was by "Sunderland, Jefferies, and their complices, little less than derided." Treatment so unmerited and from such personages gradually wrought upon his mind, till he fell into a deep and settled melancholy. "His feverish disease," says his affectionate biographer, "growing upon him, his spirits, and all that should buoy a man up under oppression, not only failed, but other things of a malign complexion succeeded to bring him lower: which may be fully understood by this circumstance. He took a fancy that he looked out of countenance, as he termed it; that is, as one ashamed, or as if he had done ill, and not with that face of authority as he used to bear; and for that reason, when he went into Westminster-hall, in the summer term, he used to take nosegays of flowers to hold before his face, that people might not discern his dejection; and once in private having told me this fancy, he asked me if I did not perceive it. I answered him, not in the least, nor did I believe any one else did observe any such thing; but

that he was not well in health as he used to be was plain enough. His lordship in this state took a resolution to quit the great seal, and went to my Lord Rochester to intercede with his majesty to accept it, which had been no hard matter to obtain. But that noble lord had no mind to part with such a screen, and at that time (as he told me himself) he diverted him. But his lordship persisted, as will be made appear afterwards, by a letter. Whereupon the lord Rochester obtained of the king that his lordship might retire with the seal into the country; and that the officers with their concerns should attend him there, in hopes that by the use of the waters and fresh air, he might recover his health against next winter, when it was hoped he would return perfectly recovered. This was indeed a royal condescension and singular favour to him." The spot chosen for Sir Francis's retirement was Wroxton in Oxfordshire; but the hopes of a recovery were vain; the powers of nature rapidly gave way, and on the 5th of September, 1685, he breathed his last. His life has been written with all the amiable partiality of affection by his younger brother; but justice compels us to estimate his public character many degrees lower than his biographer has done. Lord-keeper Guilford had few elements of real greatness in his character. He was an honest man compared with many around him, but he did not altogether escape the political corruption of the age in which he lived. He was indebted for his elevation to the possession of a sound discretion rather than to any eminence of talents. As a lawyer he was respectable, but did not occupy the foremost rank. In private life his character was amiable, and well-fitted to endear him to his family and friends.

Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury.

BORN A. D. 1621.—DIED A. D. 1683.

THIS celebrated statesman was the son of Sir John Cooper of Rockburn, Hants, and Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Ashley of Winborne, St Giles, in the county of Dorset. He was born at the house of his maternal grandfather, on the 22d of July, 1621. At the age of fifteen he was entered of Exeter college, Oxford, where he distinguished himself by the frequent display of high powers, and by constant assiduity in study. From college he removed to Lincoln's inn, where he chiefly devoted himself to constitutional law and English history. In the parliament which met in April, 1640, he sat as representative for Tewkesbury, though only nineteen years of age.

On the breaking out of the civil war he manifested a decided inclination to adhere to the king's party, but his views were of too moderate and compromising a cast for Charles at this period, and although he was subsequently invited to Oxford, and went thither, yet he found himself distrusted by the court, and soon after retired in disgust. Clarendon says that he immediately "gave himself up, body and soul," to the popular party. Without attaching much value to such testimony, from such a quarter, we are compelled to allow that young Cooper passed from the one party to the other with more facility than was altogether consistent with political integrity: personal resentment, rather

than any conscientious change of sentiment, seems to have dictated his conduct in the present instance, but Clarendon stoops to the part of a defamer when he avers that from the moment of his making common cause with the parliament, he "became an implacable enemy to the royal family." On the contrary, he had a considerable part in bringing about the private negotiation between Charles and Lord Hollis, on the occasion of the treaty of Uxbridge; and it is said that the insurrection of the club-men was a contrivance of his to check the power which, after the battle of Naseby, was assumed by the leaders of the army. In 1646 he was appointed sheriff of Wilts. On the breaking up of the long parliament, Sir Anthony was one of the members of the convention which succeeded it. Cromwell had marked the talents and knew the influence of the young man, and did his best to attach him to his party, but failed. In 1654, we find Sir Anthony signing the famous protestation against the tyranny and arbitrary measures of the protector; yet he retained a seat in the privy-council while opposing the head of the government.

After the deposition of Richard Cromwell, Sir Anthony was named one of the council of state, and a commissioner of the army; but he had now chosen his part with Monk, and was actively engaged in concerting those measures which led to the Restoration. He was one of the twelve members who carried the invitation to Charles II.; and on the arrival of the king in England, he was appointed a member of the privy-council. It would have been well for his political memory that he had declined the office which was soon afterwards conferred on him, of a commissioner in the trial of the regicides. He accepted it, perhaps, with reluctance, and it is certain that he evinced no rancour towards the unfortunate objects of his sovereign's hatred; but he ought at once peremptorily to have declined the task of sitting in judgment upon men for offences in which he was not altogether guiltless of participation.

On the 20th of April, 1661, Sir Anthony was created Baron Ashley of Winborne, St Giles; soon after, he was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and one of the lords commissioners for executing the office of high-treasurer. He was now a leading member of the famous cabal ministry; and it is really doubtful whether or not he was the spirit which actuated that infamous association in some of its worst plots against the liberties and constitution of the country. The testimony on this point is conflicting and very puzzling; and his public conduct at this period is not a little enigmatical. For example, we find him promoting the declaration for liberty of conscience, and uttering many very just and manly sentiments on the subject of religious toleration. We know also that Charles hesitated to entrust him with the secret of his disgraceful treaty with the French king; but then, on the other hand, we find him strongly charged with having originated the plan for shutting up the exchequer, and with issuing writs for the election of members of parliament during a recess. We know, also, that he strenuously supported the unjust and ruinous war with Holland.

In 1672 he was created Baron Cooper of Pawlet, in Somerset, and earl of Shaftesbury; and in the following November, he was named lord high-chancellor. His conduct on the bench was able, impartial,

and resolute; but it failed to satisfy the court. It approximated too much to political independence. The duke of York became restless for the dismissal of a man whose principles he dreaded; and Shaftesbury, before he had been much more than a year in office, saw the seals pass from his hands to those of a much less considerable, but more pliant man, Sir Heneage Finch.

Shaftesbury now became one of the most active and powerful leaders of the opposition. We are not prepared to vindicate the facility with which he passed from the extreme side of the state of one party to the extreme side of the other; on the contrary, we admit the charge, that he was both a factious and an interested man; but we maintain that the principles to which he now gave his support were sound and constitutional; and that when with Buckingham he was committed to the Tower for the boldness with which they maintained that a prorogation of fifteen months amounted to a dissolution of parliament, he, and his associate lords were entitled to the respect and gratitude of every lover of his country's liberty. He has been charged with the contrivance of the popish plot in 1678, for the purpose of embarrassing the ministry. It is difficult to determine what was the nature of his connexion with that extraordinary piece of political knavery; but it is certain that he made a very able use of the occurrence to force out Danby's administration, and compel the king once more to replace him at the head of affairs. On the 21st of April, 1679, Shaftesbury was appointed lord-president of the new privy-council; but he remained in office only four months. The duke of York laboured to displace a minister whose endeavours to promote a bill for his exclusion from the succession he knew to have been unremitting; and he soon carried his point with his weak and infatuated brother. On his dismissal from office, he was charged by some of the duke's creatures with subornation of perjury, and was tried for that offence, but acquitted by his jury. Soon after this Dryden's severe satire of Absalom and Achitophel appeared, in which the fallen minister was very roughly treated. The earl fully felt the poet's lash, but nevertheless acted most generously towards his satirist. Having the nomination to a scholarship as governor of the charter house, he gave it to one of the poet's sons, without any solicitation. This act of generosity melted Dryden, and in the next edition of the poem, he added the four following lines in praise of the earl's conduct as lord-chancellor.

> "In Israel's court ne'er sat an Abethdin
> With more discerning eyes or hands more clean,
> Unbrib'd, unsought, the wretched to redress,
> Swift of dispatch, and easy of access."

Shaftesbury, now thoroughly disgusted with political life, resolved to bid a final adieu to the scene of his alternate triumphs and disappointments, and to every thing which could tempt him once more to descend into the arena of party-strife. With this view, he arranged his affairs in England, and embarked in November, 1682, for Holland, where he purposed to spend the remainder of his days in complete retirement. He arrived in Amsterdam, and had just completed an establishment suitable to his rank in that city, when he was attacked by gout in the stomach, which terminated his existence on the 22d of January, 1683.

Shaftesbury has been unfortunate in his biographers. They were all men of high party-spirit, and have in many instances dealt unfairly by his memory. It is also unfortunate both for the earl and for posterity, that the history of his own times which he had himself drawn up and submitted for publication to John Locke, should have perished as it did. Locke, on the execution of Algernon Sidney on a charge of treason, substantiated only by his private papers, became apprehensive for himself, and committed Lord Shaftesbury's manuscripts with other papers to the flames. Had this document seen the light, it is probable that Shaftesbury's character would have stood much higher than it does with posterity; much of his history would have been rescued from actual misrepresentation; and some dubious points might have been cleared up to the satisfaction of his friends. It is hardly possible to conceive that a man whom Locke honoured with his friendship and confidence, was all that Needham, Otway and the Oxford historian have represented him.

Charles Fleetwood.

DIED A. D. 1688.

CHARLES FLEETWOOD, lord-deputy of Ireland during the protectorate, was the son of Sir William Fleetwood. He took an early and decided part with the parliamentary party on the breaking out of the civil war, and in October, 1645, was made governor of Bristol. After the establishment of the commonwealth, he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, and had a considerable share in the victory at Worcester.

On the death of Ireton, he married his widow, and thus became the son-in-law of the protector, who appointed him commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland. In this post he acquitted himself so vigorously that Ireland was soon reduced to perfect subjection. His services were rewarded with the lord-deputyship of the subjugated territory. Notwithstanding of his relationship to the protector, and the favours he had received at his hand, Fleetwood, in conjunction with Disbrowe and Lambert, vigorously opposed the proposition for conferring on Cromwell the title of king.

On the death of Oliver Cromwell, Fleetwood joined the party who deposed Richard; and in May, 1659, was chosen one of the council of state. On the 17th of the following October, he was nominated commander-in-chief of all the forces. While the negotiations were going forward for the recall of the king, Whitelock advised Fleetwood to communicate with Charles at Breda, and thus anticipate Monk; but the remonstrances of Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Barry prevented him following this sagacious advice. After the Restoration, he retired to Stoke-Newington, where he died in 1688.

Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

BORN A. D. 1627.—DIED A. D. 1688.

THIS brilliant but abandoned nobleman was the son of George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, by Lady Catherine Manners. He was an infant of only one year at the time of his father's assassination by Felton.

He studied at Cambridge; and, having performed the usual continental tour, was presented at court. On the decline of the king's cause he attended Prince Charles into Scotland. After the battle of Worcester, he retired to the continent, and attached himself to the exiled court. Desirous, however, of retrieving his affairs, he came privately to England, and, in 1657, married Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, through whose influence he recovered a considerable portion of his forfeited property. He contrived, however, to preserve his interest with the king, while thus making his peace with the parliament, for, immediately after the Restoration, we find him appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber, and master of the horse.

In 1666 he forfeited his high offices by engaging in some very treasonable practices, the object of which seems to have been nothing less than to have thrown the whole kingdom into a state of rebellion, and to have availed himself of whatever opportunity might have presented itself during the crisis for gratifying his boundless ambition and rapacity. The detection of the plot at first highly irritated the king, who threatened to proceed to extremities against the duke. But, within less than a year after, we find him restored to his seat in the privy-council, and his offices at court. Charles was too much dependent on the ministers of his pleasures to deprive his court of the presence of one so fitted by his varied accomplishments to amuse and gratify him. But the duke's malevolence and love of intrigue suffered no abatement from his experience of the past. He is supposed, on pretty good evidence, to have been the prime instigator of Blood's atrocious attempt to put the duke of Ormond to death.[1] Ormond had taken an active part in exposing Buckingham's treasonable practices, and that was sufficient to excite the latter to the deadliest purposes of revenge.

A still more infamous transaction was his murder of the earl of Shrewsbury in a duel, after having debauched his countess. Malone has copied the following account of this affair from a MS. letter, dated Whitehall, 10th January, 1673-4:—"Upon Wednesday the 7th, the two houses met. In the lords' house, immediately upon his majesty's recess, the earl of Westmoreland brought in a petition against the duke of Bucks, in the name of the young earl of Shrewsbury, desiring justice against him for murdering his father, making his mother a whore, and keeping her now as an infamous strumpet. To this the duke replied—'Tis true he had had the hard fortune to kill the earl of Shrewsbury, but it was upon the greatest provocation in the world:

[1] See Carte's Life of the duke of Ormond.

that he had fought him twice before, and had as often given him his life: that he had threatened to pistol him wherever he should meet him, if he could not fight him: that for these reasons the king had given him his pardon. To the other part of the petition concerning the Lady Shrewsbury, he said he knew not how far his conversation with that lady was cognizable by that house; but if that had given offence, she was now gone to a retirement." The whole transaction may afford some idea of the profligacy of the reign in which such a tragedy could be acted with impunity; for although a day was appointed to consider the petition, it does not appear that any thing farther was done in the business, and Buckingham continued at court, the favoured and envied of all his competitors.

In 1671, this notoriously profligate and abandoned nobleman was installed chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Soon after, he was sent on an embassy to the French court, where his manners and person fascinated the king so much that on his departure he presented him with a sword and belt, set with jewels, and valued at 40,000 pistoles.

In 1674, a change seems to have come over the whole policy of the duke. He now courted the favour of the puritan party, and set himself in sturdy opposition to the court. But about the period of Charles's death, his own health became so much affected that he was reluctantly compelled to retire into the country to recruit himself. The spot which he made choice of with this view was his own manor of Helmesley, in Yorkshire. Here he generally passed his time betwixt the sports of the chace and the pleasures of the table. An ague and fever which he caught by sitting on the ground after a long hunt, terminated his life. The attack was so sudden and violent that he could not be removed to his own house, but was conducted to a wretched village inn, where, after languishing three days, he expired, unregretted, and almost unattended. He had lived the life of a profligate, and he died the death of an outcast.

It is impossible to say any thing favourable of such a man as Villiers, whose sole aim throughout life seems to have been self-gratification, and who scrupled not to commit any crime in the pursuit of this single object. He was a wit, and his writings possess considerable merit, particularly his comedy of 'the Rehearsal.'

Lord Jefferies.

BORN A. D. 1648.—DIED A. D. 1689.

This thrice infamous man was born at Acton near Wrexham, in the county of Denbigh, about the year 1648. He was the sixth son of John Jefferies, Esq. of that place. He received his education successively at the free school of Shrewsbury, at Saint Paul's, and at Westminster. At an early age he became a member of the Inner Temple, where, under the united impulses of necessity and ambition, he applied himself with extreme diligence to the study of law. It has been alleged that he was never regularly called to the bar; but that, taking advantage of the extreme confusion produced by the breaking out of the

plague in London, he threw a barrister's gown over his shoulders, and presenting himself at the Kingston assizes, was allowed, *nemine contradicente*, to commence the practice of his profession. Whether the fact was so or not, it is hardly worth while to inquire. Had no other stain attached to the memory of Jefferies but such an allegation as this, his name might have stood well with posterity; men would rather have admired the boldness and force of character which the incident displays, than esteemed it any solid ground of reproach. The arts which he seems to have early practised to obtain business, form a more serious ground of reproach. From the moment of his becoming a candidate for the public patronage, he seems to have lost sight of no artifice by which it seemed possible for him to engross favour; he fawned, truckled, stooped to a thousand meannesses, until he had so far won upon the good will of the citizens of London that, upon the 17th of March, 1670, on the resignation of Sir Richard Browne, he was appointed common sergeant. Some years after, the office of recorder becoming vacant, he solicited and obtained that appointment, through his intimacy with Chiffinch, the king's favourite page. From this point in his history, we find him devoting soul and body to the one great object of gaining favour at court.

In 1680, he was made a Welsh judge. In 1681, he was created a baronet, having previously succeeded Sir Job Charlton as chief-justice of Chester, or rather compelled Sir Job to vacate his seat for him, and to accept of the seat of a puisne judge in the common pleas. In his office of recorder, it was Sir George's duty, as crown counsel, to conduct a number of the prosecutions arising out of the pretended Popish plot. At first, he exhibited considerable leniency towards the accused, but latterly he conducted himself with a harshness and brutality, set at defiance every principle of justice, and shocked and disgusted the spectators. Perhaps he had really wrought himself up into a conviction of the guilt of the prisoners, but, granting it were even so, his conduct was utterly unjustifiable, for it set at nought every maxim of executive jurisprudence. Nor was he content with urging the conviction of the parties at the bar; he seized the opportunity, which his frequent addresses to the court afforded him, of inculcating many highly unconstitutional doctrines, and that with the view of ingratiating himself still further with the court. At last, the resentment of the commons was roused against this creature of the government, and an address was moved and ordered, praying for the removal of Sir George Jefferies from all public offices. Jefferies trembled for the result, and submitted to receive a reprimand on his knees at the bar of the house. He also immediately resigned his office of recorder. Yet he continued the same abject and heartless creature of the court that he had formerly proved himself to be. In the trials of Fitzharris, and of Plunket, Colledge, and others, he displayed the greatest acrimony and violence. But it was in the prosecutions which followed the discovery of the Rye-house plot that his true character revealed itself in the most palpable and decided manner. He did such good service to the government on this occasion, and especially on the trial of Lord John Russell, that it was impossible to overlook his unrivalled fitness for the highest judicial station. On the death of Sir Edmund Saunders, chief-justice of the king's bench, Jefferies was named to the vacant

office. Soon afterwards he was sworn in as a member of the privy-council. Finally, on the 15th of May, 1685, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Jefferies of Wem.

The trial of Algernon Sydney afforded Jefferies another signal opportunity of gratifying his patron at the small expense of truth, honour, justice, and the blood of a fellow-creature. And yet it is astonishing with what coolness of mind he seems to have looked back upon these deeds of his. Thus, in his summing up on the trial of Sir S. Barnardiston, we find him indulging in the following language:—"Then here is, as I said, the sainting of two horrid conspirators! Here is the Lord Russell sainted, that blessed martyr; my Lord Russell, that good man, that excellent protestant! he is lamented, and what an extraordinary man he was, who was fairly tried and justly convicted, and attainted for having a hand in this horrid conspiracy against the life of the king, and his dearest brother, his royal highness, and for the subversion of the government. And here is Mr Sydney sainted! What an extraordinary man he was! Yes, surely, he was a very good man, because you may some of you remember, or have read the history of those times, and know what share Mr Sydney had in that black and horrid villany, that cursed treason and murder—the murder, I mean, of King Charles I., of blessed memory; a shame to religion itself, a perpetual reproach to the island we live in, to think that a prince should be brought, by pretended methods of law and justice, to such an end at his own palace. And it is a shame to think that such bloody miscreants should be sainted and lamented, who had any hand in that horrid murder and treason, and who, to their dying moments, when they were upon the brink of eternity, and just stepping into another world, could confidently bless God for their being engaged in that good cause, as they call it, which was the rebellion which brought that blessed martyr to his death. It is high time for all mankind that have any Christianity, or sense of heaven or hell, to bestir themselves, to rid the nation of such caterpillars, such monsters of villany as these are."[1]

Jefferies was of course bound to hate the presbyterians with as thorough a hatred as his royal master. The trial of Baxter for what was called a seditious libel, afforded him a good opportunity for displaying his anti-presbyterian principles. How well he improved it, and with what success, may be seen in our sketch of his illustrious victim. Monmouth's rebellion occasioned the despatch of Jefferies to the west, not only with a commission of oyer and terminer, but with a military commission as general of the west. Thus invested with full civil and military powers, Jefferies marked his progress with blood. No considerations of humanity or justice seem ever to have been present to his mind. He sought only to extirpate all to whom even the suspicion of political disaffection attached. At last, to use the words of Mr Roscoe, "stained with the blood of the aged, the weak, and the defenceless, Jefferies returned to the capital, to claim from the hands of the master he had so faithfully and acceptably served, the reward due to his singular merits. That reward was immediately conferred upon him; on the 28th of September he received the great seal, and was appointed lord-high-chancellor."

[1] State Trials, vol. ix. p. 1353.

It would appear, that Jefferies was scarcely seated on the wool-sack, before his influence began to wane at court. "I am very confident," says a letter-writer in the Ellis correspondence, "that matters are brewing to break the neck of our wide-mouthed, high paced ——, &c.; and as conjurors throw a dog or a cat to allay the devil with, so he may be thrown as a choosing morsel to the next parliament." The 'dog,' however, was resolved to shun his fate, if he could, by another piece of villany. By the advice of his chancellor, James resorted to the infatuated step of establishing an ecclesiastical commission, in which Jefferies bore himself so arrogantly, and with such outrageous violation of the most ordinary principles of justice, that the whole kingdom was thrown into a flame. At last the prince of Orange landed, and James fled from London. Jefferies, aware that for him at least no hope of mercy remained, hastened to follow his master's example. The following narrative of his abortive attempt at escape is taken from 'The Lives of the Chancellors:'—"The chancellor, now without protection, having rendered himself obnoxious to most people, and being perfectly hated by the nation, on Monday, between three and four in the morning, withdrew, and having in disguise got down safe to Wapping, put himself on board a collier, which was pretended to be bound for Newcastle, but indeed was designed for Hamburgh; but some persons having notice thereof, by means of the mate, they went to a justice for a warrant to apprehend him; but he thought fit to put them off, whereupon they applied themselves forthwith to the lords of the council, who granted them a warrant, and they went immediately to search the ship. But he, on Tuesday night, not thinking himself safe on board the collier in which he was to pass, lay in another ship hard by, so that those who came that day to search for him missed of him on board, but had information given them that he was hard by at a little peddling alehouse, where accordingly they found him, being the sign of the Red Cow, in Anchor and Hope Alley, near King Edward's Stairs, from whence they immediately hurried him in a coach, guarded with several blunderbusses, to the lord mayor's; where the crowd was so great, and the rabble so numerous, all crying out together, Vengeance! Justice! Justice! that the lord mayor was forced to come out into his balcony, with his hat in his hand, and to desire the people to go away and keep peace, and did promise them that he had already sent to the lords of the council about the matter, and that they should have justice done them, and that in the mean time their prisoner should be safely guarded. Whereupon the people withdrew, and soon after my lord, under a strong guard, was sent to the lords of the council, who committed him to the Tower, where he continued to the 18th of April, 1689, when he was freed by death from his earthly confinement. He had for some years before been subject to terrible fits of the stone, which in all probability now accelerated his death, though others gave out he abandoned himself to excessive drinking, thinking to support his sinking spirits by it, and that that helped forward to put a period to his life. He was buried privately in the Tower the Sunday night following, by an order his relations got from King William." Burnet adds to his account of the capture of Jefferies, that "the lord mayor was so struck with the terror of the rude populace, and with the disgrace of a man who had

made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits, of which he died soon after."

It is indeed difficult, as Mr Roscoe observes, to form a cool and impartial opinion of the character of Jefferies. We cannot detect the real lineaments of the man through the blaze of villany in which he appears enveloped throughout the whole of his life. We shall not attempt to analyse his moral character, but rest satisfied with the conviction that moral principle never guided any single action of his life. As to his professional abilities, we are not quite so sure that these were a nonentity. He seems not to have been deficient in legal knowledge, and to have possessed some talents as a speaker. Of his personal character, Roger North has bequeathed us the following sketch:—"His friendship and conversation lay much amongst the good fellows and humorists, and his delights were accordingly drinking, laughing, singing, kissing, and all the extravagancies of the bottle. He had a set of banterers for the most part near him, as, in old times, great men kept fools to make them merry, and these fellows, abusing one another and their betters, were a regale to him; and no friendship or dearness could be so great in private, which he could not use ill, and to an extravagant degree, in public. No one that had any expectations from him was safe from his public contempt and derision, which some of his minions at the bar bitterly felt. Those above, and that could hurt or benefit him, and none else, might depend on fair quarter at his hands. When he was in temper, and matters indifferent came before him, he became his seat of justice better than any other I ever saw in his place. He took a pleasure in mortifying fraudulent attorneys, and would deal forth his severities with a sort of majesty. He had extraordinary natural abilities, but little acquired, beyond what practice in affairs had supplied. He talked fluently and with spirit; and his weakness was, that he could not reprehend without scolding, and in such Billingsgate language as should not come out of the mouth of any man. He called it 'giving a lick with the rough side of his tongue.' It was ordinary to hear him say, 'Go, you are a filthy, lousy, nitty rascal!' with much more of like elegance. Scarce a day passed that he did not chide some one or other of the bar, when he sate in the chancery, and it was commonly a lecture of a quarter of an hour long. And they used to say, 'This is yours; my turn will be to-morrow.' He seemed to lay nothing of his business to heart, nor care what he did, nor what he left undone, and spent in the chancery court what time he thought fit to spare. Many times on days of causes at his house, the company have waited five hours in a morning, and after eleven he hath come out inflamed, and staring like one distracted, and that visage he put on when he animadverted on such as he took offence at, which made him a terror to real offenders, whom also he terrified with his face and voice, as if the thunder of the day of judgment broke over their heads, and nothing ever made men tremble like his vocal inflictions. He loved to insult, and was bold without check, but that only was when his place was uppermost. To give an instance: A city attorney was petitioned against for some abuse, and affidavit was made that, when he was told of my lord-chancellor, 'My lord-chancellor!' said he, 'I made him!' meaning his being a means to bring him early into city business. When

this affidavit was read, 'Well,' said the lord-chancellor, 'then I will lay my maker by the heels,' and with that conceit one of his best old friends went to jail. One of these intemperances was fatal to him. There was a scrivener of Wapping brought to hearing for relief against a bummery bond: the contingency of losing all being shown, the bill was going to be dismissed; but one of the plaintiff's counsel said that he was a strange fellow, and sometimes went to church, sometimes to conventicles, and none could tell what to make of him, and it was thought he was a *trimmer*. At that the chancellor fired: 'A trimmer!' said he; 'I have heard much of that monster, but never saw one. Come forth, Mr Trimmer! turn you round, and let us see your shape!' and at that rate talked so long, that the poor fellow was ready to drop under him; but at last the bill was dismissed with costs, and he went his way. In the hall, one of his friends asked him how he came off. 'Came off!' said he; 'I am escaped from the terrors of that man's face, which I would scarcely undergo again to save my life; and I shall certainly have the frightful impression of it as long as I live.' Afterwards, when the prince of Orange came, and all was in confusion, this lord-chancellor, being very obnoxious, disguised himself, in order to go beyond sea: he was in a seaman's garb, and drinking a pot in a cellar. This scrivener came into the cellar after some of his clients, and his eye caught that face, which made him start; and the chancellor, seeing himself eyed, feigned a cough, and turned to the wall with his pot in his hand; but Mr Trimmer went out and gave notice that he was there, whereupon the mob flowed in, and he was in extreme hazard of his life; but the lord-mayor saved him, and lost himself. For the chancellor being hurried, with such crowd and noise, before him, and appearing so dismally, not only disguised but disordered, and there having been an amity betwixt them, as also a veneration on the lord-mayor's part, he had not spirit to sustain the shock, but fell down in a swoon, and not many hours after died."

If the reader think we have dealt somewhat hardly, in the present instance, with our man, we beg to recommend to his special consideration the following remarks of Mr Henry Roscoe, which we conceive to be not less just in sentiment than forcible and elegant in expression:—"The ease with which those who are conversant with courts of justice learn to disregard the sufferings of others, and the faculty, which too often follows, of turning those sufferings into ridicule, are but modifications of those brutal qualities which in Jefferies appeared in their full perfection. It may perhaps tend, in some degree, to prevent the growth of those callous and inhuman feelings, to observe them in the odiousness of their complete developement, and to remark the execration and abhorrence which they never fail to excite in every heart of common sensibility. It is a salutary lesson to see the memory of Jefferies descending to posterity darkened with the indignant reproaches of each succeeding age, and weighed down by an ever-increasing weight of infamy. To affix to his polluted name an additional stigma, to brand his dishonoured memory with a fresh mark of reprobation, is an office grateful to humanity."

Edmund Ludlow.

BORN A.D. 1621.—DIED A.D. 1693.

EDMUND LUDLOW, one of the firmest and most straightforward republicans of the commonwealth, was the son of Sir Henry Ludlow, a gentleman of ancient family and large fortune in Wiltshire. The family being held in great esteem, enjoyed the honour of having its members frequently chosen to represent the county of Wilts in parliament; and Sir Henry appears to have deserved the confidence of his fellow-countrymen as an assertor of their rights against the attacks of arbitrary power. His son, Edmund, was born at Maiden-Bradley in the year 1620; and after taking the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1636, at Trinity college, Cambridge, he removed to the Temple, where he was studying the law at the breaking out of the civil war. His father was, at the same time, one of the popular members of the long parliament, and his example and encouragement increased the ardour of his son in the maintenance of the same principles. Young Ludlow accordingly took up arms—having previously alongst with Richard Fynes, son of Lord Say, and Charles Fleetwood, son of Sir Miles Fleetwood, endeavoured to assemble together as many as possible of the gentlemen of the inns of court for the same purpose—and was entered one of the life-guard raised for the earl of Essex, the parliamentary general. In this capacity he followed Essex to Worcester, and was present at the battle of Edgehill. When Sir Edward Hungerford was appointed by the parliament to the command of some forces in Wiltshire, Ludlow accompanied him; and having been instrumental in raising a troop of horse, was appointed governor of Warder castle, which, when invested by some of the king's forces, he defended as long as the weakness of the fortifications would permit.

While Ludlow was lying in Warder castle, his father died; an event probably hastened by his constant labours in the public service, and by his affliction for the death of another son, Captain Robert Ludlow, who, having been taken prisoner by the king's troops, had sunk under the effects of harsh usage. When forced to surrender Warder castle, in 1644, Ludlow and the rest of the garrison were carried to Oxford as prisoners of war; but after about three weeks' confinement, he and several others were exchanged; and arriving next day at London, he obtained, through the earl of Essex, an exchange for the whole of the garrison. He was then appointed sheriff of Wilts by the parliament, and went as major of Sir Arthur Hazlerig's regiment of horse in the army under Sir William Waller, whom he accompanied when he went to blockade Oxford. After retiring into Wiltshire, and being engaged in raising men for the service of the parliament, he again joined Waller's army, and was present at the second battle of Newbury. On the general remodelling of the army, in consequence of the self-denying ordinance, the committee would have named him to the command of a regiment, but that purpose was defeated by a combination of persons anxious for his removal, as a person not to be depended upon for the prosecution of factious views.

He was not, however, long destitute of employment in the public service, for about this time a writ having been issued for the election of two members for the county of Wilts in the room of his father, and of Sir John Thynne, who had gone over to the king, he was elected, alongst with the second son of the earl of Pembroke. The jealousy of the presbyterian and independent parties had already weakened the influence of the parliament, and opened the way to the success of the ambitious plans which Cromwell had now began to entertain. Though Ludlow suspected the designs of the future protector, yet being attached to the independent and republican party, he was one of the members who went down to the army, and with their assistance excluded the leading members of the presbyterian party from the house, thereby encouraging the lawless measures which the leaders of the army carried into effect against the whole parliament, when it suited their designs to throw off even the appearance of submission. But Ludlow became every day more jealous of the purposes of Cromwell and his followers. He tells us that he was the only member of the house who opposed the vote of thanks to Cromwell for putting down the agitators in the army; and some time afterwards, he was sent down to Windsor to procure the release of some of the levellers who had been imprisoned. He was equally averse to any treaty with the king, and when there appeared to be a prospect of the parliament agreeing to one in 1648, he went down to Fairfax and Ireton, then at the siege of Colchester, to secure their co-operation against any such attempt. The army was ready enough of itself to adopt such a line of conduct, as was testified by their famous remonstrance, presented to the parliament, 20th Nov., 1648; and when the parliament were ready to close with the king's proposals, Ludlow was one of those who advised the forcible exclusion of certain members—a measure known by the name of Colonel Pride's purge—and was present when guards were placed in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby of the house, that none might be permitted to pass into it but such as were known to be hostile to any treaty with the king. Such interferences with the legislative authority were of dangerous example; but in the politics of those unsettled times, the best friends of liberty were led to the adoption of measures which cannot be reconciled with the ideas of a more peaceful age.

Convinced of the necessity and the justice of executing Charles, Ludlow approved of and took part in the proceedings of the high court of justice, of which he was a member; and after the death of the king, was chosen one of the five persons to whom was committed the selection of the council of state. When chosen, Ludlow and his four colleagues were added to it by the house. When Cromwell went on his expedition against the Scots, Ludlow was, on his recommendation, sent over under Ireton to Ireland, as lieutenant-general of the horse; and was, at the same time, appointed one of the commissioners for the administration of civil affairs in that island. He was present at the siege of Limerick, and assisted in reducing various places in the counties of Clare, Wicklow, Galway, Fermanagh, and elsewhere. On the death of Ireton, the commissioners of parliament issued a letter to the officers of the forces in Ireland, requiring them to yield obedience to Lieutenant-general Ludlow, as next in command to the late deputy.

But this appointment being by no means pleasing to Cromwell, Ludlow was soon afterwards superseded by Fleetwood, who went over invested with the chief authority under the title of lieutenant-general. When Cromwell finally dissolved the long parliament, Ludlow without hesitation expressed disapprobation of his conduct; and used his utmost efforts to oppose the protector's usurpation. He succeeded in preventing the proclamation of Cromwell in Dublin for a fortnight; but that measure being at last resolved upon by the council on the casting vote of a Mr Roberts, the auditor-general, he positively refused to sign the order, or to be present at the ceremony. From this time he refused to act any longer in his civil capacity of commissioner of the parliament, though he continued to exercise his military office; and he refused to countenance the proposal that Cromwell and his council should nominate the thirty Irish members, who were to sit in the parliament at Westminster in virtue of Cromwell's instrument of government; a proposal made under the apprehension, that with any thing like a free election, only enemies of the English interest would be returned.

As might have been expected, Ludlow's conduct excited the protector's fears, which, in conjunction with the fact of his having circulated some copies of the army-petition to Cromwell, led to his being deprived of his command. He would not, however, deliver up his commission to any other authority than that of the parliament, and desired leave to return to England, which he could not obtain. After a good deal of negotiation, it was at last settled that he should be allowed to go, on giving his word to appear before Cromwell, and not to act against him in the meantime. But his departure was delayed by Fleetwood, under various pretences, till Henry Cromwell came over, when Ludlow, wearied out by the delay, and having the passport of Fleetwood, went on board the ship of war which had been ordered to convey him to England, and set sail neither with the permission, nor against the order of the new governor.

On reaching Beaumaris, however, he found one Captain Shaw, who had been despatched by Cromwell and the rest of the council, with an order to detain him there till the protector's pleasure should be known. He was detained, accordingly, for no less than six weeks, but was at last allowed to proceed to London, under an engagement to do nothing against the existing government before surrendering himself a prisoner at Whitehall. There he had an interview with the protector himself (Dec. 1655), but he could not be persuaded to grant an absolute engagement not to act against him. When Cromwell called his second parliament, he was again summoned before the council, with several other patriots, and another unsuccessful attempt was made to get from him such an obligation. Upon his refusal he was ordered into custody, but was allowed to remain in his own lodgings; and was afterwards permitted to go down to Essex with his wife, and father and mother-in-law, where he spent the summer. At the general election, however, notwithstanding the illegal interference of the major-general of the county, he was proposed as a candidate, and supported by a large body of the freeholders of Wiltshire. He was elected to the parliament called after the death of the protector, where he sat for some time without taking the oath required of every member not to contrive

any thing against the authority of the new protector; but being at last perceived, and it being proposed that the oath should be put to him, a debate arose, though the question was evaded by the discovery of a person in the house who had not been elected at all, and against whom the indignation of the members was immediately directed. In this parliament, Ludlow continued a steady adherent of the commonwealth party, whose hopes had again been raised by the death of Oliver, and the dissensions which had arisen in the army between the Wallingford-house party and that of Richard Cromwell. Ludlow took an active share in the negotiations between the former faction and the republicans, which ended in the resignation of Richard Cromwell, and the restitution of the long parliament.

When the long parliament was revived, Ludlow took his seat as one of the members, elated by the aspect of public affairs, and the renovation of a body whose power had been too openly disregarded ever to be permanently restored. He was, at the same time, appointed to the command of a regiment, which he accepted, as he saw the necessity of the republicans having influence in the army, to control the Wallingford-house party, which, from the first, displayed symptoms of disaffection to the cause of the commonwealth. He was also appointed one of the 21 members of parliament chosen to compose the council of state; and was named one of the commissioners for the nomination of officers to be approved of by the parliament. Meanwhile, the Wallingford-house party, dissatisfied with many of the proceedings adopted, drew up an address to the house embodying their wishes, some of which were very reasonable. By supporting some of the views contained in this address, Ludlow was unjustly accused of espousing the interests of the army against the parliament. Having been appointed commander of the forces in Ireland, he took the employment only under the condition that when he had restored that country to tranquillity, he should be at liberty to return to England. He remained, however, for some time in London, busily engaged in the schemes of that feverish time, but always acting an honest part, and supporting those proposals which were most likely to secure the establishment of a free and equal commonwealth, and exerting himself to remove the jealousies between the parliament and the army, as the only means of keeping down the common enemy. His conduct in Ireland was regulated by the same motive; he endeavoured to promote union, and, by new-modelling the army, to advance those who he thought had given the best proofs of their affection to the public interest. But affairs in England becoming every day more unsettled, he imagined that his services there might be of importance, and accordingly hastened his departure. On his arrival at Beaumaris, he found to his dismay, that the army had again controlled the parliament, and assumed the power into its own hands. And this account being confirmed on his arrival at Chester, he exhorted the troops to remain faithful to the parliament, and pursued his journey to London without delay.

On his arrival in London, Fleetwood endeavoured to persuade him to attend the meetings of the council of officers, but he desired to be excused from intermeddling in their consultations. He now began to think all the time lost that he had spent in endeavouring to unite so many broken and divided councils, but he consented to act for the officers in

Ireland, at the general council of officers, (two being chosen from each regiment, with the exception of those in Monk's army,) which was held in the hope of coming to some agreement. Several days were spent in debate upon the form of government to be adopted, during which the restitution of the parliament was warmly advocated by Ludlow. Disappointed in his hopes of a reconciliation between the contending parties, he resolved to return to Ireland: but, before leaving London, he had the satisfaction of learning the intention of the officers again to call together the long parliament. In Ireland, however, he met with a gloomy enough reception. He could not land at Dublin, as he found that a party of horse had been sent down to his house to seize him; and though received with great demonstrations of joy at Duncannon, he was immediately blockaded there by Captain Scot, who had been despatched by the council to notice the place which had thus admitted him to submission. The council, at the same time, circulated a letter justifying their conduct, and full of unfounded accusations against the lieutenant-general. He had scarcely drawn up an answer to this letter, when he heard to his astonishment, that the parliament had thanked the officers in Dublin for what they had done; and, within a week, the same persons sent him a letter, signed by the speaker, and desiring his attendance in parliament to give an account of the state of affairs in Ireland. These letters satisfied him that the parliament was in a state of complete dependence; but he resolved on immediately obeying their commands,—a resolution in which he was still further confirmed on hearing that they had received a charge of high treason against him, as well as Mr Miles Corbet, Colonel Jones, and Colonel Thomlinson. Ludlow's whole conduct disproved the charge made against him, of assisting the army in England, and doing acts of hostility, by sea and land, against those in Ireland who had declared for the parliament; yet, on moving the house to hear him in his justification, all he could obtain was to have a day appointed for that purpose, which was afterwards several times delayed, till the dissipation, as he expresses it, of those who should have been his judges.

The arrival of Monk in London at first excited the expectations of the commonwealth party, but his ambiguous conduct soon raised their suspicions. The restoration of the secluded members satisfied them that he was hostile to the continuance of their authority, which was finally extinguished by the passing of the act for the dissolution of the long parliament, and the calling together of a new one. To this, the convention parliament, Ludlow was returned as one of the members for the burgh of Hindon. He took his seat in the house the day that the commissioners whom the parliament had resolved to send to the king at Breda were to be nominated; but he would have nothing to do with the matter. In the afternoon of the same day, he sat in the committee on elections; and, on another day, he went with the house to hear a sermon. He did not appear again, as a resolution had passed to seize the persons of all who had signed the warrant for the execution of the late king, and he even found it necessary to consult his safety by frequently changing the place of his abode, from one of which he had the mortification of witnessing the entry of Charles II. into the city. He had now some difficulty in determining whether he should take advantage of the proclamation requiring the surrender of the late king's

judges; but he had no confidence either in the justice or humanity of the person who had now the power in his hands. He had, besides, more than once been nearly inserted as one of the seven excepted persons from the bill of indemnity. But having the assurance of Sir Harbottle Grimston, the speaker, Rothes, and other leading men among the commons, that the house would never agree to except any one who had surrendered himself under the proclamation, he went to the speaker's chambers, who not being there, he then went to the house of the sergeant-at-arms, where Mr Herbert, a member of the convention, gave his word for his appearance, till he could obtain personal security; which he got in a few days. The disposition of the house of lords, however, to execute all those who had participated in the execution of Charles; the arrest of Sir Harry Vane, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, and the marquess of Argyle, and a threatened motion in the house, that all the prisoners should be sent to the Tower, justly alarmed his friends, who insisted upon his removing from his house, in case a search for him should be made. He accordingly resolved to appear no more in public; and went down to Richmond. The advice of another friend induced him to resolve upon departing from England, in which resolution he was confirmed by Lord Ossory, who concurred in the same advice. He accordingly left London at the close of the day, and, avoiding all the considerable towns on the road, reached Lewes next morning. He there found a small vessel prepared for him; but the wind blowing hard, and the vessel having no deck, he removed into another till he might put to sea. After he had entered it, the searchers came on board the vessel he had left to see what she carried, but omitted to search that in which he was, not suspecting any person to be in her, as she had struck on the sands. He continued in the harbour that day and the next night, the storm still continuing; but on the following morning they set sail, and had so favourable a passage, that they arrived in Dieppe the same evening.

A proclamation being published soon after his departure, offering a reward of £300 for apprehending and securing his person, Ludlow was advised by his friends to provide for his safety by removing to a greater distance from England. He finally settled at Vevay, in Switzerland, where he remained till the Revolution in 1688, having several times narrowly escaped assassination by the emissaries of the Stuarts. His unmerited misfortunes, and the purity of his life, obtained for him universal sympathy from those amongst whom he resided. At the Revolution he returned to England; but, in consequence of a motion in the house of commons to address the king for his apprehension, he found it necessary to return to Vevay, where he died in 1693. His last wishes were for the prosperity of his native country. He left memoirs of himself which contain much curious information as to the motives of those with whom he associated; and prove him—which his whole conduct indeed testifies—to have been a man who, if he did not possess extraordinary political sagacity, was actuated by the noblest and most patriotic motives; having been, on all occasions, an honest advocate of republican equality.

Saville, Marquess of Halifax.

BORN A. D. 1630.—DIED A. D. 1695.

SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, son of Sir William Saville, baronet, and Anne, daughter of Lord Coventry, was born in 1630. His activity in promoting the Restoration was rewarded by his elevation to the peerage; and in 1672 he was called to a seat in the privy council.

His opposition to the Danby administration cost him his seat in council, in 1676; but, upon the change of ministry, in 1679, he was made a member of the new council. On the agitation of the bill for the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession, Halifax opposed the projected measure, but suggested certain limitations of the duke's authority, in the event of the crown devolving upon him, which he conceived would effectually protect the interests of the protestant cause. At this period he professed his extreme dread of turning the monarchy into an elective government, and contended warmly for the principle of hereditary succession; but, in all this, we can hardly believe him to have been sincere, for he had often expressed his contempt of the hereditary principle, and had been heard to inquire, "Who takes a coachman to drive him, because his father was a good coachman?" When the bill came to be debated, Halifax conducted the debate against it, on which occasion he displayed great eloquence, and considerable powers of mind. "He was animated," says Hume, "as well by the greatness of the occasion as by a rivalship with his uncle, Shaftesbury, whom, during that day's debate, he seemed, in the judgment of all, to have totally eclipsed." When the bill was thrown out, the indignant commons immediately voted an address for the removal of Halifax, Clarendon, Worcester, and some others, from his majesty's person and councils for ever. The parties pointed at in this address met it by urging an instant dissolution of the refractory house, and Charles followed this advice.

In August, 1682, Saville was created a marquess; and soon after he was made lord-privy-seal. On King James's accession, he was appointed president of the council; but on refusing his consent to the repeal of the tests, he was dismissed from all public employments. In the negotiations which preceded the arrival of the prince of Orange, Halifax did not act a very conspicuous part; he hesitated and trimmed too much; but in the convention parliament he was chosen speaker of the house of lords, and strenuously supported the motion for declaring the throne vacant.

On the accession of the prince and princess of Orange, the privy seal was once more intrusted to him; but, upon inquiry being instituted into the prosecutions of Russell, Sydney, and others, he withdrew from court, and flung himself into the ranks of the opposition. He died in April, 1695.

There is little to admire in the character of this statesman. It wants consistency throughout. His abilities will hardly be questioned; but in their exercise he seems to have been as little swayed by considerations of public welfare, as any of the band of heartless politicians to whom Charles and James intrusted the character of their government. Halifax was the author of some tracts, which were published after his death. He also left memoirs of his own time, which have perished.

Sir William Temple.

BORN A. D. 1629.—DIED A. D. 1698.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE was the son of Sir John Temple, master of the rolls, and privy-councillor in Ireland, in the reign of Charles II., and the grandson of the first Sir William Temple, secretary to the earl of Essex in the reign of Elizabeth. His father, early perceiving an eager thirst for knowledge, and indications of considerable strength of mind, used every means to promote these symptoms; consequently his advance in knowledge was rapid but sure. Having passed through the usual course of education, and acquired, in addition, an intimate acquaintance with the French and Spanish languages—which, at that time, were the most useful and important to a person of his station—he spent two years at Paris, and soon after made a tour through Holland, Flanders, and Germany, on his return from which, in 1654, he was united to the daughter of Sir Peter Osborne, governor of Jersey for Charles I., by which lady he had several children.

All offers of employment were rejected under the protector, but at the Restoration, in 1660, he quitted this privacy, and became a member of the convention in Ireland. Here, whilst others were by their pliant obsequiousness making assiduous court to the king, Sir William Temple exhibited a noble spirit of independence by his sturdy opposition to the Poll-bill, and his honourable refusal to listen to those who were sent to reason with him privately, and, if possible, divert him from his course of opposition. He declared, however, in reference to the bill, "that he would have nothing to say to it out of the house." In the succeeding parliament, he was chosen with his father, Sir John Temple, for the county of Carlow, when, by the acuteness of his judgment, his upright independence, and by his not permitting himself to be identified with any party, he acquired much influence in the house. The grand events of his political life were two important treaties which were committed to his charge, and which he accomplished with most masterly skill. The first of these was his astonishingly judicious, and dexterous bringing about of the triple league between England, Holland, and Sweden, at the latter end of 1665. This treaty, so effective in diminishing the threatening power of France, so important to the peace of Europe, was managed with a secrecy so uncommon, with success so unexpected, that the great statesman, De Wit, could not help complimenting him "with having the honour, which never any other minister had before him, of drawing the States to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and an assistance of the greatest expence they had ever been engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitution, which enjoined them to have recourse to their provinces;" adding, that now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

The other treaty terminating in the marriage of the then prince of Orange to the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of York, and niece to his majesty, was far more durable in its nature and beneficial in its consequences, both to the security of the Protestant religion, and the

general happiness of the British kingdoms. The several gradations in the progress of this were accomplished principally by Sir William Temple, whose secrecy and dexterity brought it to maturity, and effected its completion in the year 1677, even contrary to the will of the duke, and not very much to the inclination of the king. The work in itself was one of so much delicacy and difficulty, that it appears as if the slightest variation from the actual course of time and circumstances would have inevitably destroyed all hopes of success. Towards the conclusion, he used the assistance of the lord-treasurer Danby, afterwards duke of Leeds, who saw so much importance and happiness to the public connected with the result, that he afterwards declared in print, that he would not suffer that part of his services to be buried in oblivion.

Sir William Temple's freedom from ambition was evinced by his resolute opposition to the desire of his friends that he would permit them to request a peerage for him. He had, however, much difficulty in dissuading them, and was resolved, if the offer were made him, that the nobility should commence with either his father or his son, himself being anxious rather to avoid than possess such distinction. And much does it redound to his honour, that he with noble generosity refused in the year 1669 to assist in the undermining that work of peace and amity which he had, a few years previously, laboured so hard, and with success so distinguished, to establish. He felt that the obligations of his office bound him to what he clearly perceived to be the welfare of his country, and Europe at large, and not to the vacillating expediency of private interests: nor would he sacrifice his own approbation to secure that of his superiors. The usage he received on this account from the lord-treasurer, Clifford, was most unworthy and shameful; he was refused the payment of an arrear of two thousand pounds, due on his embassy. Disgusted by this, and the sudden extinction of Lord Arlington's friendship, an effect of the same cause, he retired to his house at Sheen, near Richmond, in Surrey, and devoted himself for a few years to the preparation of works. In this interval he published his 'Observations upon the United Provinces,' and wrote the first part of his Miscellanies, which, with his other works, will be noticed presently. Meanwhile, the king preserved a neutrality, neither exerting propitiously his power, nor, on the other hand, showing any unkindness or hostility. It appears, indeed, from Sir William's letters, that the king made him a present of the plate belonging to his embassy, and disposed of his house on the continent, and the major part of his furniture to his successor, Sir George Downing. When, however, Charles grew weary of the war which ensued, he remembered Sir William Temple, and relying upon his willingness to act as the minister of peace, sent for him to go to Holland, and effect a treaty of peace. By the Spanish ambassador receiving proper powers, the journey to Holland was rendered unnecessary, and the treaty was concluded at home, in three days. In June, 1674, he was again sent ambassador into Holland, with offer of the king's mediation between France and the confederates, then at war, an offer which was not long after accepted; and Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins were declared ambassadors and mediators, and Nimeguen fixed upon as the place of treaty. During this stay at the Hague commenced the inti-

macy with the prince of Orange, which led to the matrimonial contract above alluded to, and gave rise to an occurrence which Sir William ever regarded as one of the happiest of his life. One day, when the prince happened to be absent, five Englishmen were seized and brought to the Hague, and immediately tried and condemned for deserting their colours. Some of Sir William Temple's servants had the curiosity to visit the unfortunate prisoners, and came home horror-struck by the conviction that their countrymen were about to be slaughtered for an offence of which they were not guilty, and that innocent as they were, there was no shield to interpose between them and the too certain instrument of death. The earth was already opened to receive their bodies, and the next day's noon would find them numbered with the dead. Impelled at once with sympathy and terror, the servants besought their master to exert himself, and avert, if possible, the unjust doom to which these persons were consigned. Sir William omitted no effort of entreaty, but the lives of a few private and humble individuals, when weighed in the balance against the infallibility of a public judicial body, were made to kick the beam; their sentence could not be retracted; the evidence had been deemed conclusive; the men must die. One hope still remained, that that which their humanity denied might possibly be extorted from their fears. Sir William sent then to the officers with a threat that he would appeal to the prince and to the king, who would demand reparation, or rather wreak vengeance, if so many of his majesty's subjects were subjected to punishment so unjust. But even this succeeded no farther than to obtain a reprieve for a single day, in the course of which time Sir William managed to communicate with the prince, and procured the liberation of the prisoners. The feelings of the men carried them first, naturally enough, to visit the fresh-dug graves, whose mouths still yawned, expecting their bodies; then with a mingled sentiment of horror and gratitude, to cast themselves at the feet of Sir William Temple, and on their knees pour forth their thankfulness. It will easily be believed that in the retrospect of bygone years, Sir William must have felt, as he declared, this to have been the brightest, most joyous moment.

In the spring of the year 1678, Sir William Temple was called home to succeed Mr Coventry in the office of secretary of state, but though the offer of the secretaryship was at his request withdrawn for a time, he did not return to Nimeguen that year. About this time occurred the marriage of the prince of Orange to the lady Mary; in allusion to which, Lord Arlington, rather ill-humouredly, remarked, that "some things were so ill in themselves that the manner of doing them could not mend them; and others so good that the manner they were done in could not spoil them; and that the prince of Orange's match was one of the last sort." The source of Lord Arlington's coldness to Sir William Temple is to be found in the early acquaintance of the former with the lord-treasurer, Danby; they had travelled together when young; they were related by marriage; Danby was now prime minister in Arlington's room: since then Danby and Temple were at difference with each other, it was impossible for Arlington to be the friend, and retain the good will of both. Hence the rupture between Temple and Arlington, which after occurrences tended to widen rather than close up.

The king would have engaged Sir William Temple in some negotiations with the crown of France, for which he was so little disposed that he requested the lord-treasurer to acquaint his majesty with his wish to retire altogether, offering to resign all pretensions to the post of secretary of state, which had been in abeyance in consequence of some difficulties originating in Mr Coventry. But when it was discovered that the French intended not to evacuate the Spanish towns, according to the stipulations of the treaty, the king commanded Sir William to act a third time as ambassador to the States, in which capacity he again visited Holland, and concluded a treaty, by which England was engaged, if those towns were not evacuated in forty days, to declare immediate war with France; but before the expiration of half the time, one Du Cross was sent from our court to Holland, on a mission which damped the good humour that treaty had produced, and destroyed the life and activity with which affairs were then moving. Sir William Temple had seen too much of the baseness of courts to be much astonished, but the frequency and suddenness of the changes of purpose in our court disgusted and wearied him of all public employment.

On Mr Coventry's resignation, he was sent for to enter upon the duties of secretary, but still unwilling to accept the appointment, he assigned as an objection the fact of his not being a member of parliament; from which, the times being so critical, he thought public business would suffer. Lord Danby's imprisonment by the parliament, left the king without a councillor in whom he could confide; he was therefore the more urgent in pressing Sir William, for whom he entertained a high esteem, to accept the secretaryship. But Sir William having already suffered much annoyance and trouble incident to a public life, aware of the prevailing discontent and jealousy, and anxious to avoid the suspicion with which every act of every public man was scrutinized, persisted in his endeavour to effect his retreat. He suggested to the king a plan, the adoption of which, he judged, would tend to quiet the discontent of the people, establish a balance of power between the commons and the court, and secure to his majesty the ascendancy in the council. The king approved his reasons, adopted his plan, and reduced the number of his councillors from fifty to thirty, fifteen officers of the crown; the rest, chief men from the popular party. For a time the new council worked very well, but the incongruousness of its elements soon destroyed that concentration of purpose which is the very soul of such a body. In the next year, 1680, the council was again changed, and Sir William Temple, though, as one of their number, he had frequently joined in their deliberations, ever looking anxiously for the time of his liberation from public business, endeavoured gradually to withdraw himself into retirement. The king, however, again summoned him into action, intending to send him on an embassy to Spain; but just at the completion of his preparations, his majesty desired him to defer his journey till the end of the session of parliament, in which the factious were exceedingly violent. Sir William was at that time member for Cambridge, and strenuously opposed the attempt to cut off the duke of York from the succession. His endeavours, he said, should ever be to unite the royal family, but that he would never enter into any council to divide them. This 'Bill of Exclusion,' after long and sharp contests, was thrown out; and the last act of Sir William in

parliament, was to convey the king's final answer to the address of the house of commons, containing a resolution never to consent to the exclusion of his brother: an office of so obnoxious a character, that no other person could be found to undertake it. When, however, in January 1681, the king dissolved the parliament without the advice of the privy council, he avowed with great boldness his disapprobation of the measure; and being now quite weary of all the faction and misgovernment he had witnessed, he declined the offer of being returned for the university, in the new parliament which was summoned at Oxford, and withdrew to Sheen. Thence he sent word to the king, "that he would pass the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdom, but would never more meddle with public affairs." His majesty, in consequence, expunged his name from the council, but returned an assurance, that Sir William's secession had given him no offence. From which time, to the end of this reign, and during part of the next, he remained at Sheen. In 1686, however, he removed to a very retired and agreeable spot, named Moor Park, near Farnham, Surrey, where, afflicted with the gout, and otherwise suffering from the infirmities of age, he resolved to pass the remainder of his days. On his way thither, he visited King James, and endeavoured to engage his majesty's favour and protection, but again avowed his fixed resolution never more to enter on any public employment. His retirement now was so secluded, and he became so much a stranger to the course and changes of public affairs, that not only was he wholly unacquainted with the design of the prince of Orange, but was one of the last men in England that gave credit to the account of his landing. He refused his son permission to present himself to William on his landing, but after James' abdication, he took his son with him to wait on the prince at Windsor. William pressed his acceptance of the secretaryship, and declared that kindness was the only motive for the concealment of his design. Both unwilling and unable himself, he, nevertheless, was content that his son should accept some appointment; accordingly, Mr John Temple was made secretary at war, but had scarcely held the office a week, when he drowned himself in the Thames. Sudden and awful as was this event, Sir William received the intelligence with a degree of coolness wholly foreign to the usual character of parental affection, and involving a far greater extent of unfavourable import than can be comprised in the phrase, 'stoic firmness,' which, together with 'Christian resignation,' has been applied as descriptive of the feeling which dictated the utterance, on this occasion, of the Stoic maxim, that 'a wise man may dispose of himself, and make his life as short as he pleases.'

The disturbances of the revolution had compelled Sir William to abandon Moor Park and reside with his son at Sheen; but, at the end of this year, he returned to Moor Park, where he had the honour of being frequently consulted by his majesty, and where he remained till the period of his death, which occurred in Jan. 1698, he being then in his seventieth year.

Sir William Temple's general character seems, from other accounts, to have been attractive. Bishop Burnet, however, makes the following observations on him: "Temple was too proud to bear contempt, or forget such an injury soon. He was a vain man, much blown up in

it in England, if he might have such dispensation for outwardly appearing a Protestant at least till he could own himself publicly to be a Catholic, with more security to his own person, and advantage to them. But the good father insisted, that even the pope himself had not the power to grant it, for it was an unalterable doctrine of the Catholic church, not to do ill that good might follow. What this good Jesuite thus said, was afterward confirmed to the duke by the pope himself, to whom he wrott upon the same subject. Till this time his royal highness beleev'd (as it is commonly beleev'd, or at least said, by the church of England doctors) that dispensations in any such cases are by the pope easily granted, but Father Simon's words, and the letter of his holines, made the duke think it high time to declare himself, and not to live in so unsafe and so uneasy a condition."

The date of James's public avowal of the Catholic religion, was some months previous to the Christmas of 1672, yet, after that period, he continued to attend with his brother on the Protestant service. Charles was of a more cautious disposition than his brother, and was alarmed at the temerity of disposition which his subsequent conduct exhibited with regard to religion; he was urgent with him to assume the appearance at least, of holding the Protestant faith. In one of their conversations, startled at James's rashness, Charles is reported to have said, "Brother, *I* am too old to go again on my travels; *you* may if you please." Still James refused all compromise; eager, rash, and obstinate, he could not brook delay in the execution of any plan which he had once formed, but precipitately avowed himself a member of the Catholic church. "The difficulties he encountered," says Heywood, "made him more determined in his conduct; and his brother's efforts to recal him to his former religion, the loss of all his employments, and a long train of calamities and humiliations, served only to strengthen his resolution."

From this period, therefore, may be dated the commencement of that struggle which was so long and so perseveringly maintained in parliament against the duke. On the death of Charles, however, James, sensible perhaps that it was expedient to soothe the minds of his new subjects, assembled the council and made a declaration of his determination to support the established religion. This proceeding answered the temporary purpose for which it was desired. It enabled him to ascend the throne without resistance, and procured an ample civil list from the parliament; yet his next step was to solicit from the French king the continuance of his brother's pension. The latter transaction has been justly characterised by Fox as "one of the meanest and most criminal which history records." Hume says, the king found himself by degrees under the necessity of falling into an union with the French monarch, who could alone assist him in promoting the catholic religion in England. In reply to this, Fox observes, that when James's apologetical historian wrote, "these documents had not been made public, from which the account of the communications with Barillon has been taken, and by which it appears, that a connection with France was, as well in point of time, as in importance, the first object of his reign, and that the immediate specific motive to that connection, was the same as that of his brother; the desire of rendering himself independent of Parliament, and absolute, not that of establishing popery in England, which was considered as a more remote contingency. That this was

the case, is evident from all the circumstances of the transaction, and especially from the zeal with which he was served in it by ministers who were never suspected of any leaning towards popery, and not one of whom, (Sunderland excepted), could be brought to the measures that were afterwards taken in favour of that religion. It is the more material to attend to this distinction, because the Tory historians, especially such of them as are not Jacobites, have taken much pains to induce us to attribute the violences and illegalities of this reign to James's religion, which was peculiar to him, rather than to that desire of absolute power, which so many other princes have had, have, and always will have in common with him. The policy of such misrepresentation is obvious. If this reign is to be considered as a period insulated, as it were, and unconnected with the general course of history, and if the events of it are to be attributed exclusively to the particular character, and particular attachments of the monarch, the sole inference will be, that we must not have a Catholic for our king; whereas, if we consider it, which history well warrants us to do, as a part of that system which had been pursued by all the Stuart kings, as well prior, as subsequent to the Restoration, the lesson which it affords is very different, as well as far more instructive. We are taught, generally, the dangers Englishmen will always be liable to, if, from favour to a prince upon the throne, or from a confidence, however grounded, that his views are agreeable to our own notions of the constitution, we, in any considerable degree, abate of that vigilant, and unremitting jealousy of the power of the crown, which can alone secure to us the effect of those wise laws that have been provided for the benefit of the subject; and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power, and by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favourite object, such, for instance, as the church in James's case, from its grasp."

It would be greatly to exceed the limits prescribed to us in this article were we to enumerate all the various acts of imprudence and violence by which James pursued affairs to their crisis, during his short and inglorious reign. His introduction of Father Petre to a seat at the council-board; his sending of a solemn embassy to the pope with proposals for a solemn readmission of England into the bosom of the catholic church; his appointment of three additional vicars-general; his re-establishment of that most obnoxious tribunal, the high commission-court; his famous dispute with the university of Oxford, and the arrest of the seven bishops; his patronage of Jefferies and Kirke; his appointment of catholic noblemen to the highest offices in the government of Ireland and Scotland—by these, and other infatuated acts, he effectually succeeded in estranging the affections of the nation from his person and government. All parties now looked towards the prince of Orange to aid them in the recovery of their laws and liberties; even those who were most sincerely attached to the reigning family felt that the interference of the prince of Orange had now become absolutely necessary for the preservation of the British constitution.

Supported alike by whigs and tories, by churchmen and dissenters, the Dutch prince landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, 1688, and instantly marched on Exeter. No one thought of opposing the invader; all hastened to join his standard. At last the army itself be-

trayed symptoms of divided allegiance, and James found himself deserted even by his own children. At this crisis of his fortunes, he yielded to despair; and, after making an abortive attempt to escape to the continent, was allowed to withdraw himself from the country. He retired to the French court, where he was well received by Louis XIV. In the meantime, the throne of Great Britain was declared abdicated, and was filled with the consent of the convention, which met to settle the government dissolved by the flight of James, by his eldest daughter, Mary, and her husband, William, conjointly.

James now devoted his attention between the corporal austerities of his religion and those intrigues by which he hoped to recover his power. In 1689, he landed in Ireland, where he was received with open arms by the catholics; but the decisive battle of the Boyne annihilated his hopes in this quarter; and all succeeding projects for his restoration proved equally abortive. He died at St Germains on the 16th of September, 1701.

II.—ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

Archbishop Bancroft.

BORN A. D. 1544.—DIED A. D. 1610.

THIS prelate was born at Farnworth, in Lancashire, in the year 1544. He took his first degree in arts as a student of Christ college, Cambridge, whence he removed to Jesus college, where he took a master's degree in 1570. Soon after this he was appointed chaplain to Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, who presented him, in 1575, to the rectory of Feversham, in the county of Cambridge. In 1585, he was admitted doctor of divinity, and appointed treasurer of St Paul's cathedral. In 1586, he was presented by the lord-chancellor Hatton, whose chaplain he then was, to the rectory of Cottingham, in Northamptonshire: he was at the same time, also, one of Whitgift's chaplains. On the 12th of January, 1588, he delivered a furious invective against the puritans, in a sermon at St Paul's cross, which the curious reader will find reprinted in Hickes' 'Bibliotheca Script. Eccles. Anglicanæ.' In 1589, Dr Bancroft was promoted to a prebendal stall in St Paul's; in 1592, to the same dignity in Westminster; and in 1594 to a stall in Canterbury. In 1594, he published two works, which created a great sensation at the time of their appearance. The one was intituled 'Dangerous positions and proceedings, published and practised within this island of Britain, under pretence of reformation, and for the presbyterian discipline.' The other was called 'A Survey of the pretended holy discipline, containing an historical narration of the beginnings, success, parts, proceedings, authority, and doctrine of it.' We have the authority of Whitgift himself for believing that both these works "were liked, and greatly commended by the learnedest men in the

realm;" that is, that they approved themselves highly to the church-party, who rewarded their author with the see of London, on the death of Richard Fletcher. Bancroft enjoyed Queen Elizabeth's favour, and attended her during her last illness. In the commencement of James's reign, he was one of the chief commissioners on behalf of the church at the famous Hampton-court conference, and took the lead in the disputations. Soon after he was appointed one of the commissioners for regulating the affairs of the church, and for perusing and suppressing books printed in England, or imported into the country, without public authority. In the convocation of 1603-4, Bancroft sat as president, Whitgift having died before its sittings commenced. In October, 1604, he was promoted to the see of Canterbury.

The first acts of the new archbishop were directed to enforce conformity among the clergy of his province. Calderwood informs us that no fewer than three hundred ministers were silenced or deprived for rejecting the terms which Bancroft sought to impose upon them; but Collier denies the accuracy of this statement, and says, that not more than forty-nine were deprived, on any account whatever, throughout the realm.[1] In September, 1605, the archbishop was sworn in one of his majesty's privy council. In 1608, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, in the place of the deceased earl of Dorset. In 1609, he presented a plan to parliament for the better maintenance of the clergy, according to which, among other particulars, he proposed to recover impropriations to poor vicarages, to prevent simony, and to "settle the glebe lands, which, by strong hand, were detained from divers parsons and vicars." The archbishop wished that the lay-impropriators should be made to disgorge a portion of the property of the church which they had got into their hands; but the opposing interest was too strong even for an archbishop to subdue, and the scheme fell to the ground. Bancroft zealously promoted King James's endeavours to bring the episcopalian church of Scotland into a state of conformity with that of England. In 1610, the titular bishops of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway, were canonically consecrated by the bishops of London, Ely, Bath, and Rochester. The two archbishops did not take any part in the ceremony, that there might be no ground afforded for the suspicion of any claim of metropolitical power over an independent church. But when, on this occasion, a difficulty was started by the bishop of Ely, who was of opinion that the titular bishops should first be ordained deacons and priests, his objection was over-ruled by Bancroft, who maintained that the episcopal authority might be fully conveyed at once. The archbishop did not long survive this union of the churches. He had been long afflicted with the stone, and that acute disease brought his life to a close at Lambeth, on the 2d of November, 1610. Among other legacies, he left the whole of his library to his successors in the archiepiscopate for ever. During the troubles of the succeeding reign it was transferred by parliament to Cambridge; after the Restoration it was demanded by Archbishop Juxon, and finally recovered by his successor, Sheldon.

Camden has pronounced Archbishop Bancroft "a person of singular courage and prudence, in all matters relating to the discipline and

[1] Vol. II. p. 687.

establishment of the church." Lord Clarendon says that "he understood the church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the nonconformists by and after the conference at Hampton-court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva."[2] The noble historian's confidence in the archbishop's powers will probably create a smile on the part of our readers; but we have the concurrent testimony of Whitgift, Camden, Clarendon, and Fuller, to the fact, that the archbishop was a man of high moral courage, and sound and extensive learning. He has been accused of covetousness, but Fuller himself acquits him of this charge: "True it is," says that historian, "he maintained not the state of officers, like his predecessor or successor, in house-keeping; yet he was never observed, in his person, to aim at the enriching his kindred, but had the intention to make pious uses his public heir. His estate at his death exceeded not £6,000, no sum to speak a single man covetous, who had sat six years in the see of Canterbury, and somewhat longer in London."[3]

Bishop Andrews.

BORN A. D. 1555.—DIED A. D. 1626.

LANCELOT ANDREWS, bishop of Winchester in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., was born in the city of London in 1555. His father was master of the Trinity-house. The proficiency which young Lancelot made at Merchant-tailor's school, recommended him to the notice of Dr Walls, residentiary of St Pauls, who bestowed upon him one of his own scholarships in Pembroke hall, Cambridge. After taking his degree of B.A., he obtained a fellowship, and was soon after presented with an honorary fellowship in Jesus college, Oxford. He was at this time an accomplished Greek and Hebrew scholar, but had gained his highest reputation as a theologian, having devoted himself with unwearied application to divinity for several years. He was chosen catechist of Pembroke-hall, and was much consulted in cases of conscience; and having undertaken to read lectures on the ten commandments every Saturday and Sunday, great numbers resorted to chapel to hear him. At last, Henry, earl of Huntingdon, prevailed on him to attend him, in the quality of chaplain, into the north, of which he was president. In this situation he displayed the most unwearied diligence as a preacher, and was eminently successful in converting catholics to the reformed faith. His merits recommended him to the notice of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, who presented him with the vicarage of Cripplegate, and a prebendship in St Pauls. He now read divinity lectures three times a week in St Pauls.

His next step was that of chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, who

[2] Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i, p. 88. [3] Church Hist. c. x. p. 57.

made him prebendary of Westminster in the room of Dr Bancroft, promoted to the see of London, and afterwards dean, in the place of Dr Goodman, deceased. The latter situation imposed upon him the superintendence of Westminster school, to which he paid very great attention. Hacket says, "he was strict to charge our masters that they should give us lessons out of none but the most classical authors; that he did often supply the place both of head-schoolmaster and usher for the space of a whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering time from morning to night; that he caused their exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him to examine their style and proficiency; that he never walked to Chiswick for his recreation without a brace of the young fry; and in that way-faring leisure, had a singular dexterity to fill these narrow vessels with a funnel. And, which was the greatest burden of his toil, sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftener, he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night, and kept them with him from eight to eleven, unfolding to them the best rudiments of the Greek tongue, and the elements of the Hebrew grammar. And all this he did to boys without any compulsion of correction; nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us. Alas!" continues Hacket, "this is but an ivy leaf crept into the laurel of his immortal garland! This is that Andrews, the ointment of whose name is sweeter than spices. This is that celebrated bishop of Winton, whose learning King James admired above all his chaplains!"

James had such a high opinion of his abilities, that he employed him to answer Bellarmine's treatise against his own 'Defence of the right of kings.' This he did with great spirit and judgment, in a treatise entitled 'Tortura Torti,' which was printed at London in 1609. In 1605, the dean was promoted to the bishopric of Chichester, and in 1609, on the vacancy of Ely, he was advanced to that see. He was also nominated a privy-councillor. His promotion to the bishopric of Winchester and deanery of the king's chapel, took place in 1618. He continued in favour with Charles I., and died on the 25th of September, 1626.

All Bishop Andrews' contemporaries unite in giving him a high character for learning, benevolence, and suavity of manners. His correspondence embraced the principal scholars of Europe: Casaubon, Cluverius, Vossius, Grotius, Peter du Moulin, Barclay, the author of Argenis, and Erpenius. Clarendon regrets that he was not appointed to the primacy on the death of Bancroft. Milton thought him worthy of his pen, and wrote a Latin elegy on his death. His works are very numerous. The principal are: 1st, A volume of sermons, published in 1628-31, containing ninety-six in all. 2d, Lectures on the Ten Commandments, with nineteen sermons on prayer. And, 3d, A collection of posthumous and orphan lectures, delivered at St Pauls and St Giles's. London, 1657, folio. His 'Manual of Devotion,' in Greek and Latin, has often been reprinted, and was translated by Dean Stanhope. Several of his minor pieces appeared in a collected form, in 4to, in 1629, with a dedication to King Charles from the pen of Laud.

Bishop Carleton.

DIED A. D. 1628.

GEORGE CARLETON, one of the most learned divines of the church of England in the 17th century, was the grandson of Thomas Carleton of Carleton-hall, in Cumberland. The celebrated Bernard Gilpin took upon himself the charge of his education, and was rewarded by witnessing the eminent success of his eleve at Oxford.

He took the degree of D. D. in 1613. In 1618, he was appointed bishop of Llandaff, and in the same year was sent by James, as one of his deputies, to the synod of Dort. He acquitted himself in this embassy much to the satisfaction of his colleagues, and was rewarded with the see of Norwich, on the death of Dr Harsnet in 1619. He died in 1628. Echard, Fuller, and Camden, speak of him in terms of high respect.

As we shall have frequent occasion, in the course of these ecclesiastical memoirs, to allude to the proceedings of the Synod of Dort, we shall here introduce a brief history of the origin of that famous council, from the biographical sketch which Mr Allport has prefixed to his translation of Bishop Davenant's Exposition of Colossians:—"The States of Holland," says Mr Allport, "had no sooner established their freedom from the Spanish yoke, than they were embroiled in theological contentions, which soon became intermingled with political cabals. The awful doctrine of the Divine decrees had been placed by the Belgic Confession and Catechism, in common with most of the other Creeds of the Reformed Churches, in the sacred and undefined simplicity of the Scriptures. But, in the period immediately subsequent to the Reformation, the prying curiosity of men, anxious to be wise above what is written, proceeded to the attempt of accurate and precise explanation of what is evidently inexplicable. When, therefore, the supralapsarian scheme began to take place of the moderate system hitherto adopted, it was opposed, on the other side, by those who, in their eagerness to sustain the freedom of human will, dangerously entrenched upon the freedom of Divine grace.

"These disputes, however, led to no important consequences, until, in 1591, they centered, as it were, in James Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, a man who joined to unquestionable piety and meekness of spirit, a clear and acute judgment; and who had obtained no slight eminence by the talent with which he had extricated the doctrines of Christianity from the dry and technical mode in which they had hitherto been stated and discussed. His celebrity placed him in a situation ill-suited to his habits and temper. As a pupil of Beza, he had embraced the extreme views to which that divine had carried the tenets advocated by the powerful pen of Calvin. It happened that one Coornhert had advanced some opinions, which, if not loose in themselves, were, at least, expressed in a very unguarded way. The ministers of Delft published a reply: in which the moderate and generally received sublapsarian hypothesis was sustained; which gave little less offence to the high Calvinists than did the heterodox

language of Coornhert. Arminius, therefore, as the most talented divine of the day, was applied to, in order to take up the pen on both sides. On the one hand, his friend Martin Lydius, solicited him to vindicate the supralapsarian views of his former tutor, Beza, against the reply of the ministers; and, on the other, he was invited by the synod of Amsterdam, to defend this same reply against Coornhert. Placed in this remarkable situation, Arminius felt compelled to enter into an examination of the whole question, and was induced to change his sentiments, and to adopt that view of the Divine dispensations which now bears his name. His change, however, was very gradual; but appears to have been hastened by the publication, in Holland, of the *Aurea Armilla*, of Perkins, a very powerful supralapsarian divine of the Church of England. This alteration of opinion would not have led to any serious consequences, had Arminius, and the moderate part of the church, been left to themselves. The fundamental point of justification by faith, with the doctrine of assurance, and even of final perseverance, were held by him to his death; and his exemplary piety and humility secured for him the attachment even of those who, when the dispute subsequently extended, became his most zealous opponents. The heat, however, of the less discreet part of the church, and the dangerous opinions of some who leaned to the Socinian and Pelagian heresies, (among whom may be designated Episcopius, Grotius, Limborch, &c.) being, as is no uncommon case at present, confounded with the tenets of Arminius, led to angry and uncharitable controversies, by which the peace of the church was grievously broken in upon. Still, the questions might have been amicably settled, but that, at the annual meetings of the synods in 1605, the class of Dort unwisely fanned the embers into a flame by transmitting the following grievance to the university of Leyden:—'Inasmuch as rumours are heard that certain controversies have arisen in the church and university of Leyden, concerning the doctrine of the reformed churches, this class has judged it necessary that the synod should deliberate respecting the safest and most speedy method of settling those controversies; that all the schisms and causes of offence which spring out of them may seasonably be removed, and the union of the reformed churches preserved inviolate against the calumnies of adversaries.'

"When this officious document reached Leyden, it gave offence to the moderate men of both sides; and met with the following reply from the professors there: 'that they wished the Dort class had, in this affair, acted with greater discretion, and in a more orderly manner; that, in their own opinion, there were more disputes among the students than was agreeable to them as professors; but, that among themselves, the professors of theology, no difference existed that could be considered as affecting, in the least, the fundamentals of doctrine; and that they would endeavour to diminish the disputes among the students.' This was signed by Arminius, then rector of the university, by Gomarus, and others.

"From the signature of Gomarus to this reply, it is evident, that his subsequent bitterness against the remonstrants at the synod of Dort, was the result of that acrimony which controversy so often engenders; and that, at the period before us, he neither considered the views of his colleague as affecting the vitality of the faith, nor even interrupting their

private friendship; although, unhappily, afterwards, he denounced the former, as upsetting the basis of the gospel; spoke of the latter, when deceased, in terms the most harsh and uncharitable, and fomented those persecuting measures against his followers, which have rendered the name of the synod of Dort so odious.

"This meddling interference of the class of Dort, having brought the whole question before the public, kindled a flame through the United Provinces. In the heat of this, in the year 1609, Arminius died, with a spirit completely broken by the calumny and rancour with which he was assailed. His followers abandoned many of the views which he held in common with Calvin, particularly on the vital point of justification. They became universally lax both in their opinions and in their society; and, as has too often been the case, aversion from Calvinism became a general bond of union. Having presented a strong remonstrance to the states-general in 1610, they obtained the name of *Remonstrants*, and their opponents having presented a counter-remonstrance, were termed *Contra-Remonstrants*.

"To settle these disputes, the Remonstrants demanded a general council of the Protestant churches. This the states refused; but it was at length determined by four out of seven of the United Provinces, that a national synod should be held at Dort—a town eminent for its hostility to the Arminians; and letters were sent to the French Huguenots, and to the different Protestant states of Germany and Switzerland, requesting them to send deputies to assist at the deliberations. Among others, the king of England, James I., was solicited in the same manner. And he, partly from political motives, and partly from his love of theological controversy, complied with the request, and selected for this purpose five of the most eminent theologians in his realm, viz. Dr George Carleton, bishop of Landaff, Dr Joseph Hall, dean of Worcester, Dr Davenant, Dr Samuel Ward, master of Sydney Sussex college, and Walter Balcanqual, a presbyter of the church of Scotland; and when Hall, on account of ill health, returned home, his place was filled by Dr Goad, precentor of St Paul's, and chaplain to the primate, Abbot."

Among Carleton's works are: 'Heroici Characteres,' published at Oxford in 1603; 'Titles examined,' Lond. 1606; 'Jurisdiction regal, episcopal, and papal,' Lond. 1610, 4to.; 'Astrologimania,' Lond. 1624; 'Vita B. Gilpini,' Lond. 1626; and several sermons and letters. He had also a hand in the Dutch Annotations.

Henry Ainsworth.

DIED CIRC. A. D. 1629.

Henry Ainsworth, an eminent biblical commentator, and non-conforming divine, flourished at the latter end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. The time and place of his birth are unknown. Adopting the views of the Brownists, he shared in the persecutions to which they were subjected in Elizabeth's reign; and to avoid the troubles which harassed his party, retired to Holland, where, in conjunction with one of his brethren, he became pastor of an independent congregation at Amsterdam. On account of some differences

with his people, he left them, and went to Ireland, but soon after returned again to Holland, where he remained till his death, concerning which a singular circumstance is related. Ainsworth having picked up in the street a valuable diamond, advertised it, and found the owner to be a wealthy Jew. The Jew offered him any recompense he might demand, but Ainsworth would accept of no acknowledgment, and only requested in return that the Jew would obtain for him a conference with some learned rabbis on the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the Messiah. The Jew promised this, but not being able to make good his engagement, is said, through shame or vexation, or from some other motive which does not appear, to have poisoned Ainsworth. This probably happened about the year 1629. Ainsworth was a man of immense biblical learning, and has written very erudite 'Annotations' on the Pentateuch and Psalms, which were reprinted together, in folio, in 1627 and 1639. He also wrote some minor pieces, chiefly referring to the controversies of the time, and now all forgotten, except, perhaps, his 'Arrow against Idolatry.' Heylin—who, however, was no friend to sectaries—asserts, that Ainsworth maintained a violent dispute with Broughton, one of his brethren, on the question, 'Whether the colour of Aaron's linen ephod was blue or green'?[1]

Robert Brown.

BORN A. D. 1549.—DIED A. D. 1630.

ROBERT BROWN, born in 1549, son of Anthony Brown, Esq. of Folthorp, Rutlandshire, was descended from an ancient and honourable family, and was nearly related to the lord-treasurer Cecil. He received his education at Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, and appears to have commenced his career as a clergyman. He was a preacher at Bennet church, and was highly esteemed for his oratory. Prior to the year 1580, he had been a schoolmaster in Southwark, and a lecturer at Islington. His restless disposition made him uneasy in these situations, and about 1580 he openly attacked the order and discipline of the established church.

Soon after this period we find him settled at Norwich, where he gained great influence in a Dutch church formed in that city. He persuaded many of its members to embrace his views of church government. Growing bold by his success, he formed a distinct church upon democratical principles. His proceedings soon attracted the attention of Dr Freake, bishop of Norwich, who committed him to the custody of the sheriff. He had, however, extensively propagated his opinions, and had enlisted one Richard Harrison in the same cause, by whose assistance several churches upon Brownist principles were formed in different parts of the country. Through the influence of his relative, the lord-treasurer, he was released from prison. But in the year 1582, a book appeared entitled 'The Life and Manners of true Christians,' to which is prefixed 'A treatise of reformation without tarrying

[1] Neale.—Biog. Brit.—Heylin's Hist.

for any, and of the wickedness of those preachers who will not reform themselves and their charge, because they will tarry till the magistrate command and compel them.' Upon the publication of this work he was again arrested and committed to prison, but having denied that he was acquainted with the publication of the book, and through the intercession of the lord-treasurer, he was again liberated, and sent home to his father, with whom he appears to have continued about four years. After this, he again engaged in disseminating his opinions upon church government, and in condemning the established church. During this period he formed many societies upon the principles he had imbibed—but was so closely pursued by the bishops and the court, and his new societies so severely persecuted, that with many of his followers—who now included among them several very learned and able men—he passed over to Holland, where leave was granted them to worship God in their own way.

The exiles settled at Middleburgh in Zealand, and formed a church to their own mind. But Brown soon became uneasy. His associates adhered to his leading principles, but disowned the man and were offended by his conduct. In the year 1589, he returned again to England, and having renounced the principles he had at first propagated, accepted the rectory of a church near Oundle, Northamptonshire. He had now become a dissolute and idle man. He is represented as having cast off his wife, and become wholly regardless of the duties of his rectory, which was served by a substitute. His disorderly life brought him to poverty and disgrace, while his pride and violence of temper brought upon him a wretched and pitiable end. It appears that when he was about 80 years of age, the payment of some rate was demanded of him by the constable of the parish, at which he became enraged and struck the constable. For this assault he was committed to Northampton jail, where he sickened and died in the year 1630, at the age of 81.

It is to be observed, that much uncertainty hangs over many of the facts of Brown's history, and that it is not easy now to determine the sentiments which he taught, and which his followers continued to maintain after he had himself abandoned them. Fuller acknowledges that "little can be known of them, but from pens which avowedly write against them." Although Brown was the first to propagate and act upon the peculiar sentiments afterwards so extensively embraced, yet there is every probability that many learned men had discovered them, at least in part, and were ready to sanction them as soon as they were openly proclaimed. It is quite clear that these sentiments spread rapidly in England during Brown's lifetime, and that after his death they became extensively popular. In the hands of several of his followers, the system was greatly improved, and by it several churches both at home and abroad were regulated. The celebrated Henry Ainsworth was the most distinguished of these. As they continued to increase, their sentiments gradually improved and became more liberal in the hands of the independents or congregationalists—which name they subsequently assumed. At the period of the commonwealth they had become a formidable party and exercised a most salutary check upon the intolerance both of the episcopalians and presbyterians. As

they have in England completely absorbed presbyterianism, and become one of the most considerable religious denominations, it may not be uninteresting to state what were at least the opinions of their founder.

It does not appear that the early Brownists differed materially in articles of faith from the church of England; but Brown himself was exceedingly rigid in points of discipline, and contended for matters of church order with as much zeal as for the fundamentals of the Christian faith. He openly denied the church of England to be a true church, and insisted on the invalidity of her ordination, and by consequence the nullity of all her rites. Hence he forbade all communion with it, even in the public ordinances of religion. This principle of separation he carried so far as to denounce all the churches of the reformation that were not formed upon his own model. "They apprehended," says Neal, "according to the Scriptures, that every church ought to be confined within the limits of a single congregation; and that the government should be democratical. When a church was to be gathered, such as desired to be members made a confession of their faith in the presence of each other, and signed a covenant, obliging themselves to walk together in the order of the gospel, according to certain rules and agreements therein contained. The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the deciding of all controversies, was in the brotherhood. Their church-officers for preaching the word and taking care of the poor, were chosen from among themselves, and separated to their several offices by fasting and prayer, and imposition of the hands of some of the brethren. They did not allow the priesthood to be a distinct order, or to give a man an indelible character; but as the vote of the brotherhood made him an officer, and gave him authority to preach and administer the sacraments among them; so the same power could discharge him from his office, and reduce him to the state of a private brother."

"When the number of communicants was larger than could meet in one place, the church divided and chose new officers from among themselves as before, living together as sister-churches, and giving each other the right hand of fellowship. One church might not exercise jurisdiction or authority over another, but each might give other counsel, advice, or admonition if they walked disorderly or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a church of Christ. The powers of their church-officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society. The pastor of one church might not administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, to any but those of his own communion and their immediate children. They declared against all prescribed forms of prayer. Any lay-brother had the liberty of prophesying or giving a word of exhortation in their church assemblies; and it was usual after sermon, for some of the brotherhood to ask questions, and confer with each other upon the doctrines that had been delivered; but as for church censures, they were for an entire separation of the civil and ecclesiastical sword. In short, every church or society of Christians meeting in one place, was, according to the Brownists, a body corporate, having full power within itself to admit and exclude members, to choose and ordain officers; and when the good of the society required

it, to depose them, without being accountable to classes, conventions, synods, councils, or any jurisdiction whatsoever."

It is not a little remarkable that, notwithstanding the discredit thrown upon the principles of the Brownists, by the defection, and by the disgraceful conduct of their founder, still they should have survived, and been gradually advancing, till they have become, with some modifications, the accredited opinions of two numerous sects, the baptists and independents, respectable alike for their numbers and their talents. It is not less remarkable, that with the early Brownists, or, as they were subsequently called, independents, should have originated the doctrine of universal toleration, or the separation of the power of the church entirely from the power of the magistrate; and that the most distinguished church historians, as Mosheim, Milner, Campbell, and many others, should have agreed that the early Christian churches were undoubtedly in the main founded and regulated after the manner of the independents.

The chief of Brown's works are:—1. A thin quarto, published at Middleburgh, 1582; mentioned above. 2. 'A Treatise upon the 23d chapter of Matthew, both for an order of studying and handling the scriptures, and also for avoiding the popish disorders, and ungodly communion of all false Christians, and especially of wicked preachers and hirelings.' 3. 'A book which showeth the life and manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are unto Turks and papists, and heathen folk,' &c.[1]

George Herbert.

BORN A. D. 1593.—DIED A. D. 1632.

This excellent man was born at Herbert castle, near Montgomery, on the 3d of April, 1593. He was the fifth son of Richard Herbert, father of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. His father having died when he was only four years of age, George spent the next eight years of his life under the immediate tuition of his excellent mother. In his thirteenth year he became a king's scholar in Westminster school, where he continued two years, and then removed to Trinity college, Cambridge. In the first year of his residence at the university we find him lamenting, in a letter to his mother, that so much of the poetry of the day was consecrated to Venus, and so little to God and heaven; and declaring that all his poetry should be devoted to the glory of God,—a resolution to which he ever afterwards steadily adhered. During his residence at college he was a diligent and successful student. In 1619 he was chosen orator of the university, in which character he acquired the particular notice of King James, who used to call him the jewel of Cambridge, and always required his attendance when in the neighbourhood of the university. His majesty's patronage, and his friendship with the great Lord Bacon, seem to have at first excited Herbert's ambition. For a time he turned his attention to politics, and aimed at high office in the state. But the death of the king, and his mother's

[1] Bogue and Bennett, vol. 1. p. 128. *et seq.*—Wilson Dis. Ch. vol. 1. p. 14.—Neal.

decided opposition to his views, made him relinquish the idea of a courtier's life.

In 1626, he entered into deacon's orders. In the same year, he was made prebend of Layton, a village in Huntingdonshire. He soon afterwards married Miss Danvers, a relation of the earl of Danby, and who appears to have been a person of singular excellence. In 1630 he was inducted into the living of Bernerton, near Salisbury, vacated by the elevation of Dr Curle to the see of Bath. Immediately upon entering on this charge, he drew up certain rules for the future conduct of his life, which he subsequently committed, in a more distinct and extended form, to writing, and which were given to the world after his death, under the title of 'the Priest and the Temple, or the Country Parson's character,'—a book with which every clergyman ought to be familiarly acquainted, and which will amply repay every reader. Mr Herbert's constant practice was to attend with his whole family, twice every day, at ten and four, at the church-prayers, which he read in a chapel close to his house. His example, in this respect, was soon followed by many of his parishioners, and, it is said, the farmers in the neighbourhood would let their ploughs rest when Mr Herbert's bell rung to prayers, that they might offer their devotions to God with him, and carry back his blessing with them to their labours. Many anecdotes are related of his amiable and Christian dispositions. His love for music was such that he usually went twice a-week to Salisbury cathedral, and, at his return, would say, that the time he thus spent in listening to the church music elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth. He used also to take a part in a private music club, and to justify this practice, would say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

Herbert died in 1632. His poetical effusions were the most popular of the day; but we must rank him beneath Donne, Quarles, and Crashaw.

Archbishop Abbot.

BORN A. D. 1562.—DIED A. D. 1633.

GEORGE ABBOT, archbishop of Canterbury, was born October 29, 1662, at Guilford, in Surrey, where his father, Maurice Abbot, was a cloth-worker. He received the rudiments of his education at the grammar-school of his native town, whence he was removed to Baliol college, Oxford, of which, in 1593, he became a fellow. He took his degree of D.D. in 1597, and the same year, was chosen principal of University college. In 1599, he was installed dean of Winchester, and the year following, he was chosen vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, which office he again filled in 1603, and a third time in 1608.

In 1604, the translation of the Bible, now in common use, was begun by the direction of King James, and Dr Abbot was one of the eight divines of Oxford to whom the care of translating the New Testament, with the exception of the epistles, was committed. In 1608, he went to Scotland with Hume, earl of Dunbar, to assist in bringing

about a union between the national churches of Scotland and England. The object of this mission was so far accomplished that the bishops were appointed to be perpetual moderators in the diocesan synods, and invested with the power of presentation to benefices, and of deprivation or suspension; the skill and prudence which Abbot exhibited in the discharge of his delicate task, laid the foundation of his rapid preferment. In 1609, upon the death of Dr Overton, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Dr Abbot was appointed bishop of these united sees: a month afterwards he was translated to London; and on the 2d November, 1610, he was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

It is not improbable that he owed his advancement as much to his adulation of his royal master—whose itch for flattery is well known—as to the real merit which he unquestionably possessed, and his sincere attachment to the protestant cause, in which his parents had suffered considerably. In the preface to one of his pamphlets, the following specimen of ridiculous flattery occurs:—Speaking of the king, he says, "whose life hath been so immaculate, and unspotted, &c., that even malice itself, which leaves nothing unsearched, could never find true blemish in it, nor cast probable aspersion on it. Zealous as a David; learned and wise, the Solomon of our age; religious as Josias; careful of spreading Christ's faith as Constantine the Great; just as Moses; undefiled in all his ways as a Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah; full of clemency as another Theodosius." It would also appear from a letter of King James's to Abbot, first published by Dean Sherlock, that his ideas of regal power were little likely to give offence, even to such a prince as James; nevertheless, Abbot could sometimes oppose the will of his sovereign with great decision and firmness, and his moderation in the exercise of his high functions recommended him greatly to the puritanic and popular party. He strenuously promoted the projected match between the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth, and performed their nuptial ceremony on the 14th of February, 1612. "It was acceptable news," says Neal, "to the English puritans, to hear of a protestant prince in Bohemia; and they earnestly desired his majesty to support him, as appears by Archbishop Abbot's letter, who was known to speak the sense of that whole party. This prelate being asked his opinion as a privy-councillor, while he was confined to his bed with the gout, wrote the following letter to the secretary of state:—'That it was his opinion that the elector should accept the crown; that England should support him openly; and that as soon as news of his coronation should arrive, the bells should be rung, guns fired, and bonfires made, to let all Europe see that the king was determined to countenance him.' The archbishop adds, 'It is a great honour to our king, to have such a son made a king; methinks I foresee in this the work of God, that by degrees the kings of the earth shall leave the whore to desolation. Our striking in will comfort the Bohemians, and bring in the Dutch and the Dane, and Hungary will run the same fortune. As for money and means, let us trust God and the parliament, as the old and honourable way of raising money. This from my bed (says the brave old prelate), September 12, 1619, and when I can stand I will do better service.'"

The affair of the divorce of the Lady Essex, has been considered

one of the greatest blemishes of James's reign. The king referred the matter to a court of delegates, consisting of bishops and civilians, which he expected would decide in favour of the divorce; but the archbishop boldly resisted the measure, and sentence was given in the lady's favour. On another occasion, the archbishop set himself against the views and wishes of the king and court, when these ran counter to a higher allegiance which he owed. Happening to be at Croydon, in 1618, on the day when the king's proclamation permitting sports and pastimes on the Sabbath was ordered to be read in all churches, he forbade it to be published in the church of that place. A fatal accident, to which he was made an innocent party, greatly affected him. Whilst enjoying the recreation of hunting in Lord Zouch's park, at Bramzill, in Hampshire, he accidentally killed one of the keepers by a barbed arrow from a cross-bow. Advantage was eagerly taken of this misfortune to his prejudice. Four bishops were waiting for consecration at his hands at this very moment, but refused to receive it from a homicide, whilst his enemies eagerly alleging that he had thereby incurred an irregularity which incapacitated him for performing the offices of primate, obtained the appointment of a commission of ten persons to inquire into this matter; but the result disappointed them, it being declared that, as the offence was involuntary, it could not affect his archiepiscopal character. His grace, during the remaining twelve years of his life, kept a monthly fast on Tuesday, the day on which the accident happened.

His increasing infirmities prevented him from regularly assisting at the deliberations of the council; but he attended the king in his last illness, and performed the ceremony of the coronation of Charles I. He was never greatly in the new king's favour, in consequence of his vigorously opposing his projected union with a Spanish princess; and upon his refusing to license an assize-sermon preached by Dr Sibthorpe, at Northampton, in 1617, in which that divine attempted to justify a loan which the king had demanded, and advanced many obnoxious principles, he was immediately suspended from all his functions as primate, which were devolved on a commission of five bishops, of whom Laud, the archbishop's enemy, and afterwards his successor, was one. He did not, however, remain long in this situation, for a parliament being absolutely necessary, he was sent for, and restored to his authority and jurisdiction; though he never fully recovered the royal favour, and, upon the birth of the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., his rival, Laud, had the honour to perform the ceremony of baptism, as dean of the chapel. Worn out with cares and infirmities, the good archbishop expired at Croydon, on the 5th of August, 1633, in the 71st year of his age. Agreeably to his own desire, he was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Guildford, where a stately monument was erected over the grave, bearing his effigy in his robes.

The public character of Archbishop Abbot has been variously estimated by different writers. Clarendon has treated him with considerable severity; but Welwood has done more justice to his merits and abilities. The former says of him:—"He had been head or master of one of the poorest colleges in Oxford, and had learning sufficient for that province. He was a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect, which at that time was called gravity; made

bishop before he had been a parson, vicar, or curate, of any parish church of England, or dean, or prebend of any cathedral church; and was, in truth, totally ignorant of the true constitution of the church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy, as sufficiently appears through the whole course of his life. He considered the Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred or reviled popery; and valued those men most who did that most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in ancient and solid study of divinity; he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and for his sake did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done."[1] Dr Welwood thus characterises the archbishop:—"He was a person of wonderful temper and moderation, and in all his conduct showed an unwillingness to stretch the act of uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the church or the prerogative of the crown. Being not well turned for a court, though otherwise of considerable learning, he was either unwilling or incapable to submit to the humour of the times, and now and then, by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much addicted to popular interest, and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government." He appears to have been a learned and a conscientious man,—moderate, upon the whole, in his conduct to all parties, and sincerely desirous to promote purity of manners, and soundness of doctrine among the clergy. In his religious opinions he was a rigid Calvinist. The following is a list of his works, as given in Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary:—1st. Quæstiones sex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, discussæ et disceptatæ, anno 1597, in quibus e Sacra Scriptura et Patribus, quid statuendum sit definitur. Oxon, 1598, 4to.—reprinted in 1616 at Frankfort. 2d. Exposition on the Prophet Jonah, contained in certain sermons preached in St Marie's church, in Oxford, 1600.—4to. 3d. Answer to the Questions of the Citizens of London, in January, 1600, concerning Cheapside Cross; not printed until 1641. 4th. The Reasons which Dr Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papistry, unmasked, and showed to be very weak, &c. Oxon, 1604, 4to. 5th. A Preface to the examination of George Sprot, &c. 6th. Sermon preached at Westminster, May 26, 1608, at the funeral of Thomas, earl of Dorset, late lord-high-treasurer of England, on Isaiah xl. 6. 1608.—4to. 7th. Translation of a part of the New Testament, with the rest of the Oxford divines, 1611. 8th. Some Memorials touching the nullity between the earl of Essex and his lady, pronounced September 25, 1613, at Lambeth; and the dif-

[1] The learned translator of Mosheim censures Lord Clarendon's account of this eminent prelate as most unjust and partial; and in a long note, ably and judiciously appreciates the archbishop's merit and excellence. It was, he shows, by the zeal and dexterity of Abbot, that things were put into such a situation in Scotland as afterward produced the entire establishment of the episcopal order in that nation. It was by the mild and prudent counsels of Abbot, when he was chaplain to the lord-high-treasurer Dunbar, that there was passed a famous act of the general assembly of Scotland, which gave the king the authority of calling all general assemblies, and investing the bishops, or their deputies, with various powers of interference and influence over the Scotch ministers. These facts confute the charge of his disregarding the constitution of the church.

ficulties endured in the same. 9th. A Brief Description of the Whole World, wherein is particularly described all the monarchies, empires, and kingdoms of the same, with their academies, &c. 1617, 4to., frequently reprinted. 10th. A Short Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the death of Peter Hawkins, dated October 8, 1621. 11th. Treatise of perpetual visibility and succession of the true church in all ages. London, 1624, 4to.; published without his name; but his arms impaled with those of Canterbury, are put before it. 12th. A Narrative, containing the true cause of his sequestration and disgrace at court, in two parts; written at Ford, in Kent, 1627—printed in Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. 1. p. 438—461, and in Annals of King Charles, p. 213—224. 13th. History of the Massacre in the Valteline—printed in the third volume of Fox's Acts and Monuments. 14th. Judgment on bowing at the name of Jesus. Hamburgh, 1632, 8vo.

ROBERT ABBOT, bishop of Salisbury, and elder brother of the former, was born at Guilford, in Surrey, in 1560, and educated at the same school and college with George. He soon became a celebrated preacher, and was chosen lecturer at Worcester, and subsequently rector of All Saints in that city. In 1597, he took the degree of D.D., and in the beginning of James's reign was appointed one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary. The pedantic monarch was so well pleased with the doctor's book, 'De Antichristo,' that he ordered it to be printed along with his own 'Paraphrase on the Apocalypse,' "by which," says Granger, "he paid himself a much greater compliment than he did the doctor." In 1609 he was elected master of Baliol college; in 1610 he was made prebendary of Normanton; and in 1612 he was appointed regius professor of divinity at Oxford. His vindication of the supreme power of kings, against Bellarmine and Suarez, gave his royal master great satisfaction, and obtained for him the see of Salisbury, in 1615, which, however, he did not long enjoy; his sedentary life and intensely studious habits having brought upon him the disease of gravel, of which he died on the 2d of March, 1618, in the 58th year of his age. His remains were interred in Salisbury cathedral. He wrote:—1st. The Mirror of Popish Subtleties. Lond. 1594, 4to. 2d. The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Priesthood of Christ—sermons on the first seven verses of the 110th Psalm.—Lond. 1601, 4to. 3d. Antichristi Demonstratio, contra Fabulas Pontificias, et ineptam Rob. Bellarmini de Antichristo Disputationem. Lond. 1603, 4to. 4th. Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Mr W. Perkins against the Bastard Counter Catholic of Dr William Bishop, seminary priest; in three parts, 1606, 4to. 5th. The Old Way; a sermon at St Mary's Oxon. Lond. 1610, 4to. 6th. The true ancient Roman Catholic; being an apology against Dr Bishop's Reproof of the Defence of the Reformed Catholic, 1611, 4to. 7th. Antilogia; adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Johannis, Jesuite, pro Henrico Garnetto, Jesuita Proditore. Lond. 1613, 4to. 8th. De Gratia et Perseverantia Sanctorum, Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxon. Lond. 1618, 4to. 9th. In Ricardi Thomsoni Angli-Belgici Diatribam, de Amissione et Intercessione Justificationis et gratiæ, Animadversio brevis. Lond. 1618, 4to. 10th. De Suprema Potestate Regia Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi contra Rob. Bellaminum et Franciscum Suarez. Lond. 1619, 4to. He

likewise wrote several commentaries on the Scriptures, which were never printed; among these is a Latin commentary on the epistle to the Romans, in four volumes folio, in which we are assured by the English editors of Bayle, "the learned prelate has shown his great skill in polemical divinity in every article which admits of controversy." Comparing the merits of the two brothers, Fuller remarks that "George was the more plausible preacher, Robert the greater scholar; George was the abler statesman, Robert the deeper divine."

William Ames.

BORN A. D. 1576.—DIED A. D. 1633.

WILLIAM AMES, or AMESIUS, was a very learned and distinguished puritan divine, descended from an ancient and honourable family in Norfolk. He was born in 1576, and educated at Christ's college, Cambridge. Here he attached himself to the celebrated theologian of the Calvinistic school, Mr W. Perkins. But his tenets proved the bar to his advancement, and after suffering some troubles, he left that university, and went to Friesland, where his learning and polemical skill soon obtained for him the distinction of a professorship in the university of Franeker. He mingled in most of the theological controversies of the age, and was looked up to with much respect by all learned men of the protestant church. He continued his divinity professorship for twelve years, when, finding the locality of Franeker incongenial with his constitutional complaint, which was an asthma, he removed to Rotterdam, where he became pastor of the English congregation. Here he had a dispute with Grevinchovius, a minister of that place, which appeared in print about 1613. He attended at the synod of Dort, and communicated to the English ambassador from time to time a full report of the debates of that assembly. One of his most celebrated works was directed against the famous popish author, Cardinal Bellarmine. The work is entitled, 'Bellarminus Enervatus,' and is a specimen of the most condensed and comprehensive argumentation which was perhaps ever directed against the church of Rome. Though a single and very small volume, it contains every material point in the popish controversy. It was written in Latin, and published at Amsterdam, 1628. He wrote many other works in Latin. These were all collected and reprinted in five vols. 8vo. in 1658, at Amsterdam. His English works were also numerous, but mostly controversial. Finding the religious affairs of his native country by no means inviting, nor likely to admit his return, he had formed the design of following many of his puritan brethren to New England, and probably would have done so the ensuing spring, but he was cut off in the winter of 1633, at the age of 57.

Joseph Mede, B.D.

BORN A. D. 1586.—DIED A. D. 1638.

JOSEPH MEDE was born, October, 1586, at Berden, near Bishop Stortford, Essex. His parents were persons of good reputation, and related to Sir John Mede of Lofts Hall, in that county, whose eldest son subsequently became the pupil of Mr Joseph Mede. Both himself and his father took the small-pox at the same time, when he was about ten years of age. The father died, but the son recovered, and was sent to school first at Hoddesden, and afterwards at Wetherfield, in Essex. About this period, Joseph, being in London, met with a copy of Bellarmine's Hebrew grammar, which he procured. Having taken it to school with him, his master endeavoured to dissuade him from the study of it, but such was his ardour in the acquisition of that language, that he made considerable progress in it, without the assistance of any tutor, before he left school. At the age of sixteen he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and entered at Christ's college as a pupil under Mr Daniel Rogers, and three years after under Mr William Addison. Having taken the degrees of B. A. and M. A., he was advanced by his tutor to the office of reader to his pupils, and moderator at their disputations. His high attainments and excellent character procured him much respect, not only in his own college, but throughout the university. During this period he laboured under great defects of utterance, which, by diligent attention and perseverance, he at length overcame. But his studies were embittered and impeded by a trial of a far worse and very different kind. In the chamber of a fellow-student he met with a book not named, which for a considerable time shook his confidence in first principles, and brought him near to Pyrrhonism. It was not without much difficulty that he was enabled to rid himself of this troublesome perplexity, and escape from the toils of universal scepticism. At length, however, he emerged from these clouds, and found his way back to the high way of truth and common sense. Henceforward, his course was happy and distinguished. He became celebrated for his knowledge of many languages, for mathematics, anatomy, and philosophy in general. His first production which excited attention was a Latin address to Dr Andrews, bishop of Ely and Winchester, 'De Sanctitate relativa,' &c. This was afterwards published in a treatise on 1 Cor. xi. 22, and in his 'Concio ad Clerum' on Levit. xix. 30. This address procured him the warm patronage of Bishop Andrews, who recommended him to a fellowship, and made him his household chaplain; but it appears Mr Mede declined serving the latter appointment, because it would have drawn him away from his studies. He met with formidable opposition in his election to the fellowship, on account of his Calvinistic principles, but ultimately succeeded. He was next chosen lecturer on Greek, on the foundation of Sir Walter Mildmay, and continued in this office through life. His labours were not, however, confined to his lectureship. He also took the charge of pupils, and was both diligent and successful in the direction of their studies. But while thus engaged in assisting others, he was ardently employed in the augmentation of his own stores of know-

ledge in various departments; languages, divinity, and natural history, were among his favourite pursuits. His propensity, however, for curious inquiries perverted him from the road of sound and useful knowledge, and led him often into the shadowy regions of astrology and oneironism. These pursuits induced him to study with much assiduity the mysteries of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and other nations, famous for recondite science. The direct results of these researches may indeed be said to have amounted just to a *caput mortuum*, but their collateral effects were both interesting and important. He was led to pursue the study of antiquities and of chronology, and from these he entered upon the arduous task of prophetic and apocalyptic interpretation. It is by his attainments and skill in this department that he is principally known to posterity. In such repute was he for a profound knowledge of ancient history and chronology, that Archbishop Usher requested his assistance when he undertook to settle the sacred chronology, and so high a sense of regard did the archbishop bear him that, some time after, he recommended him to the provostship of Trinity college, Dublin, and twice procured him the offer of it; but such was Mr Mede's love of retirement, that he declined the offer, and requested only some small donative to his fellowship, or to have a place in some collegiate church or rural college.

He continued patiently pursuing his studies till the age of fifty-two, scarcely ever leaving the walls of his college—rarely troubling himself with those things which most agitate and interest mankind. In September, 1638, he was suddenly taken ill after dinner, and retiring to his chamber alone, sat down in a chair, but soon after fainted, and fell upon the floor, near the fire, where he was sometime after found by a friend who happened to come to his apartment. After this, it appears, he fell into the hands of unskilful physicians, and died in two days. Of his character, all who have written speak in the highest terms. He lived very much the life of a recluse, but was a man of amiable and cheerful habits, loving society, at least of that particular kind which met his taste, and delighting in nothing so much as in the converse of wise and good men. He appears to have inherited no private property, but was enabled, from his college and professional emoluments, to be extensively charitable, and leave at his death some legacies for the benefit of the poor, his relatives and his college. As an author, he has enjoyed the singular felicity of founding a new school, or new department of sacred study, in which he has enjoyed an undisputed mastership, and an advancing fame. He is the father of all those that handle the mysterious harp of inspired prophecy. During his lifetime he published only three treatises. The first entitled, 'Clavis Apocalyptica ex innatis et insitis visionum characteribus eruta et demonstrata;' to which he added, in 1632, 'In Sancti Joannis Apocalypsin Commentarius.' This is the largest and most elaborate of any of his writings. The other two, which were published during his lifetime, were but short tracts, and upon not very interesting subjects,—the one being on the word θυσιαστηριον, the name given anciently to the sacramental table; and the other on the churches or places of worship in the apostolic and succeeding times. His other works, which were left in manuscript, were edited by Dr Worthington, and appeared in folio 1672, with a full life of the author. The whole works are divided into five books, and dis-

posed in the following order :—The first contains fifty-three discourses on various texts of scripture, most of them very short, often critical and learned, and fitter to entertain students of theology than to be delivered in the course of public instruction. There is, however, some sound and useful criticism in these discourses. The second book contains a number of treatises on subjects connected with places of public worship, and several such matters of Christian antiquity, all of them learned and able, but manifesting vastly too much deference for the opinions and reasonings of the early fathers. For what figment of the imagination, what pestilent fancy of superstition, what perversion of reason and common sense, may not be "ferretted out of that dusty cupboard of antiquity?" The third book contains his treatises on the prophetical Scriptures, viz., the Apocalyptic Key and Commentaries—some small tracts regarding the Apocalypse—a Paraphrase of the 3d chap. of 2d Epistle of Peter—The Apostacy of the latter times—Daniel's Weeks, with two tracts upon Daniel. The fourth book contains letters by Mr Mede in answer to learned men who had written to him respecting his opinions. The fifth book contains Sacred fragments, or Miscellanies of Divinity. Several of his principal works are in Latin.

The whole display the great learning and ingenuity of the author, though frequently without affording the reader satisfaction and repose of mind in the results. Mede, with Dr Henry More, expected the personal reign of Christ, and may be said to have done more to systematize and fortify those opinions than any other writer, whether of ancient or modern times. His views have been adopted, corrected, and repropagated in various forms, suited to the meridian of the particular age, by many writers, at intervals down to the present day. Eras have been calculated upon Mede's data and principia, when the Messiah was certainly to appear. All these writers seemed equally plausible in their predictions, and all equally positive of their verification, but their chosen eras have all passed away, one after another, and yet the Millennium they foresaw has not approached. Mede, however, is a modest inquirer, in comparison with the dogmatists who have followed him in this time. He criticises—they prophecy; he reasons—they divine.[1]

Bishop Davenant.

BORN CIRC. A. D. 1572.—DIED A. D. 1641.

JOHN DAVENANT, bishop of Salisbury, was descended from the ancient family of the Davenants of Sible-Heningham in Essex. He was born in London, where his father was an eminent merchant. On the 4th of July, 1587, he was admitted of Queen's college, Cambridge. His father left him a large fortune, in addition to which he was admitted to a fellowship in 1597. In 1609, he became D.D., and was elected Lady Margaret's professor of Divinity, which chair he filled till 1621.

"In 1613—14, a Royal party visiting Cambridge, on occasion of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Prince Palatine Fre-

[1] Life prefixed to his works.—Middleton's Biog. Evan.

deric, and an entertainment being given to them, Davenant was selected as Moderator, in the theological disputation, which, according to the custom of the age, then occurred. In the following year, on a similar occasion, another public disputation took place between some chief divines of England and of the Palatinate, among whom the Heidelburgh professor, Abraham Scultetus, distinguished himself. The Margaret professor was then also appointed Moderator. The questions discussed, as we learn from Nicholl's Progresses of James I., were these three: 'Nulla est temporalis Papæ potestas supra reges, in ordine ad bonum spirituale. Infallibilis fidei determinatio non est annexa cathedræ papali. Cæca obedientia est illicita.' The excellent, but pedantic Bishop Hacket, in his Life of Archbishop Williams, records these academical feats with great vivacity. Speaking of one super-eminent disputant, Dr Collins, he thus proceeds:—'He was a firm bank of earth, able to receive the shot of the greatest artillery. His works in print, against Eudæmon and Fitzherbert, sons of Anak among the Jesuits, do noise him far and wide. But they that heard him speak would most admire him. No flood can be compared to the spring-tide of his language and eloquence, but the milky river of Nilus, with his seven mouths all at once disemboguing into the sea. O how voluble! how quick! how facetious he was! What a Vertumnus when he pleased to argue on the right side, and on the contrary. Those things will be living to the memory of the longest survivor that ever heard him. In this trial, wherein he stood now to be judged by so many attic and exquisite wits, he strived to exceed himself, and shewed his cunning marvellously that he could invalidate every argument brought against him with variety of answers. It was well for all sides, that the best divine, in my judgment, that ever was in that place, Dr Davenant, held the reins of the disputation. He kept him within the even boundals of the cause; he charmed him with the Caducæan wand of dialectical prudence; he ordered him to give just weight, and no more. Horat. l 1. Od. 3. 'Quo non arbiter Adriæ major, tollere seu ponere vult freta.' Such an arbiter as he was now, such he was and no less, year by year, in all comitial disputations; wherein whosoever did well, yet constantly he had the greatest acclamation. To the close of all this exercise, I come. The grave elder opponents having had their courses, Mr Williams, a new admitted bachelor of divinity, came to his turn, last of all. Presently, there was a smile in the face of every one that knew them both, and a prejudging that between these two there would be a fray indeed. Both jealous of their credit, both great masters of wit; and as much was expected from the one as from the other. So they fell to it with all quickness and pertinacity; yet, thank the Moderator, with all candour; like Fabius and Marcellus, the one was the buckler, the other the sword of that learned exercise. No greyhound did ever give a hare more turns upon Newmarket heath, than the replier with his subtleties gave to the respondent. A subject fit for the verse of Mr Abraham Hartwell, in his *Regina Literata*, as he extols Dr Pern's arguments made before Queen Elizabeth: 'Quis fulmine tanto tela jacet? tanto fulmine nemo jacet.' But when they had both done their best with equal prowess, the marshal of the field, Dr Davenant, cast down his warder between them, and parted them.'"[1]

[1] Allport's Memoir.

In October 1614, he was chosen master of his college. In 1618, he was sent by King James as one of his four delegates to the synod of Dort. Upon the death of his brother-in-law, Dr Robert Townson, he was nominated bishop of Salisbury in 1621.

Bishop Davenant continued in favour at court during the life of James; but in the Lent of 1630, he incurred the royal displeasure for some strictures in which he had indulged in a sermon preached at Whitehall on the predestinarian controversy. Charles had been pleased strictly to forbid "all curious search" into this point of doctrine, Davenant defended himself on the ground, that he had advanced nothing contrary to the 17th article of the church. But on being informed that it was not his majesty's pleasure he should ever touch upon the question of predestination, he apologised for his mistake, and promised never more to offend in this way.

Davenant was a man of great learning, and published several theological works which continue in repute to the present day. His 'Expositio Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Colossenses,' is reckoned a masterpiece of expository divinity. It was published at Cambridge in 1627, and republished in 1630 and 1639. A quarto edition was published at Amsterdam in 1646. It has been recently translated by the Rev. Josiah Allport, in 2 vols. 8vo.

"Few men," says Mr Allport, "appear to have been more honoured and venerated by all parties than Bishop Davenant. In all the works of friends or opponents, there is not to be found a single sentence approaching even to disrespect, much less any thing that can tend to cast the slightest reflexion upon his deportment in any measure of his public or private life. His profound learning, acuteness of intellect, catholic spirit, active benevolence, and meekness, are constantly adverted to; and the phrases—'the good Bishop Davenant,' the 'excellent Bishop Davenant,' the 'learned Bishop Davenant,' &c. &c. are the usual appendages to his name, even in the writings of those who took up the pen in express hostility to certain of his theological views"

Bishop Bedell.

BORN A.D. 1570.—DIED A.D. 1642.

WILLIAM BEDELL, an eminent bishop of the 17th century, was descended from an ancient family in Essex, and was born at Black Notley, in that county, in 1570. He finished his studies at Emanuel college, Cambridge, of which he was chosen fellow in 1593; in 1599 he became bachelor of divinity. He was ordained by the suffragan bishop of Colchester, and on leaving the university, he was settled at St Edmond's Bury, in Suffolk, where he laboured in the ministry of the gospel with much success. On Sir Henry Wotton's being appointed ambassador to the Venetian republic, Bedell accompanied him in the capacity of chaplain; and arriving at Venice at a period when the disputes between the Venetians and the pope had run so high that the former were on the point of dissenting from the Romish communion, he formed a close intimacy with the celebrated father, Paul Sarpi, the principal leader in that struggle against ecclesiastical despotism,

With Bedell's assistance, Father Paul acquired such a knowledge of the English language, as to be able to translate the book of Common Prayer into his vernacular tongue. This he did, it is thought, in the intention, should the existing quarrel with the pope terminate in separation, of making it the model for a new ritual. While at Venice, Bedell acquired an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew, by the aid of the rabbi who was at the head of the Jewish synagogue in that place.

After eight years' stay at Venice, Bedell returned to England, and assumed his parochial duties. He also assisted in publishing a translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, his History of the Interdict, and also that of the Inquisition. Soon afterwards he was presented to the living of Honingsheath, in the diocese of Norwich, on which occasion he successfully resisted an exorbitant demand by the bishop for induction fees. At this latter place Bedell remained for twelve years, wholly devoted to his pastoral duties, and such was the retirement in which he lived, that Diodati, an eminent Genoese divine, who had known him at Venice, visiting England at that time, in vain inquired for him, and at last met with him merely by accident. His worth and talents, however, gradually became known, and in 1626 he was unanimously elected provost of Trinity college, Dublin. In this new office he sedulously set himself to correct existing abuses, and undertook particularly the religious instruction of the college. In 1624, he had published a controversial correspondence betwixt himself and a Mr Wadsworth, who had been a fellow-student of his own, and had also held a living in the same diocese, but who, having gone to Spain as chaplain to the English ambassador, had renounced Protestantism and embraced the Catholic faith. A 2d edition of these letters was published in 1685.

In 1629, he was appointed bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, in the province of Ulster. When he entered upon his diocese, he found it in a great disorder; its revenues had been dissipated, its cathedral and parish churches were in a state of dilapidation; more than nine-tenths of the people were papists; and of the few clergymen who were capable of assisting him, each had several parishes to serve. In this state of matters, he fearlessly applied himself to the work of reformation. His first step was to abolish pluralities, and having set the example himself by resigning the see of Ardagh, which had been united to that of Kilmore, on account of the scantiness of the revenues of both, his clergy, with a single exception, relinquished their pluralities also. With great difficulty he accomplished the reform of his own spiritual court; he also abolished various oppressive exactions which his predecessors had practised. For the instruction and conversion of the natives, he caused a short catechism of the elements of Christianity in English and Irish, to be printed and widely circulated; he also established schools in every parish of his diocese, and having himself acquired the Irish language, he composed a complete grammar of it. The New Testament, as well as the Book of Common Prayer, had been already translated into Irish: Bishop Bedell was desirous that the people should possess the whole Bible in their native tongue, and with this view employed a person of the name of King, a converted papist, who was deemed the best Irish scholar of his day. King was then about 70 years of age, but the bishop finding him qualified for the clerical office,

admitted him to orders, gave him a benefice, and employed him in the projected translation, himself revising the work. Having finished it in a few years, he was about to print it at his own expense; but, strange to say, was thwarted in his noble design by the opposition of some of his clerical brethren, among whom was Archbishop Laud; and so bitter was the hostility excited by this effort of our bishop, that on the ground of some trivial delinquency on the part of King, the translator, he was instantly deprived of his living, which was bestowed on the informer. The bishop would now have printed the Bible in his own house, but before he could put his design into execution, the rebellion broke out, and tranquillity was not restored to the country when Bedell himself was called to a better world. The manuscript copy of his translation, however, was saved amidst the general confusion, but was not printed until the reign of King William, when the Hon. Robert Boyle, into whose hands the manuscript had fallen, besides reprinting the New Testament, printed King's translation of the Old, both at his own expense.

A few years before his death, Bishop Bedell was engaged in an amicable controversy with Dr Ward on the subject of baptism. The bishop was a Calvinist in sentiment, but took a warm interest in the design of reconciling the Lutherans and Calvinists. He died on the 7th of February 1642, in the 71st year of his age. Great numbers of the natives attended his funeral, and fired a volley over his grave, crying out at the same time, "Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum!" In his person, Bishop Bedell was tall and graceful, he wore a long and broad beard, which gave him a very venerable appearance. His eyesight sustained no decay from age, and his judgment and memory continued unimpaired to the last.[1]

Archbishop Laud.

BORN A. D. 1573.—DIED A. D. 1644.

WILLIAM LAUD, archbishop of Canterbury, was the son of a clothier at Reading, in Berkshire, where he was born in the year 1573. He received the elements of instruction at the free school of his native place, whence he removed to St John's college, Oxford, in 1590. He took priest's orders in 1601, and in the following year preached a divinity lecture in his college, in which he maintained the perpetual visibility of the church of Rome till the reformation,—a doctrine which, he conceived, was necessary to support that of the perpetual visibility of the church of Christ upon earth. His sentiments on this point were strongly censured by Abbot, then vice-chancellor of the university, which laid the foundation of that animosity which Laud afterwards exhibited towards the archbishop. His first preferment was the vicarage of Stamford, in Northamptonshire, which he obtained in 1607. In the following year, he commenced D.D., and was appointed chaplain to Neile, bishop of Rochester. He was made king's chaplain on the 3d of November, 1611. In 1616, the king made him dean of Gloucester.

1 Life by Burnet.—Christian Observer, vol. xv.—Baker and Ld.

On the 29th of June, 1621, he was advanced to the see of St David's, with express permission, on the part of the king, to hold the presidentship of St John's *in commendam*, but he resigned the latter office the day before his consecration. Next year, at the king's command, he held a conference with Fisher, the jesuit, which was soon afterwards published. It seems but fair here to notice the terms in which Laud speaks of the church of Rome, and the manner in which he rejects the accusation under which he knew he laboured at this period. "Should I practice, (he says himself,) to superinduce Romish tyranny and superstition over the true religion established in England, I have taken a very wrong way to it. For I have hindered as many from going to the Roman party, and have reduced as many from it, and some of great quality, and some of great learning and judgment," [among whom the famous William Chillingworth,] "as I believe any divine in England hath done. And is this the way to bring in Romish superstition? To reduce men from it? Or is this the reward from the state which men must look for that have done these services?" Again, in reference to his work against Fisher, which was printed in April, 1623, he says: "The book which I have written against Mr Fisher, the Jesuit, must of necessity either acquit me of this calumny, or proclaim me a villain to the world. And I hope I have so lived as that men have not that opinion of me; sure I am I have not deserved it. And had this book of mine been written according to the garb of the time, fuller of railing than reason, a learned Jesuit would have laughed at it and me, and a learned Protestant might have thought I had written it only to conceal myself and my judgment in those difficulties. But being written in the way it is, I believe no Romanist will have much cause to joy at it, or to think me a favourer of their cause. And since I am thus put to it, I will say thus much more: This book of mine is so written (by God's great blessing upon me) as that whensoever the church of England (as they are growing towards it apace) shall depart from the grounds which I have therein laid, she shall never be able, before any learned and disengaged Christian, to make good her difference with and separation from the church of Rome. And let no man think I speak pride or vanity in this, for the outrages which have been made against me force me to say it; and I am confident future times will make it good, unless profaneness break in, and overrun the whole kingdom, which is not a little to be feared."—Troubles, &c. p. 160. Under the date February 4, 1622-3, page 9th of his Diary, we have this entry; "Wednesday, my conference held with Fisher the Jesuit, May 24, 1622, and put in writing at the command of King James, having been before read to the king, was this day put into the press, being licensed by the bishop of London. I had not hitherto appeared in print. I am no controvertist. May God so love and bless my soul as I desire and endeavour that all the never to be enough deplored distractions of the church may be composed happily, and to the glory of his name." Dr Grey has added the testimonies of Mr Edward Deering and Limborch to the negative evidence of Fisher's answer, in order to make out an exculpatory proof for Laud. But it is quite impossible to clear Laud, when archbishop, of the serious charge of symbolizing with the church of Rome in its two leading features, superstition and intolerance. May says, "not only the pomps of cere-

monies were daily increased, and innovations of great scandal brought into the church; but, in point of doctrine, many fair approaches made towards Rome. Even Heylin says, the doctrines are altered in many things; as, for example, the pope not anti-christ, pictures, free-will, &c. the thirty-nine articles seeming patient, if not ambitious also, of some catholic sense."

On the death of James, in 1625, Laud was appointed to supply the place of the dean of Westminster at the coronation of the new king. Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells, died in May, 1626, and in July Laud was appointed to succeed him. On the 17th of June, 1628, he was advanced to the see of London. One of the bishop's first enterprises, after his translation to London, says Neal, was to stifle the predestinarian controversy, for which purpose he procured the thirty-nine articles to be reprinted, with the following declaration at the head of them.

BY THE KING.

"Being by God's ordinance, and our just title, defender of the faith, &c. within these dominions, we hold it agreeable to our kingly office, for the preservation of unity and peace, not to suffer any unnecessary disputations which may nourish faction in the church or commonwealth: we, therefore, with the advice of our bishops, declare, that the articles of the church of England which the clergy generally have subscribed, do contain the true doctrine of the church of England, agreeable to God's word, which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our loving subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said articles. We take comfort in this, that all clergymen within our realm have always most willingly subscribed the articles, which is an argument that they all agree, in the true usual literal meaning of them; and that in those curious points, in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the articles to be for them, which is an argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the articles established: wherefore we will, that all curious search into these things be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the articles according to them; and that no man hereafter preach or print to draw the article aside any way, but shall submit to it, in the plain and full manner thereof, and shall not put his own sense or comment to the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense: that if any public reader in the universities, or any other person, shall affix any new sense to any article, or shall publicly read, or hold disputation on either side; or if any divine in the universities shall preach or print any thing either way, they shall be liable to censure in the ecclesiastical commission, and we will see there shall be due execution upon them."[1]

[1] This declaration, Dr Harris observes, has been produced and canvassed in the famous Bangorian and Trinitarian controversies, which engaged the attention of the public for a great number of years. Life of Charles I. p. 183—199. Dr Blackburne has at large discussed the validity of it, and is disposed to consider James I as the first publisher of it. He shows that it has been corrupted by the insertion of the word *now*; as, "we will not endure any varying, or departing, in the least degree, from the doctrine and discipline of the church of England now established," a language, he justly observes, inconsistent with the principles of our present constitution. Confessional, p. 131—143. 3d edit.—*Toulmin*.

"Surely," exclaims Neal, and with good reason, "there never was such a confused and unintelligible declaration printed before!" It was made to serve its purpose, however: "In pursuance of his majesty's declaration, all books relating to the Arminian controversy were called in by proclamation and suppressed, and among others, Montague's and Manwaring's, which was only a feint to cover a more deadly blow to be reached at the Puritans; for at the same time Montague and Manwaring received the royal pardon, and were preferred to some of the best livings in the kingdom (as has been observed), while the answer to their books, by Dr Featly, Dr Goad, Mr Burton, Ward, Yates, and Rouse, were not only suppressed, but the publishers questioned in the star-chamber. The king put on the same thin disguise with regard to Papists; as proclamation was issued out against priests and Jesuits, and particularly against the bishop of Chalcedon; orders were also sent to the lord-mayor of London, to make search after them, and commit them to prison, but at the same time his majesty appointed commissioners to compound with them for their recusancy; so that instead of being suppressed, they became a branch of the revenue, and Sir Richard Weston, a notorious Papist, was created earl of Portland, and made lord-high-treasurer of England."

In 1630, occurred [illegible] and sentence of Dr Alexander Leighton, the celebrated prelate of that name. "This divine," says Neal, "had published, during the last session of parliament, an 'Appeal to the parliament; or, Zion's plea against prelacy,' wherein he speaks not only with freedom, but with very great rudeness and indecency against bishops; calling them 'men of blood,' and saying, 'that we do not read of a greater persecution and higher indignities done towards God's people in any nation than in this, since the death of Queen Elizabeth.' He calls the prelacy of the church 'antichristian.' He declaims vehemently against the canons and ceremonies; and adds, that 'the church has her laws from the Scripture, and that no king may make laws for the house of God.' He styles the queen a daughter of Heth, and concludes with saying, what a pity it is that so ingenious and tractable a king should be so monstrously abused by the bishops, to the undoing of himself and his subjects. Now, though the warmth of these expressions can no ways be justified, yet let the reader consider whether they bear any proportion to the sentence of the court. The cause was tried June 4, 1630. The defendant, in his answer, owned the writing of the book, denying any ill intention; his design being only to lay these things before the next parliament for their consideration. Nevertheless, the court adjudged unanimously, that for this offence, 'the doctor should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of £10,000; that the high-commission should degrade him from his ministry; and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting, and be whipped; after whipping, be set upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S. for a sower of sedition: that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pilloried a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut of, and then be shut up in a close prison for the remainder

of his life.' Bishop Laud pulled off his cap while this merciless sentence was pronouncing, and gave God thanks for it!"

When Charles visited Scotland, he was attended, throughout his whole progress, by Laud, who had now become desirous to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland. On this occasion Laud preached before the king in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, and embraced the opportunity to enlarge on the excellencies of episcopacy, and of the ceremonies of the church. The death of Abbot at last raised Laud to the summit of his ambition: two days after the archbishop's demise, Laud was translated to the sea of Canterbury. One of the first acts of the new primate was the republication of King James's infamous declaration of the year 1618, concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays after divine service. Countenanced by such grave authority, things went merrily on for a time: "the court had their balls, masquerades, and plays, on the Sunday evenings; while the youth of the country were at their morrice dances, May-games, church and clerk ales, and all such kind of revellings." A series of suspensions, fines, and imprisonments followed; for many refused to obey the archbishop's injunction to read the declaration from the pulpit. The archbishop next set himself to render the book of Common-Prayer "more unexceptionable to the papists, and more distant from puritanism." Having succeeded tolerably well in this pious task; and got some quiet from the incessant railings of his arch-enemies, Prynne and Bastwick, by having them fined, pilloried, and imprisoned, he turned his thoughts against the Calvinists in Ireland, and resolved to confer the benefit of the articles of the church of England, with his own ceremonial amendments, on that kingdom. In this design he was opposed by Archbishop Usher, who moved in convocation, that their own articles, ratified by King James in 1615, might be confirmed; but the motion was rejected, and the primate of England triumphed over his brother of Ireland. A harder task awaited him in Scotland.

The Scottish bishops had been ordered to prepare a book of service for their own use. The first liturgy of Edward VI. was made the basis and guide for the Scottish liturgy; but the compilers were instructed "to keep such Catholic saints in their calendar as were in the English, and that such new saints as were added should be the most approved, but in no case to omit St George and St Patrick; that in the book of orders, those words in the English book be not changed, 'receive ye the Holy Ghost;' and that sundry lessons out of the Apocrypha be inserted; besides these, the word presbyter was inserted instead of priest; and the water in the font for baptism was to be consecrated. There was a benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints; some passages in the communion were altered in favour of the real presence; the rubrics contained instructions to the people, when to stand and when to sit or kneel; to all which the Scots had hitherto been strangers. The main parts of the liturgy were the same with the English, that there might be an appearance of uniformity; it was revised, corrected, and altered, by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wren, as appeared by the original found in the archbishop's chamber in the Tower, in which the alterations were inserted with his own hand."

This 'good work' being completed, was, together with a collection of canons, ratified by his majesty, and authorised by royal proclamation.

The fate of the book, however, is well known. An attempt to introduce it was made in the High-church of Edinburgh; but no sooner had the dean, in his surplice, begun to read the prayers from the desk, than a hideous noise was raised by the congregation, and the hapless dean assailed by a shower of stones and sticks. The bishop himself ascended the pulpit to remonstrate with the insurgents, but he too was quelled in his very 'pride of place,' by Jenny Geddes of famous memory, who launched a stool at his person, and compelled him to make a precipitate retreat from the church. The consequence of Laud's injudicious interference with the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, was the expulsion of his brother prelates from that end of the island altogether.

In November, 1640, parliament voted down the convocation, and declared its several constitutions and canons to be without any binding force on the clergy or laity of the land. A committee was then appointed, to inquire how far his grace of Canterbury had been concerned in the proceedings of the convocation, and in the treasonable design of subverting the religion and laws of his country. Next day, the Scots commissioners presented a series of charges against the archbishop. On the committee bringing up their report, several members pronounced severe censures on the archbishop. Amongst others, Sir Harbottle Grimstone declared that "'this great man, the archbishop of Canterbury, was the very sty of all that pestilential filth that had infested the government; that he was the only man that had advanced those, who, together with himself, had been the authors of all the miseries the nation groaned under. That he had managed all the projects that had been set on foot for these ten years past, and had condescended so low as to deal in tobacco, by which thousands of poor people had been turned out of their trades, for which they served an apprenticeship; that he had been charged in this house, upon very strong proof, with designs to subvert the government, and alter the Protestant religion in this kingdom, as well as in Scotland; and there is scarce any grievance or complaint comes before the house, wherein he is not mentioned, like an angry wasp, leaving his sting in the bottom of every thing.' He therefore moved, that the charge of the Scots commissioners might be supported by an impeachment of their own; and, that the question might now be put, whether the archbishop had been guilty of high treason? which being voted, Mr Hollis was immediately sent up to the bar of the house of lords to impeach him in the name of the commons of England."

On the 26th of February, Pym, Hampden, and Maynard, presented the commons articles of impeachment against the archbishop at the bar of the house of lords. They consisted of fourteen articles. In the first he is charged with endeavouring to subvert the constitution, by introducing arbitrary power of government, without limitation or rule of law. In the second, he is charged with procuring sermons to be preached, and other pamphlets to be printed, in which the authority of parliaments is denied, and the absolute power of the king asserted to be agreeable to the law of God. The third article charges him with interrupting the course of justice, by messages, threatenings, and promises. The fourth, with selling justice in his own person, under colour of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and with advising his majesty to sell places of judicature, contrary to law. In the fifth, he is charged with

the canons and oath imposed on the subject by the late convocation. In the sixth, with robbing the king of supremacy, by denying the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be derived from the crown. In the seventh, with bringing in popish doctrines, opinions, and ceremonies, contrary to the articles of the church, and cruelly persecuting those who opposed them. In the eighth, he is charged with promoting persons to the highest and best preferments in the church, who are corrupt in doctrine and manners. In the ninth, with employing such for his domestic chaplains, as he knew to be popishly affected, and committing to them the licensing of books. The tenth article charges him with sundry attempts to reconcile the church of England with the church of Rome. The eleventh, with discountenancing of preaching, and with silencing, depriving, imprisoning, and banishing, sundry godly ministers. The twelfth, with dividing the church of England from the foreign protestant churches. The thirteenth, with being the author of all the late disturbances between England and Scotland. And the last, with endeavouring to bereave the kingdom of the legislative power, by alienating the king's mind from his parliaments. Upon these charges, the lords voted his grace to the Tower, whither he was carried on the 1st of March, amidst the shoutings and execrations of the populace. He remained in the Tower nearly three years, without petitioning for trial, or putting in answers to the charges. At last, the commons ordered the trial to be begun on the 12th of March, 1644. It lasted nearly five months. The principal managers were, Serjeant Maynard, one of the ablest lawyers of his age, Serjeant Wild, afterwards lord-chief-baron, and Samuel Browne, afterwards lord-chief-justice. The archbishop defended himself with considerable coolness and dexterity; but the bill of attainder passed with only one dissenting voice. The king interposed his pardon under the great seal, but it was over-ruled by both houses, on the grounds, first, that it had been granted before conviction, and secondly, that the king could not set aside a judgment of parliament.

On the 10th of January, 1644, Laud was beheaded on Tower-hill. He read a speech to the people from the scaffold, in which he acknowledged himself to have been a great sinner, but solemnly protested that before the tribunal of his own conscience he had not found any of his sins deserving death by any of the known laws of the kingdom. When the scaffold was cleared, he pulled off his doublet, and said, "God's will be done! I am willing to go out of the world; no man can be more willing to send me out." Then turning to the executioner he gave him some money, and bid him do his office in mercy; he then kneeled down, and after a short prayer, laid his head on the block, and said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" which being the sign, the executioner did his office at one blow. The archbishop's corpse was put into a coffin, and by the permission of parliament buried in Barking-church, with the service of the church read over him. The inscription upon the coffin was this, "In hac cistula condunter Exuviæ Gulielmi Laud, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui securi percussus immortalitatem adiit, die x° Januarii, ætatis suæ 72, archiepiscopatus xii." But after the Restoration, his body was removed to Oxford, and deposited with great solemnity in a brick vault, according to his last will and testament, near the altar of the chapel of St John Baptist college, July 24, 1663. "Thus died," says Neal, "Dr William Laud, archbishop of Can-

terbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; some time chancellor of the universities of Oxford and Dublin, one of the commissioners of his majesty's exchequer, and privy-councillor to the king, in the seventy-second year of his age, and twelfth of his archiepiscopal translation. He was of low stature, and a ruddy countenance; his natural temper was severe and uncourtly, his spirit active and restless, which pushed him on to the most hazardous enterprises. His conduct was rash and precipitate, for, according to Dr Heylin, he attempted more alterations in the church in one year, than a prudent man would have done in a great many. His counsels in state-affairs were high and arbitrary, for he was at the head of all the illegal projects, of ship-money, loans, monopolies, star-chamber fines, &c., which were the ruin of the king and constitution."

The character of Laud, except by his partial biographer, Heylin, and his canonizer, Dr Southey,[1] has been justly reprobated by writers of all parties. Warburton, himself, treats him with unmingled scorn. Thus, in the passage of Laud's diary, where he says, on the occasion of making Bishop Juxon lord-high-treasurer of England, "Now, if the church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more," Warburton contemptuously remarks, "Had he been content to do nothing, the church had stood. Suppose him to have been an honest man, and sincere—which, I think, must be granted—it will follow that he knew nothing of the constitution either of civil or religious society: and was as poor a churchman as he was a politician." The same prelate adverts to Laud's persecution of Dr Williams and Mr Osbaldeston in the following terms:—"This prosecution must needs give every one a very bad idea of Laud's heart and temper. You might resolve his high acts of power, in the state, into reverence and gratitude to his master; his tyranny in the church, to his zeal for and love of what he called religion; but the outrageous prosecution of these two men can be resolved into nothing but envy and revenge." Still more decisive as to the character and habits of Laud is the testimony of another prelate, Archbishop Abbot. The following passage occurs in his narrative:—"This man (he was then bishop of St David's) is the only inward counsellor with Buckingham, sitting with him sometimes privately whole hours, and feeding his humour with malice and spight. His life in Oxford was, to pick quarrels in the lectures of the public readers, and to advertise them to the then bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called Puritanism) in their auditors. He made it his work to see what books were in the press, and to look over epistles dedicatory, and prefaces to the reader, to see what faults might be found. It was an observation, what a sweet man this was like to be, that the first observable act he did, was the marrying of the earl of D. to the lady R., when it was notorious to the world that she had another husband, and the same a nobleman, who had divers children then living by her. King James did for many years like this so ill, that he would never hear of any great preferment of him, insomuch that the bishop of Lincoln, Dr Williams, who taketh upon him to be the first promoter of him, hath many times said, that

[1] See 'Book of the Church.'

he, when he made mention of Laud to the king, his majesty was so averse from it, that he was constrained oftentimes to say, that he would never desire to serve that master, which could not remit one fault unto his servant. Well; in the end, he did conquer it to get him to the bishopric of St David's; which he had not long enjoyed, but he began to undermine his benefactor, as at this day it appeareth. The countess of Buckingham told Lincoln, that St David's was the man that undermined him with her son; and verily such is his aspiring nature, that he will underwork any man in the world, so that he may gain by it."

William Chillingworth.

BORN A. D. 1602—DIED A. D. 1644.

This champion of protestantism was the son of William Chillingworth, mayor of Oxford. He was born in 1602. He received the rudiments of education at a private school in Oxford, then taught by Edward Sylvester, a celebrated pedagogue. In 1618, he was admitted of Trinity college, of which he became fellow in 1628. Wood says of him, at this period, that "he was observed to be no drudge at his study, but being a man of great parts, would do much in a little time when he settled to it. He would often walk in the college grove and contemplate; but when he met with any scholar there, he would enter into discourse, and dispute with him purposely to facilitate and make the way of wrangling common with him, which was a fashion used in these days, especially among the disputing theologists, or among those who set themselves apart purposely for divinity." Polemical divinity was at this time in much repute on account of the frequent controversies which arose betwixt the priests of the Roman church and the clergy of the church of England. The toleration which the former enjoyed towards the latter end of the reign of James I., and throughout that of his successor, emboldened them to make a stand for the recovery of their lost footing in the kingdom; and their efforts had been to a considerable extent successful in private families, and especially among the younger members of the universities. In 1628, we find parliament petitioning his majesty "to command a surer and strait watch to be kept in and over his majesty's ports and havens, and to commit the care and searching of ships,—for the discovery and apprehension, as well of Jesuits and seminary priests brought in, as of children and young students sent over beyond the seas, to suck in the poison of rebellion and superstition,—unto men of approved fidelity and religion." The king promised to attend to the wishes of his faithful commons in this matter; but the 'Jesuits and seminary priests' still continued to flock into the kingdom, without check or molestation. Amongst others, came one John Fisher, or Percy, a man of acute and vigorous intellect, who soon won over several illustrious converts to the faith of his church. The reputation which young Chillingworth at this time bore in the university drew upon him the attention of the wily and accomplished Jesuit. They met, and encountered each other on several contested points; but the youthful protestant was no match for

his dexterous antagonist; he wavered, and finally gave way, before the reasonings of his opponent. Fisher pursued his advantage, and at last succeeded in persuading Chillingworth to go over to the Jesuit college at Douay, for the purpose of having his mind finally settled in the faith of the church of Rome. It would appear, from a letter which the young convert to Romanism at this time addressed to Gilbert Sheldon, that the argument which had chiefly weighed with his mind in making the change he now did, was the necessity of an infallible living judge of controversy in matters of faith. "Let me entreat you," says he to his friend, "to consider most seriously of these two queries:—'1. Whether it be not evident from scripture, and fathers, and reason,—from the goodness of God, and the necessity of mankind,—that there must be some one church infallible in matters of faith? 2. Whether there be any other society of men in the world, besides the church of Rome, that either can upon good warrant, or indeed at all, challenge to itself the privilege of infallibility in matters of faith.'"

The delusion under which our young divine at this moment laboured was not destined to last long. He resided but a short time abroad. His intellect was too vigorous to be long ruled over by the Jesuit fathers of Douay; within the space of two months he abandoned their society, returned to England, and commenced a diligent and unbiassed inquiry into the whole points of controversy betwixt catholics and protestants.

Chillingworth pursued his investigations with great calmness, and a fixed determination to follow out the truth wheresoever it might lead him. His candour exposed him to the charge of vacillation, which was bitterly made against him by Knott, one of his sturdiest opponents on the Jesuit side. Knott affected to represent Chillingworth as altogether destitute of fixed principles on almost any one point of religion,—as one who had changed "first from protestant to catholique, then from catholique to protestant, and then about again to catholique, till at last," he adds, "he be come to that passe that it is hard to say what he is: Neyther precisian, nor subscriber to the 39 articles, nor confessed Socinian, nor right Christian, according to the grounds which he hath laid. If you will believe himself, for matters of religion he is constant in nothing, but in following that way to heaven which for the present seems to him the most probable." Of the two ways which offered themselves to our inquirer's choice, few will now deem it a mark of weakness of judgment and infirmity of purpose that he preferred that of reason or inquiry, to that of authority or submission. But Chillingworth has nobly vindicated himself from the charge of inconsistency. Addressing his antagonist, Knott, he says:—"Neither truly were you more willing to effect such an alteration in me than I was to have it effected. For my desire is to go the right way to eternal happiness. But whether this way lie on the right hand or the left, or straight forwards; whether it be by following a living guide, or by seeking my direction in a book, or by hearkening to the secret whisper of some private spirit, to me it is indifferent. And he that is otherwise affected, and hath not a traveller's indifference, which Epictetus requires in all that would find the truth, but much desires in respect of his ease, or pleasure, or profit, or advancement, or satisfaction of friends, or any human consideration, that one way should be true rather than another;

it is odds but he will take his desire that it should be so, for an assurance that it is so. But I for my part, unless I deceive myself, was and still am so affected as I have made profession: not willing I confess to take any thing upon trust, and to believe it without asking myself why; no, nor able to command myself (were I never so willing) to follow, like a sheep, every shepherd that should take upon him to guide me; or every flock that should chance to go before me: but most apt and most willing to be led by reason to any way, or from it; and always submitting all other reasons to this one, God hath said so, therefore it is true. Nor yet was I so unreasonable as to expect mathematical demonstrations from you in matters plainly incapable of them, such as are to be believed, and if we speak properly, cannot be known; such therefore I expected not. For as he is an unreasonable master, who requires a stronger assent to his conclusions than his arguments deserve; so I conceive him a froward and undisciplined scholar, who desires stronger arguments for a conclusion than the matter will bear. But had you represented to my understanding such reasons of your doctrine, as being weighed in an even balance, held by an even hand, with those on the other side, would have turned the scale, and have made your religion more credible than the contrary; certainly I should have despised the shame of one more alteration, and with both mine arms and all my heart most readily have embraced it."

Our limits will not allow us to notice the numerous minor controversies in which Chillingworth was engaged previous to the publication of his great work, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation.' We can only remark generally that in all of them, his mildness and equanimity of temper were as conspicuous as his honest love of truth, and the energy and clear-sightedness with which he pursued it through every maze of error and sophistry. The origin of the work for which Chillingworth's memory will ever be venerated by every sound protestant and lover of free and rational inquiry, was as follows:—The Jesuit, Knott, had put out, in 1630, a little work entitled 'Charity mistaken, with the want whereof Catholiques are unjustly charged, for affirming—as they do with grief—that Protestancy unrepented destroies salvation.' This book was answered by Dr Potter, provost of Queen's college, Oxford, in 1623; and Knott replied next year. Chillingworth undertook the task of finishing the controversy with Knott, and towards the latter end of the year 1637, published his work, under the title, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation, or, an answer to a book entitled "Mercy and Faith, or Charity maintained by Catholiques," which pretends to prove the contrary.' The work was received with general applause, and two editions of it were published within less than five months—the first at Oxford, in 1638, in folio,—the second, with some small improvements, at London, the same year. A third edition appeared in 1664. The tenth and last edition is of the year 1742, with a life of Chillingworth, by Dr Birch, prefixed. It would be difficult to speak in terms of too high commendation of this performance. As a piece of argumentative divinity, it is certainly not surpassed in the whole compass of English theology. We cannot resist the opportunity now afforded us of making one noble quotation from this immortal work. The great principle maintained in it, that the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of protestant ought to be

indelibly impressed on the minds of every professor of the protestant faith. "When I say," says he in his 6th chapter, "the religion of protestants, is in prudence to be preferred before yours: as on the one side I do not understand by your religion, the doctrine of Bellarmine or Baronius, or any other private man amongst you, nor the doctrine of the Sorbon, or of the Jesuits, or of the Dominicans, or of any other particular company among you, but that wherein you all agree, or profess to agree, the doctrine of the council of Trent: so, accordingly, on the other side, by the religion of protestants, I do not understand the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin, or Melancthon; nor the confession of Augusta, or Geneva, nor the catechism of Heidelberg, nor the articles of the church of England, no nor the harmony of protestant confessions; but that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe with a greater harmony, as a perfect rule of their faith and actions, that is, the Bible. The Bible, I say, the Bible only is the religion of protestants. Whatsoever else they believe besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of opinion, but as matter of faith and religion, neither can they with coherence to their own grounds believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it of others, without most high and most schismatical presumption. I, for my part, adds he, after a long (and as I verily believe and hope,) impartial search of the true way to eternal happiness, do profess plainly that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot, but upon this rock only. I see plainly, and with mine own eyes, that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, some fathers against others, the same fathers against themselves, a consent of fathers of one age against a consent of fathers of another age, the church of one age against the church of another age. Traditive interpretations of scripture are pretended, but there are few or none to be found. No tradition but only of scripture can derive itself from the fountain, but may be plainly proved, either to have been brought in, in such an age after Christ; or that in such an age it was not in. In a word, there is no sufficient certainty but of scripture only, for any considering man to build upon. This, therefore, and this only, I have reason to believe: this I will profess, according to this I will live, and for this, if there be occasion, I will not only willingly, but even gladly lose my life."

Knott himself, and two other Jesuits, Floyd and Lacy, attempted to answer Chillingworth's performance; but, as might have been anticipated, they found the task too hard for them.

On the promotion of Dr Duppa, chancellor of Salisbury, to the see of Chichester, the vacant chancellorship was conferred on Chillingworth, with the prebend of Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, annexed to it. At the breaking out of the civil war, Chillingworth adhered to the king's party. He was taken prisoner in Arundel castle, on the surrender of that fortress to Sir William Waller, in 1643, and died soon after, at the palace of the bishop of Chichester, having been in bad health for some time previous to the surrender of the garrison. Clarendon represents the latter moments of this great man as having been embittered by the malevolence of some of the parliamentary party. Nothing could be more false. It is true that Dr Cheynell, in his anxiety to promote the spiritual welfare of Chillingworth, paid him frequent visits while on death-bed, and behaved in rather an extraor-

dinary manner at his funeral; but it is not true that either Cheynell, or any one else, consciously added to the sufferings of the dying man. On the contrary, it was at Cheynell's express request that Chillingworth was removed to Chichester, for change of air and quiet; and Sir William Waller's own physician was charged to wait upon him, and do every thing in his power to promote his restoration to health.

Besides his controversial tracts, there are extant nine sermons of Chillingworth's, on occasional subjects, and a tract, entitled, 'The Apostolical institution of Episcopacy.'

Henry Burton.

BORN A. D. 1578—DIED A. D. 1648.

HENRY BURTON was born in the year 1578, at Birdsall, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. He received the degree of M.A. at St John's college, Cambridge, where he enjoyed the ministerial services of Chatterton and Perkins. Upon leaving the university, he became tutor to the sons of Lord Carey of Lepington, afterwards earl of Monmouth, by whom he was subsequently recommended to Prince Henry, whom he served as sole officer in his closet during the life of his royal highness. This latter situation affording him considerable time for study, he composed a Latin treatise on Antichrist, which he presented to the prince in manuscript. After the death of Prince Henry, he continued in the same office under his brother Charles. About this time he wrote his treatise called 'A Censure of Simony,' and likewise another, entitled, 'Truth's Triumph over Trent,' wherein, to use his own language, he "unfolded the mystery of iniquity packed up in the sixth session of that council, encountering therein those two champions of the council, Andreas Vega, and Dominicus Soto." These works, with some difficulty, he got licensed by Archbishop Abbot's chaplain, who afterwards refused to license another of Burton's treatises, being a reply to a book entitled, 'The Converted Jew.'

On Charles's accession, Burton took it upon him to inform his majesty by letter, how popishly Neile and Laud were inclined. Charles regarded the advice as impertinent, and desired its author to discontinue his attendance in office, until he should be sent for, whereupon Burton sent in his resignation. He now devoted himself zealously to the ministry of the word, and to polemical controversy. Among the works to which he at this time sent forth an answer, were Montague's 'Appeal to Cæsar,' and Cosen's 'Private Devotions.' A work by Bishop Hall, in which he affirmed the church of Rome to be the true church, was replied to by Burton in a treatise on the seven vials. For thus writing against the church of Rome, and for publishing without a license, he was twice brought before the high-commission court, but he succeeded in procuring a prohibition. In December 1636, he was cited to appear before Dr Duck, one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, to answer to certain articles brought against him for what he had recently advanced in his sermons. Burton appealed to the king, but was suspended by a special commission court, on which he thought fit to abscond, but published the two offensive sermons under the title of

'For God and the King,' together with an apology justifying his appeal. The consequence of this conduct was, that he soon found himself lodged in the Fleet prison, where he remained shut up from his wife and friends for half-a-year before being brought before the star-chamber. Judgment was pronounced at the same time against Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, but the two latter were only fined in £5000 each, while poor Burton, in addition to the fine of equal amount, was sentenced to be deprived and degraded, to stand in the pillory two hours, to lose both his ears, and to be kept a perpetual close prisoner in the castle of Lancaster. He bore the execution of his sentence with all the courage and transport of a martyr: "While I stood in the pillory," says he, "I thought myself to be in heaven, and in a state of glory and triumph; if any such state can possibly be on earth. I found these words of Peter verified on me in the pillory, 'If ye be reproached,' &c. 1 Pet. iv. 14. For my rejoicing was so great all the while, without intermission, that I can no more express it than Paul could his ravishment in the third heaven." His journey from the Fleet to Lancaster resembled more the progress of a triumphant king than of a persecuted and despised criminal. Above 40,000 persons assembled to witness his departure from the city, and nearly 500 of his friends accompanied him on the road.

After twelve weeks imprisonment in the common jail at Lancaster, during which he was visited by hundreds of sympathising friends, he was removed to Cornet castle, in the isle of Guernsey, where he was kept a close prisoner for three years. There, notwithstanding the strict injunctions which had been laid upon his gaolers to keep him from all access to writing materials, he contrived to write several pamphlets, some of which found their way to the public and some did not. At last, this scene of suffering and degradation was exchanged for one of honour and comparative tranquillity. On the 15th of November, 1640, an order for his enlargement arrived from the house of commons. His fellow-prisoner, Prynne, was enlarged at the same time, and proceeded with him to London, their cortege increasing at every town and village through which they passed, until it had swelled to some thousands, who rent the air with their acclamations as these eminent sufferers for conscience sake entered the city. Mr Burton made directly for his own house at Chelsea, but such was the throng of people in the streets, occasioned by his arrival, that he was three hours in passing from the Mews to Aldermanbury. In a few days thereafter, the house of commons declared the whole proceedings of the high-commission and the star-chamber, in the cases of Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, to be illegal, reversed their sentences, and restored the several sufferers to all degrees, orders, or benefices, which they formerly held, Burton was also ordered a gratuity of £6,000, as a recompense for his personal sufferings under an unjust sentence; but we believe that he never received any portion of this money.

Burton now recommenced his ministerial labours. Soon after he declared himself an independent, and wrote his 'Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent,' in reply to two works by his fellow-sufferer Prynne, who was of the presbyterian persuasion. Burton has been often accused of extreme violence and turbulence of temper, and represented as a headstrong and furious fanatic, whom no consideration

either of Christian forbearance or worldly prudence could tame. One detractor affects to say of Burton, that punishment made him an object of pity who never was an object of esteem. In reply to the last of these calumnies, it is sufficient to instance the enthusiastic public welcome which he received on his return from Guernsey. As to the former charge, it is too much to expect that a man whose profession was that of polemics, should have, in such times as he lived in, and with such provocations as he received, uniformly observed the language of courtesy and forbearance towards his antagonists. But we are bold to affirm, that many of his writings exhibit a truly Christian spirit; and that his whole life gave evidence that he not only knew the truth, but felt and acted under its power, and that with much more uniform consistency than many of his bitterest traducers.

Archbishop Williams.

BORN A. D. 1582.—DIED A. D. 1650.

THIS distinguished prelate, the youngest son of a Welsh gentleman of Carnarvonshire, was born at Conway in 1582. After acquiring the rudiments of learning at an endowed school at Ruthin, he was sent to St John's college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of A.B. 1602. His family being wealthy, he was enabled to live in a very comfortable manner while pursuing his studies, and thus to form that ostentatious taste which distinguished him in after life; he was a hard student, however, and is said never to have spent above three or four hours in sleep out of the twenty-four. By close application, and a methodical distribution of his time, he soon acquired a high reputation for scholarship, and obtained the notice of Archbishop Bancroft, Lord Lumley, and the chancellor Ellesmere. The prelate presented to him an archdeaconry, and the chancellor placed him on his own establishment in the quality of domestic chaplain,—a situation described in the quaint but expressive phrase of Williams's biographer, Hacket, as 'a nest for an eagle.' Williams had discernment and ambition enough to avail himself of all the advantages which his 'nest' afforded him, and so successfully did he cultivate the good graces of the chancellor, that his lordship, upon the day of his death, called Williams to him and told him, "that if he wanted money, he would leave him such a legacy in his will as should enable him to begin the world like a gentleman." "Sir," replied Williams, "I kiss your hands, but you have filled my cup so full, that I am far from want; unless it be of your lordships' directions how to live in the world if I survive you." "Well," said the chancellor, "I know you are an expert workman, take these tools to work with, they are the best I have." And with these words he placed in his hands a number of books, papers, and memoranda, relating to the high courts of the nation, which the chancellor had drawn up for his own guidance, and from which Williams's biographer does not doubt but the archbishop drew his own system of politics.

The new lord-keeper, Bacon, wished Williams to act as his chaplain, but he declined the proposal, and was preparing to remove to one

of his livings in Northamptonshire, when he received orders to attend his majesty in his northern progress as one of his chaplains in ordinary. Soon after this he took his doctor's degree, and held a disputation before the archbishop of Spalatro, who was then visiting Cambridge. He acquitted himself greatly to James' satisfaction on this occasion, by his defence of the themes 'Supremus magistratus non est excommunicabilis,' and 'Subductio calicis est mutilatio sacramenti et sacerdotii.' From this time he constantly grew in favour with his majesty. "The king's table," says Hacket, "was a trial of wits. The reading of some books before him was very frequent while he was at his repast. Otherwise he collected knowledge by variety of questions, which he carried out to the capacity of his understanding visitors. Methought his hunting humour was not off so long as his courtiers, I mean, the learned stood about him at his board. He was ever in chase after some disputable doubts, which he would wind and turn about with the most stabbing objections that ever I heard, and was as pleasant and fellow-like in all these discourses with his huntsmen in the field. They that in many such genial and convivial conferences were ripe and weighty in their answers, were indubiously designed to some place of credit and profit. But among them all with whom King James communed, was found none like Daniel (Williams). His majesty gave ear more graciously to this chaplain, and directed his speech to him, when he was at hand, oftener than to any that crowded near to hearken to the wisdom of that Solomon." Williams, if not the ablest of James' auditors, was at least one of the most prudent, and studied the royal pedant's humour to the best advantage. At first, however, he mistook the relation in which it was necessary for him to stand to the favourite Buckingham, whom for some time he neglected to court. James, however, soon gave him to understand, that to stand well in his favour, it was necessary to be in the good graces also of the marquess. He lost no time in improving upon the hint thus given him, and soon rendered himself eminently serviceable to Buckingham by prevailing on the earl of Rutland to bestow his daughter and heiress upon him. The favourite rewarded the chaplain with the valuable deanery of Westminster.

Williams' next promotion was to the office of keeper of the seals, on the removal of the lord-chancellor Bacon from office in 1621. He had not held the seals a month before the bishopric of Lincoln was added to his preferments, with leave to retain his deanery and other benefices. As lord-keeper, Bishop Williams discharged his arduous services with singular assiduity and considerable ability. When he first entered upon office he had such a load of business that he was forced to sit by candle-light in the court of chancery, from two hours before day-break till between eight and nine. He then repaired to the house of peers, where he sat as speaker till twelve or one o'clock. This duty discharged, he snatched a brief repast, and then returned to hear causes in chancery till eight or nine in the evening. After this, on his return home, he perused his papers, despatched his correspondence, and prepared for the business of the house of lords next day. In the star-chamber, he, upon the whole, conducted himself with greater lenity and moderation than the other judges. He used his influence also with

the king and the favourite, in some instances, with very beneficial results to the public, as well as to individuals. He obtained the bishopric of Salisbury for the excellent Davenant, that of Exeter for Carew, and that of St David's for Laud; he also procured the liberation of the earl of Northumberland, who had been fifteen years a prisoner in the tower. On the death of King James, Williams preached his funeral sermon. Taking for his text the following words:—"And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father, and his son Rehoboam reigned in his stead." He opened his discourse in the following style: "It is not I, but this woeful accident that chooseth this text,—no book will serve this turn but the book of Kings,—no king but one of the best kings, but one that reigned over all Israel, which must be either Saul, as yet good, or David, or Solomon; no king of all Israel, but one of the wisest kings; neither unless he be a king of peace, which cannot be David, a man of war, but only Solomon; no king of peace neither, the more is our grief, alive and in his throne; and, therefore, it must of necessity be the funeral and obits of King Solomon." After this exordium, follows an elaborate commentary on the life, actions, and writings of Solomon, respecting whose choice of the gifts of wisdom, it is gravely observed, that "although kings be anointed on the arms, the instruments of action, yet are they crowned only on the head, the seat of wisdom. Whether," proceeds the erudite divine, "this wisdom of Solomon's was universal and embraced all sciences, as Pineda, or a prudence reaching to the practique only; also, whether Solomon did surmount as Tostatus, or fall short of Adam in the pitch of his wisdom, as Gregory de Valentia thinks, are such doughty frays, as I have no leisure to part at this time."

A parallel is drawn between the two kings in these terms: "Solomon is said to be the only son of his mother—so was King James. Solomon was of complexion white and ruddy—so was King James. Solomon was an infant king—so was King James a king at the age of thirteen months. Solomon began his reign in the life of his predecessor; so, by the force and compulsion of that state, did our late sovereign King James. Solomon was twice crowned and anointed a king; so was King James. Solomon's minority was rough through the quarrels of the former sovereign; so was that of King James. Solomon was learned above all the princes in the East; so was King James above all princes in the universal world. Solomon was a writer in prose and verse; so, in very pure and exquisite fashion, was our sweet sovereign King James. Solomon was the greatest patron we ever read of to church and churchmen; and yet no greater, let the house of Aaron now confess, than King James. Solomon was a main improver of his home and commodities, as you may see in his trading with Hiram; and God knows, it was the daily study of King James. Solomon was a great improver of shipping and navigation; a most proper attribute to King James. And yet, towards the end king Solomon had secret enemies and prepared for a war upon his going to the grave; so had, and so did King James. Lastly, before any hostile act we read of in the history, king Solomon died in peace, when he had lived about sixty years, as Lyra and Tostatus were of opinion. And so you know did King James."

The bishop was removed from his office of lord-keeper by Charles I. n October, 1626, having fallen under the displeasure of Buckingham. Soon after this misfortune he penned the following sycophantic epistle to the duke: "Most gracious lord, beinge com hither, accordinge unto the dutye of my place, to doe my best service for the preparation to the coronation, and to wayte upon his majestye for his royall pleasure and direction therein, I doe most humblye beseech your grace to crowne soe many of your grace's former favoures, and to revive a creature of your owne, struck dead onlye with your displeasure, (but noe other discontentment in the universall worlde,) by bringinge of me to kisse his majestye's hand, with whome I took leave in noe disfavoure at all. I was never hitherto brought into the presence of a kinge by any saint beside yourselfe; turne me not over (most noble lord,) to offer my prayers at newe aulters. If I were guiltye of any unworthye, unfaithfulnes for the time past, or not guiltye of a resolution to doe your grace all service for the time to com, all considerations under heaven could not force me to begge it so earnestlye, or to professe myselfe as I do before God and you. Your grace his most humble, affectionate, and devoted servaunt, Jo. Lincoln."[1] He was ordered at the same time not to appear in parliament, but he refused to comply with the injunction, and, taking his seat in the house of peers, promoted the petition of right. The influence of Laud also was now directed against him, notwithstanding the debt of gratitude that prelate owed him for his first promotion to the mitre. In the 4th year of Charles, a prosecution was commenced against the bishop in the star-chamber on some frivolous informations preferred against him by some of Laud's creatures. He defended himself ably, but was condemned to pay a fine of £10,000 to the king, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. He was detained in the Tower till December, 1640, when the house of lords demanded, and obtained his liberation. Next year, he was advanced to the archbishopric of York. The same year he strenuously, though ineffectually, opposed the bill for depriving the bishops of their seats in the house of lords. On this occasion his usual prudence and foresight seem to have forsaken him, for he was mainly instrumental in preparing the protest of the twelve bishops which procured them instant imprisonment in the Tower.

In the year 1642, the archbishop retired from York to his estate at Aber-Conway, and was at no small expense in fortifying Conway castle for the king. After the excution of Charles, the archbishop spent his few remaining days in retirement and devotion. He died on the 25th of March, 1650. Besides several sermons, Archbishop Williams published a book against Laud's innovations, with this title, 'The Holy Table, Name, and Thing, more antiently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of Altar,' which Lord Clarendon characterises as a book "full of good learning, and that learning so closely and solidly applied—though it abounded with two many light expressions—that it gained him reputation enough to be able to do hurt." He likewise made some collections for a Latin commentary on the Bible, and a life of Bishop Grosseteste.

[1] Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 255.

Bishop Hall.

BORN A. D. 1574.—DIED A. D. 1656.

JOSEPH HALL was born of very respectable parentage at Bristow-park, in the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, on the 1st of July, 1574. His father was an officer under Henry, earl of Huntingdon; his mother, "of the house of the Bainbridges." To the instruction and counsel of his maternal parent—who is described as a woman of "rare sanctity,"—Hall was doubtless greatly indebted for the bent of his subsequent character; and he has acknowledged his obligations to her in very affectionate and pleasing terms: "how often," says he, "have I blessed the memory of those divine passages of experimental divinity which I have heard from her mouth! What day did she pass without a large task of private devotion: whence she would still come forth with a countenance of undissembled mortification! Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety; neither have I known any soul that more accurately practised them than her own. Temptations, desertions, and spiritual comforts, were her usual theme. Shortly—for I can hardly take off my pen from so exemplary a subject—her life and death were saint-like." It is not to be wondered at that the highest ambition of such a "saintly" mother was to see her son engaged in the ministry of the gospel; and accordingly his parents appear to have devoted him from very early years to the sacred calling. The bishop has left behind him two interesting pieces of auto-biography,—one entitled 'Hard measure,'—and the other 'Observations on some specialties of Divine Providence in the life of Joseph Hall, written with his own hand;' in the latter of these works, the first "specialty" which he acknowledges is his having escaped from a system of private tutorage, which threatened ultimately to divert his attention from the work of the ministry, and having been permitted to pursue his studies at Cambridge. The expenses of a university-education would soon have proved too great for the father's means, whose "not very large cistern," the son quaintly remarks, had to "feed many pipes" besides his; but an unexpected benefactor happily stept forward at the critical moment when the young student was about to be removed from Cambridge, and supplied him with the means of prosecuting his studies at that ancient seat of learning, where, in due season, he was elected fellow of his college, Emanuel, and lectured on rhetoric for two years successively. Hall was an enthusiastic student; and used to declare that the years which he passed within the walls of his college were the happiest of his life. In early youth he had drank deeply from classic fountains; and, before the completion of his 23d year, the publication of his satires had powerfully contributed to one department at least of his country's literature,—or, rather had given existence to it; for, in the judgment of Campbell [1]—no mean authority it will be allowed, on such a point—"of our satirical poetry, taking satire in its moral and dignified sense, he claims, and may be allowed, to be the founder."

[1] Specimens, vol. ii. p. 256.

Having entered into sacred orders, he was presented by Lady Drury to the rectory of Halsted in Suffolk, having previously declined the mastership of Tiverton school. His parochial charge was rendered somewhat troublesome by the impertinences and malice of "a witty and bold atheist, one Mr Lilly," who, having conceived some dislike to the worthy doctor's faithful ministrations, set himself to prejudice Sir Robert Drury, the son of his patroness, against him. Mr Jones conjectures that this was Lilly the author of 'Euphues,' who does not however appear to have avowed atheistical principles in any of his fantastic writings. But whoever the man was, he proved himself a source of considerable uneasiness to the future bishop, who confesses, that "finding the obdurateness and hopeless condition of that man, I bent my prayers against him, beseeching God daily, that he would be pleased to remove, by some means or other, that apparent hinderance of my faithful labours, who gave me an answer accordingly: for this malicious man, going hastily up to London to exasperate my patron against me, was then and there swept away by the pestilence, and never returned to do any further mischief." When he had been two years resident on his rectory, "the uncouth solitariness" of his life, and "the extreme incommodity of that single house-keeping," drew his thoughts "to condescend to the necessity of a married state." Dire however as this necessity appeared at first to be to the mind of the studious and quiet-loving rector, it proved—as he himself confesses—the means of introducing him to "the comfortable society of a meet-help for the space of forty-nine years."

Two years after this deed of "condescension," the paucity of his pecuniary emoluments arising from the rectorship, and the desire he had "to inform himself ocularly of the state and practices of the Romish church, induced him to accept the invitation of Sir Edmund Bacon to accompany him to Spa, and during their continental tour he engaged in a public disputation with some Jesuits at Brussels. An accidental opportunity which he had soon after his return home, of preaching at Richmond before Prince Henry, to whom he had already dedicated his 'Contemplations,' seems to have given the first impulse to his preferment. He was nominated one of the prince's chaplains, and was presented, by the earl of Norwich, to the valuable living of Waltham, at that time worth £100 a year, "with other considerable accommodations." On this occasion (1612,) he took his degree of doctor of divinity. His incumbency at Waltham lasted twenty-two years, during which period he continued to rise in favour at court, and was more than once engaged abroad on public missions. On his return from having accompanied Lord Doncaster in his embassy to France, he found himself created by the king, dean of Worcester. Subsequently he attended his majesty to Scotland, in an expedition from which James reaped no honours, and his subjects no advantage.

In 1618, Hall was nominated one of the four divines whom the royal polemic, who at that time filled the throne of Britain, thought fit to send to the famous synod of Dort, as the representatives of the English clergy. His colleagues on this occasion, were Carleton, Davenant, and Ward; the first, distinguished for episcopal gravity, the second for a sound judgment, and the third, for extensive reading; the quality which induced the king to appoint Hall a member of this illustrious

legation, as stated by Fuller, was his "*expedita concionatio,*" his readiness and fluency of public address. The synod held its sittings from November, 1618, till the end of the following May; but Hall's constitution was so powerfully affected by the climate of Holland, that after two months' attendance, he was obliged to apply for his dismission The reluctance with which the synod complied with his request is a sufficient proof of the esteem in which he was held by his Dutch brethren, and the states-general sent him a respectful compliment by Heinsius, with a gold medal struck in commemoration of the synod,—a badge which he constantly wore afterwards, and which is appended to his dress in several of his portraits. There can be no reasonable doubt that Hall was a Calvinist in sentiment, and that he maintained the doctrine of election in his writings and conferences; in particular, the "Articles of Accord," which he proposed in his 'Via Media,' a publication intended to moderate the violence of "the Belgic disease," as Hall terms the Calvinistic controversy, then raging in England, as well as in the Netherlands—are explicit with regard to his views on this subject. But there is as little reason to regard him as belonging to the fiery and high-flying Calvinistic party; his views were moderate, and his temperament pacific, and he evidently made the preservation of peace a leading object throughout his whole life.

Having "with much humble deprecation, refused the bishopric of Gloucester, which was earnestly proffered to him," Hall was raised by Charles I. to the see of Exeter, in 1627; and with his bishopric he was permitted to hold *in commendam* the rectory of St Brock, in Cornwall, worth £300 per annum, so that his fortune was now ample. But the deplorable state to which, under the guidance of the infatuated monarch, public affairs were fast hastening, had now become evident to all but those who partook of Charles's infatuation; and the good bishop had beautifully expressed the apprehensions which filled his mind in the dedication to his 'Via Media,' which he published shortly after his elevation to the mitre, and wherein he says:—"There needs no prophetical spirit to discern, by a small cloud, that there is a storm coming to our church; such a one as shall not only drench our plumes, but shake our peace. Already do we see the sky thicken, and hear the winds whistle hollow afar off, and feel all the presages of a tempest." The tempest soon burst forth, and the bishop of Exeter was destined early to abide the pelting of the storm. Assailed on one hand as a partisan of the church of Rome, and on the other as a favourer of Puritanism, he found himself at the same time constrained to oppose the intolerance of the metropolitan Laud, who would have crushed and borne down by the strong hand of power, if he could, all dissentients from the established order of things in church and state. At last the nation arose to vindicate its rights; the long parliament assembled, and Laud was impeached; while Hall, alarmed for the existence of the church, stood up in his place in the house of lords, and, in a spirit rare with him—of no ordinary bitterness, denounced the dissenting congregations which now dared openly to worship God according to their conscience, in the suburbs and liberties of London, as "sectaries instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, feltmakers, and such like trash;" he even attempted to represent them as not a shade better than the anabaptists of Munster. Besides delivering this violent speech

in parliament, he wrote a reply to the powerful polemical tract entitled '*Smectymnuus.*'

In November, 1641, Bishop Hall was translated to Norwich; and on the 1st of January, 1642, he was committed to the Tower with other twelve prelates, on account of a protestation which they had dared to exhibit against whatever measures should be adopted in their absence from the house of lords, while restrained from appearing in public by fear of personal insult and violence from the populace. The fruits of their rash protesting was imprisonment till the 5th of May following, and deprivation of temporal estates and spiritual promotions, with reservation only of an annual allowance for their maintenance. Bishop Hall's allowance was £400 a-year. In his 'Letter from the Tower,' and his 'Free Prisoner,' we have the bishop's own account of these troubles, which he appears to have sustained with a becoming spirit of humility and resignation. On his liberation he instantly retired to Norwich, where he preached in the cathedral, on the day after his arrival, "to a numerous and attentive people," and continued to officiate till he was "forbidden by men, and at last disabled by God." It is impossible to justify the severity with which this amiable man was treated on the subversion of prelatical domination. Shortly after his retirement to Norwich an order was passed for the full sequestration of the estates of all notorious political delinquents against the commonwealth; and as this order comprehended the protesting bishops, Hall was of course included under its operation, and driven from his episcopal residence with great harshness. "The soldiers," says Neale, "used him severely, turning him out of his palace, and threatening to sell his books if a friend had not given bond for the money at which they were appraised." Neale intimates that the sequestration against the bishop of Norwich was removed in February, 1647; but the silence which Hall himself preserves on this point in his 'Hard Measure,' which bears date three months later, inclines us to suspect that this order, like some others, had been without effect. His last years were passed on a small estate which he rented at Heigham, a hamlet in the western suburbs of Norwich, wherein the house which he inhabited is still remaining. In his old age he became the victim of strangury and stone; his sufferings under these acute diseases were extreme, but he bore them with the utmost fortitude and resignation, till death brought his spirit welcome release, on the 8th day of September, 1656, in the 82d year of his age. Notwithstanding his injunction to the contrary, he was buried in the chancel of Heigham church, in which there is a black marble monument erected over his tomb, bearing a short and simple inscription.

Few prelates of the English church—perhaps none—have left to posterity a fairer reputation than Bishop Hall. Living in troublous times, and often placed in circumstances extremely trying to his temper as a man, and his faith and patience as a Christian, he manifested throughout the whole of a long and chequered life, the greatest singleness of heart, mildness of temper, and purity of intention. For his ethical eloquence he has sometimes been denominated the English Seneca. The merits of his writings are general chasteness and terseness of composition, a rich vein of fancy, fine pathos, delicate satire, a spirit of fervent practical piety, and views of futurity always elevating

and sublime; his defects are those of his time,—quaintness of language, and occasional involution and obscurity of style.

Thomas Gataker, B. D.

BORN A. D. 1574.—DIED A. D. 1654.

THIS eminent theologian was descended from an ancient Shropshire family. He was educated at Cambridge, and received a fellowship of Sydney college from Whitgift. During his residence in Cambridge, he read prelections on the Hebrew scriptures, which were greatly admired for the depth of erudition which they displayed, as well as for their singular piety. At the age of twenty-six he was chosen lecturer at Lincoln's inn. The appointment excited the alarm of his friends lest it should be found too severe a task for one so young; but the result justified the choice of the benchers. He soon became the most popular preacher in the metropolis; while at the same time his published pieces procured for him a high standing amongst foreign as well as English divines. Though an advocate for moderate episcopacy, he attended the Westminster assembly, and took a part in preparing the annotations on the scriptures which were published under the authority of that learned body. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the book of Lamentations, were the portions which he executed, and, in the opinion of Calamy, he has greatly surpassed all his coadjutors in the work. In 1645, appeared his learned treatise, 'De Nomine Tetragrammato,' being a defence of the common way of pronouncing the word Jehovah. In 1646, he published an answer to Saltmarsh's treatise on Grace, in which he demolished the Antinomian view of his opponent, and exposed with great vigour and effect that affected style of quaint antithesis then so much in vogue in treating of theological subjects. In 1648, he subscribed the remonstrance to the army against the design of trying the king. In 1653, he was drawn into a dispute with Lilly, the astrologer, in which he handled that 'blind buzzard' with well-merited severity and contempt. He died in 1654. His annotations on Marcus Antoninus are well known to scholars.

Henry Hammond, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1660.

THIS learned and amiable divine was born at Chertsey, in Surrey, on the 18th of August, 1605. He was the youngest son of Dr John Hammond, a physician. He received his grammar learning at Eton, and in 1618 was sent to Magdalen college, Oxford, of which he became a fellow in July, 1625. During his residence in Oxford, he applied himself with extreme diligence to classical studies. In 1629, he entered into holy orders; and in 1633 was presented to the rectory of Penshurst, in Kent, by the earl of Leicester, who had conceived a high opinion of his talents and piety from a sermon which he accidentally heard him deliver. Bishop Duppa conferred upon him the archdeaconry of Chichester in 1643.

In this latter year he retired to Oxford, having rendered himself ob-

noxious to the ruling party, by joining in the fruitless attempt at Tunbridge, in favour of the king. His retirement he dedicated to the purpose of drawing up a 'Practical Catechism,' which he published next year. The committee of presbyterian divines soon after took exceptions to various doctrines advanced by Hammond in his catechism, whereupon he published a spirited vindication of the obnoxious passages, and challenged his opponents to a public disputation. During the Uxbridge negotiations, Hammond, as one of the divines on the king's side, took an active part in the discussions with the presbyterian commissioners. In 1645, the king bestowed a canonry of Christ church upon him, and made him one of his chaplains in ordinary. On the surrender of Oxford, he followed his royal master to the isle of Wight, where he remained till 1647, when he returned to Oxford.

The parliamentary commissioners deprived Hammond of his college offices in 1648, and placed him and his colleague, Dr Sheldon, under personal restraint for about ten weeks. It was during this confinement that he began his celebrated Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament. It came out first in 1653. A new and enlarged edition of it was published in 1656; and in 1698, Le Clerc published a Latin translation of it. It is a work of great learning, but abounding in fanciful interpretations. He afterwards formed the design of commenting upon the books of the Old Testament, but only lived to execute the book of Psalms, and a portion of Proverbs.

The death of the king—against whose trial he had drawn up a firm but modest protest—greatly affected him; but the moderation and kindness with which he was treated by many who, while they disliked his political principles, yet admired the man and his theological writings, revived his spirits, and encouraged him to resume his studies. His constitution, however, began to give way in a few years, and, while on the eve of promotion to the bishopric of Worcester, he was carried off by a violent attack of gravel in 1660. Bishop Burnet says of him that "his death was an unspeakable loss to the church." He was one of the most learned, most pious, and most active men of his day. His collected works were published in four volumes folio, in 1684.

Thomas Fuller.

BORN CIRC. A. D. 1608.—DIED A. D. 1661.

THOMAS FULLER, an eminent historian and divine of the church of England in the 17th century, was the son of the parish-minister of Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, in which village he was born about the year 1608. He received the elements of instruction under the paternal roof, but at a very early age was sent to Queen's college, Cambridge, of which his maternal uncle, Dr Davenant, was master, and where he pursued his studies with such vigour and success that he took the degree of A. B. in 1624, and that of A. M. in 1628. During his residence in Queen's college he stood candidate for a vacant fellowship, being urged thereto by the desire of the whole house, but upon its being ascertained that there existed a statute against the admission of two fellows from Northamptonshire, he instantly withdrew his claim

to the vacant preferment, though assured that the strict terms of the statute would be dispensed with in his case, choosing rather that his private interests should suffer, than that any invasion should be perpetrated on the laws and privileges of the college. Soon after—the author of his Life, printed at Oxford in 1662, informs us—"his great sufficiencies (being now about twenty-three years of age), tendered him a prebendary of Salisbury, and at the same time a fellowship in Sydney college. He had been previously chosen minister of St Bennet's parish, in the town of Cambridge, in which church he 'offered the first fruits of his ministerial functions.'" The same year in which he obtained his prebend and fellowship was distinguished by the commencement of his career as an author in the publication of a poem entitled 'David's Heinous Sin, Heartie Repentance, and Heavie Punishment,' a piece now little known.

On being ordained priest, he was presented to the rectory of Broad Windsor, in Dorsetshire, where he exercised his ministerial functions with great diligence and acceptance. In 1635, he proceeded B. D., and soon after, entered into the married state with a young lady, who was early removed from him by death. It was during his recess at his country rectory that he began to complete several of his works, the plans of which had been sketched, and foundations laid by him whilst at the university. His 'Historie of the Holy Warse' first appeared in folio, in 1640, but its dedication to the hon. Edward Montagu and Sir John Powlett is dated the 6th of March, 1638. Shortly after the publication of this work, which became immediately popular, "growing weary of the narrow limits of a country-parish, and uneasy at the unsettled state of public affairs," he removed to London; an additional reason for this step probably was the desire of readier access to books and learned men—"walking and standing libraries," as he quaintly talks of—than a country situation afforded him. In the metropolis "he preached with great applause in the most eminent pulpits, especially in the Inns of Court, and was speedily chosen lecturer in the Savoy, the duties of which office he discharged with prodigious success." The concourse of hearers which flocked to him was so great that—to use the language of his just biographer—"his own cure were in a sense excommunicated from the church, unless their timeous diligence kept pace with their devotions. He had in his narrow chapel, two audiences—one without the pale, the other within—the windows of that little church and the sextonry so crowded as if bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse." He was chosen a member of the convocation at Westminster, which met in Henry the Seventh's chapel in 1640, and was one of the select committee appointed to draw up new canons for the better government of the church.

Fuller was never a warm partisan; yet it could not be said of him that he "was so supple that he brake not a joint in all the alterations of the times." During the troublous period embraced by the reign of Charles I. and the commonwealth, he adhered firmly to the royal cause; his efforts to serve it, both in public and private, were earnest and unremitting, and drew upon him the obloquy and disaster which naturally attach to a defeated party in the high struggle for political ascendancy. After the king had quitted London, previously to the commencement of hostilities against his parliament, Fuller, on the an-

niversary of his majesty's inauguration, in 1642, preached at Westminster Abbey, from the text, "Yea, let them take all, so that my lord, the king, return in peace,"—2 Sam. xix. 30. This sermon having been published, gave great offence to the popular leaders of the day, and brought the preacher into some danger. About this period he completed and published 'The Holy State,' in one volume folio. This is generally regarded as one of the best, if not the best in every respect of his numerous works. 'The Profane State' is to be classed along with it; both being a series of moral portraits illustrated occasionally by biographical sketches. The idea of these works, it has been suggested, was probably taken from Causines's 'Holy Court:' we should think it more probable that the 'Characterisms of Virtues and Vices,' by Bishop Hall, gave the hint. During the ferment and conflict of the civil war, he prosecuted his studies as he had opportunity. In 1643, he joined the king at Oxford, and he afterwards attended Sir Ralph Hopton as his army-chaplain. After the battle at Cheriton-Down, in March, 1644, we find our chaplain at Basing House, where he so animated the garrison to a vigorous defence of that place, that Sir William Waller was obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss. On Hopton's retreat into Cornwall, Fuller took refuge in Exeter, where he preached regularly to the citizens, and was appointed chaplain to the infant-princess, Henrietta Maria, who was born in that city in 1643. On the surrender of Exeter to the parliamentary forces, in April, 1646, he removed again to London, and was chosen lecturer, first at St Clement's Lane, Lombard Street, and afterwards at St Bride's.

About 1648, he was presented by the earl of Carlisle to the living of Waltham in Essex. Two years after, he published a geographical account of the Holy Land, which he entitled, 'A Pisgah sight of Palestine, and the Confines thereof,' in folio, with maps and views; and in 1650 appeared his 'Abel Redivivus,' a collection of lives of eminent martyrs, saints, and confessors. After having lived about twelve years a widower, he married again, making choice of one of the sisters of Viscount Baltinglasse for his new helpmate; but he still found time and means to pursue his multiform studies, and gratify his taste for authorship. In 1656 he published his Church History, at London, in folio. The whole title of this work is, 'The Church History of Britain, from the birth of Jesus Christ, until the year 1648. Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller.' This performance was severely animadverted on by Dr Peter Heylin in his 'Examen Historicum,' which appeared about three years after. It is also treated with quite too much asperity of censure by Archbishop Nicolson, who complains of its being "so interlaced with pun and quibble, that it looks as if the man had designed to ridicule the annals of our church into fable and romance." To Heylin, Fuller replied with much ingenuity and candour. In 1658, the living of Crauford, in Middlesex, was bestowed upon him, and he removed thither. On the Restoration, he received his prebend in the cathedral of Salisbury, and was appointed extraordinary chaplain to his majesty, besides being created D. D. at Cambridge by royal mandamus. He would have been further rewarded with a bishopric, had it not been prevented by his death, which happened on the 16th of August, 1661. He was interred in the chancel of Crauford church; above two hundred

of his clerical brethren accompanied his remains to the grave, and Dr Hardy, dean of Rochester, preached his funeral sermon. His principal work, entitled, 'The Worthies of England,' was published the year after his death. In it Fuller has given a diffuse and rather minute account of the remarkable men and things in each of the several shires of England and Wales; it contains not a little of serious trifling, but is a valuable repository of curious facts, and abounds with pithy sayings and amusing anecdotes.

The following able estimate of Fuller and his writings appeared in the 'Christian Examiner,' an American periodical:—"Fuller was regarded as an extraordinary man by his contemporaries; and the judgment has been and will be confirmed, the more he is known. That he had his share in the literary faults of his age, is not to be disputed; and they who will judge his writings by no standard but such as is applied at the present day, will doubtless find much to be offended with. But it would be gross injustice to deny his claim to great and distinguishing excellence. He possessed a capacious and vigorous mind—filled even to overflowing with the knowledge to be gained from books and men—strong in its native powers, and kept bright by habits of keen and astute observation. His astonishing power of memory was, perhaps, never surpassed by that of any individual. His learning, large and various as its stores were, appears never to have overlaid his intellect, but to have been used, if not always necessarily, yet aptly and for purposes truly connected with the matter in hand, and not in that tasteless and diffuse manner which marked the compositions of not a few of his contemporaries. As a reasoner, in the restricted sense of the word, he was not distinguished. His excellence consisted rather in that practical and sagacious turn of mind which arrives at valuable results, without going through the process of premises and inferences, and which spreads out the fruits of its meditations in sage and amusing remarks on life and on the springs of human character and passions. We know not where we should find a richer fund of this sort of entertaining wisdom, than is to be had in many of his pages.

"The quality which is usually thought to stand out in most striking relief in Fuller's works is his untiring humour. This was indeed the ruling passion of his soul. He could say nothing without saying it, if possible, quaintly and facetiously. It seems to have been a lesson of self-denial which he never learned, to pass by a jocose turn of thought or expression, and leave it unused. If there were two ways of stating a sentiment, or giving a description, the one literal and grave, the other witty and allusive, he was pretty sure to choose the latter. Yet, in this quality, Fuller, though he surpassed some others, was far from being alone. We are accustomed to consider the divines of two centuries ago as grave, dignified, and stern men, whose countenances never relaxed into a smile, and who wrote and thought, as they are imagined to have lived and walked, only in the old-fashioned clerical stateliness. Yet the fact is, that many of them indulged in a vein of humour, and sometimes broad humour too, in their preaching and writings, which would be altogether startling to 'the men of these degenerate days.' We wonder what an audience would think now, were they to hear such gibes and jests as were not unfrequently uttered from English pulpits, in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, the first and second

Charles, and even at an earlier period. Who ever has read Latimer's sermons must remember that he relates many a mirthful anecdote in them, and sometimes with the prefatory remark, that he is about to tell 'a merry toy.' The sermons of John Hales of Eton are not wanting in strokes of facetiousness which might be deemed free enough for the pleasantry of familiar conversation. The raillery and wit of Eachard would not fail in comparison with those of Swift; and the unsparing sarcasms, and coarse but pungent ridicule of South, are well known to all who have looked into his strange but valuable discourses, which are the productions of a strong mind, given up to the impulse of a feeling at least equally strong. But the facetious qualities of Fuller, abundant as they were to a fault, were always good natured and free from asperity,—the spontaneous glee of a mind that had an irresistible propensity to disport itself in this sort of pastime. It was not sharp enough to answer to his own description of the wit of Erasmus, who, he says, 'was a badger in his jeers; when he did bite he would make his teeth meet.' Calamy, in his life of Howe, having mentioned the services which Howe rendered to several of the royalists and episcopalians, when they were brought before the Tryers, appointed in Cromwell's time to test their qualifications for the exercise of the ministry, relates the following characteristical anecdote of Fuller:—Among the rest that applied to him for advice upon that occasion, the celebrated Dr Thomas Fuller, who is well known by his punning writings, was one. That gentleman, who was generally upon the merry pin, being to take his turn before these Tryers, of whom he had a very formidable notion, thus accosted Mr Howe, when he applied to him for advice:—'Sir,' said he, 'you may observe I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait: I beg you would be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through.' He freely gave him his advice, and he promised to follow it; and when he appeared before them, and they proposed to him the usual question—Whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace upon his heart,—he gave this in for answer, that he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts that he made conscience of his very thoughts; with which answer they were satisfied, as indeed well they might. One cannot but suspect that the Tryers were too glad to be well-rid, at any rate, of a man like Fuller, not to grant him a dispensation on easy terms."

A new edition of Fuller's 'Worthies,' with his life prefixed, appeared in 1810, in two vols. 4to. His 'Holy and Profane States' were republished in America, in 1831. A portrait of Fuller, by Loggan, is prefixed to the folio edition of his 'Worthies,' and also to his 'Pisgah Sight.'[1]

Brian Walton, D. D.

BORN, A. D. 1600.—DIED, A. D. 1661.

THIS distinguished biblical scholar, the editor and promoter of the London Polyglott Bible, was born at Seymour in Yorkshire, in the

[1] Sup. to Bayle.—Life and Death of Fuller. Oxon. 1662.

year 1600. In July, 1616, he is said to have been admitted a sizar of Magdalene college in Cambridge; whence he was removed to Peterhouse as a sizar also, in 1618. In 1619, he took the degree of bachelor of arts; in 1623, that of master of arts.

From Cambridge he removed to a curacy in Suffolk, where he was also appointed master of a grammar-school. From this situation he soon removed to the metropolis, and became an assistant at the church of Allhallows, Bread-street. In 1626, he was made rector of St Martin's Ongar. Here he became distinguished for activity and diligence in ecclesiastical affairs, and he was soon employed in the principal management of the business of the London clergy relative to the payment of tithes in the city. A statute is said to have been enacted in the reign of Henry the VIIIth: which fixed the tithes or oblations at two shillings and ninepence in the pound on the rent. The citizens resisted this impost, and when James the first came to the throne the clergy sought redress from the legislature. This being refused by parliament, the clergy in 1634 renewed their petition for relief in a statement to King Charles the first, setting forth the greatness of their benefices in former days, and the meanness of them at that time, together with an exposition of the causes of the deficiency. The king undertook to be the arbitrator between the parties, and valuations were ordered on both sides. Two committees were appointed; one for the city, consisting of three aldermen; and one for the clergy, consisting of three of their number, including Dr Walton. These proceedings were however soon closed by the eventful times which succeeded. Dr Walton composed a regular and complete treatise on the subject of these claims, about 1640, which was published in 1752, in the 'Collectanea Ecclesiastica,' or treatises relating to the rights of the clergy of the church of England, by Samuel Brewster, Esq.

Soon after the preceding application of the clergy to King Charles the first, Dr Walton was instituted to the two rectories of St Giles-in-the-fields, London, and of Sandon in Essex. He is supposed to have been a chaplain to the king, and to have been collated also to a prebend in St Paul's cathedral. In 1639, he commenced doctor in divinity at Cambridge; where, in keeping his act on the occasion, he maintained this thesis: 'Pontifex Romanus non est judex infallibilis in controversiis fidei.'

In the midst of these honours and emoluments, he was called to mourn the loss of a beloved wife, whom he buried in the chancel of Sandon, A.D. 1640, raising to her memory a monument with an epitaph highly commendatory and affectionate.

From this trouble he was soon called to another affecting his personal comfort and public character. His parishioners presented a petition to parliament, complaining of his pluralities and his zeal for the ceremonies as established by Archbishop Laud. They were also aggrieved at his omitting the afternoon sermon, and refusing them the privilege of procuring a lecturer, and supporting him themselves. His accusers proceed to censure Dr Walton's demand for tithes, and the suits at law which he had instituted to obtain the demand when refused. They represent him as exacting his claims with threats, and harassing them with informations and excommunications; making them a prey to officers, and leaving them at last, though wronged, without relief.

There is no record of Dr Walton's defence before the committee of parliament, to whom such things were referred; but he is supposed to have been dispossessed of both his rectories in 1641; and took refuge in the city of Oxford, where the royalist party prevailed. Here Dr Walton formed his design of publishing a Polyglott Bible. From thence, at the surrender of the city, he removed to London, and took up his residence with Dr Fuller, vicar of St Giles, Cripplegate, whose daughter was now the second wife of Dr Walton. Having submitted to many judicious friends, and most of the English bishops then living, an account of his plan, and of the materials which he had spent so much time in procuring, he proceeded in 1652, to publish a description of the intended work, with proposals, and a recommendatory letter by Usher, Selden, and others. The design was so much approved, that before the close of the year, subscriptions to the amount of near £4000 were obtained, and soon afterward the amount was more than doubled. The council of state under Cromwell patronised the undertaking by a subscription of £1000, and, at the instance of Cromwell, the paper for the work was exempted from duty—a similar privilege which he had conferred on the editors of the Critici Sacri.

In this great and laborious undertaking Walton was assisted by many men of eminent learning, as Castell, Usher, Pocock, Lightfoot, Hyde, Casaubon, Selden, and others.

The Polyglott Bible was printed in nine languages, and comprehended in six volumes folio, with prolegomena, by Dr Walton, and was finished in about four years, the last volume appearing in the close of the year 1657. The original preface contained a grateful acknowledgment of the remission of the duty on the paper by Cromwell and the council. The former he styles 'Serenissimus Dominus Protector.' On the restoration of Charles, Walton cancelled the direct acknowledgment, and only distantly alluded to those by whose favour the duty had been remitted; and dedicated his work to the new monarch.

Dr Walton was immediately, on the accession of Charles, restored to the preferments of which he had been deprived by the parliament, and was consecrated bishop of Chester in Westminster abbey, December, 1660. In September of the following year, he made his entry into Chester with great pomp, and was received by the gentry, the clergy, and the multitude with the same demonstrations of loyalty as to their sovereign. This honour, however, soon vanished away; for, on his return to London, about a month afterward, he fell sick, and died on the 29th of November, 1661, at his house in Aldersgate-street. On the 5th of December following he was interred in the south aisle of St Paul's cathedral, opposite to the monument of Lord-chancellor Hatton. The corpse was followed by the earls of Derby and Bridgewater, and many more of the nobility; by the greater part of the bishops in their rochets; by deans and prebendaries of several cathedrals; and by a multitude of clergy, proceeding from Saddler's Hall in Cheapside. The ceremony was marshalled and directed by all the heralds at arms. The funeral service was read by the bishop of London. Over his grave a noble monument was soon afterward erected with a Latin inscription to his memory.

Dr Henry Holden.

BORN A. D. 1596.—DIED A. D. 1662.

Dr Henry Holden, an eminent catholic divine, was born in Lancashire, of respectable parents, in the year 1596. He studied at Douay, removed to Paris, and was admitted at the Sorbonne, to the degree of D. D. His work, 'Divinæ Fidei Analysis,' elegantly reprinted, after several prior editions, by Barbon, in 1767, "acquired him," says Butler, "great reputation. His object was to state with exactness, and in the fewest words possible, all the articles of the catholic faith; distinguishing these from matters of opinion. With this view, he succinctly states the subject of inquiry, and the points immediately connected with it; and, after a short discussion of them, inquires, in reference to the subject before him, 'quid necessarie credendum?' The solution of this question concludes the article. His work gave general satisfaction: it has been translated into English. L'Avocat says, 'it is an excellent work, and comprises, in a few words, the whole economy of religion.' He was unfavourable to Jansenism. 'The work of Jansenius,' he writes in a letter made public by his desire, 'I never read so much as a page, or even a section of it. But as I find that Jansenius, and the five propositions extracted from it (which I condemned from the first) were condemned by Innocent X—from my respect to so great, and so sacred an authority, I condemn, in the same sense in which they were condemned by him, Jansenius and his propositions.' He subscribed the celebrated censure of the Sorbonne, of the letter of Arnaud to the duke of Liancour, but wished his apology for it to be received."—He died in 1662.

Bishop Gauden.

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1662.

This prelate was born in 1605, and educated at Cambridge. In 1630, having obtained the rectory of Brightwell, in Berkshire, he took advantage of his proximity to Oxford, to enter that university, in which he proceeded D.D. in 1641. Having been appointed chaplain to Robert, earl of Warwick, he espoused the political principles of his patron, and preached with such acceptance to the house of commons in 1640, that they presented him with a silver cup, bearing this inscription—"Donum honorarium Populi Anglicani in parliamento congregati Johanni Gauden." The next year he received a still more substantial mark of their favour, in being presented to the rich deanery of Bocking, in Essex. Before, however, entering on this appointment, Gauden prudently applied for a collation to it from Archbishop Laud, then a prisoner in the Tower. The archbishop granted it, and Gauden, thus secured against future political contingencies, sat down in his deanery.

Upon the abolition of the hierarchy, it suited Dr Gauden to adopt

presbyterian views of church government, and to take the covenant; this latter step, nevertheless, excited in him 'certain scruples and doubts of conscience,' with which he afterwards favoured the public. He was also one of those divines who signed the protestation against the king's trial; he even went further than most of them on this occasion, for he published a religious and loyal protestation against the contemplated proceedings; and, after the king's death, wrote what he called 'A just invective against those of the army and their abettors who murthered King Charles I.' Had Gauden's zeal on behalf of royalty stopped here he might have preserved his character, and been regarded as an honest, though not a discreet or even perfectly consistent man; but in his future behaviour he betrayed a lamentable want of principle, and clearly indicated the real motives which led him to espouse with such warmth the royalist cause in his incessant applications to Charles II. for promotion and lucrative offices. Soon after the death of Charles I. Gauden made a mean attempt to deceive the public with a work entitled Εικων Βασιλικη, professing to be the meditations of 'his sacred majesty in his solitude and sufferings.' He gave it out as a genuine work, and as such it was undoubtingly received and estimated for a length of time, but subsequent disclosures have ascertained the forgery, and pretty clearly fixed the authorship of the Icon on Gauden.

In 1659, the doctor succeeded Bishop Brownrigg as preacher to the temple, and upon the restoration he succeeded the same bishop in the see of Exeter. In 1662, he was translated to the see of Worcester. Soon after, the richer living of Winchester became the object of his ambition, but he failed in the attempt to secure it, and died the same year.

Archbishop Juxon.

BORN, A. D. 1582.—DIED, A. D. 1663.

THIS eminent prelate was born in Chichester, and received his grammar learning at Merchant-tailor's school, whence he was elected a fellow of St John's college, Oxford, in 1598. He was at first designed for the bar, and, with this view, studied civil law, and enrolled himself at Grey's inn; but, before completing his terms, he resolved to devote himself to another profession. Having gone through a course of divinity studies, he entered into orders, and, in 1609, was presented by his college to the vicarage of St Giles, Oxford. In 1614, he appears to have held the rectory of Somerton, in the same county. On Dr Laud's resignation of the presidentship of St John's college, Juxon was appointed his successor; and, in 1626, he executed the office of vice-chancellor.

About this time, Charles I. appointed Dr Juxon one of his chaplains in ordinary, and collated him to the deanery of Worcester, along with which he held a prebend of Chichester. For these promotions, he appears to have been indebted to his early patron, Laud, then bishop of London, who soon after obtained for him the clerkship of his majesty's closet. Juxon's principles, at this period, may be understood from Laud's own statement of the motives which induced him to urge

this appointment, namely, that "he might have one that he might trust near his majesty, if he himself grew weak or infirm." The same potent influence procured for Juxon the bishopric of Hereford, in 1633; but, before his consecration to that see, he was elevated to the bishopric of London, vacant by the promotion of Laud to the primacy.

In pursuance of that plan of policy which Laud had early adopted, with the vain hope of placing his order beyond the reach of their enemies, and enlarging the influence and dominion of the church, the new primate prevailed on the king to appoint Bishop Juxon to the office of lord-high-treasurer. This step gave great offence. The office in question was one of the very highest political dignity, and had not been filled by a churchman since the reign of Henry VII., since which period the sentiments of the nation had undergone a complete change on this and many other points of state-policy. The personal virtues of the bishop were acknowledged on all hands; but the investing a clergyman with such an office, and one too "whose name had hardly been known at court above two years," was a proceeding which created great dissatisfaction, and could have been suggested only by a mind wilfully blind to the signs of the times. Laud, however, valued himself not a little on this nomination. It was one of the poor blinded bigot's master-strokes of policy; and he alludes to it, in his diary, in terms of the most complacent self-satisfaction:—"Now," says he, "if the church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more!" The nobility, says Clarendon, "were inflamed" by the appointment upon which Laud so much prided himself; they "began to look upon the church as a gulf ready to swallow up all the great offices of state." Equally dissatisfied were the commons; yet, amidst all this heart-burning and jealousy, no one appears to have accused the high-treasurer of misconduct in his political office, or of the slightest approach to peculation. Neal declares that "enmity could not impeach him;" and Granger, with truth, observes, "even the haters of prelacy could never hate Juxon."

The execution of Strafford finally drove Juxon from his invidious office. He warmly opposed the bill of attainder which had been brought against that notorious political profligate, and earnestly besought the king to withhold his assent from the measure. Finding himself unable to resist the movement party of the day, he resigned his civil office, and retired to his episcopal palace at Fulham. Here he abode the result of that political storm which now brooded darkly and threateningly over the kingdom. Repeated attempts were made by both parties in the State to engage the bishop on their side; but while he avowed himself the friend and supporter of monarchy, he refused to lend himself to the measures now pursuing by the infatuated monarch; and with equal firmness he resisted all overtures made to him by the parliamentary party. At the treaty of the isle of Wight, he attended as one of the commissioners on the king's side, and he afterwards attended his majesty from the commencement of his trial to the last scene on the scaffold. Charles warmly acknowledged the kind offices of the good bishop throughout his imprisonment and trial, and on the scaffold affirmed, that he had been his greatest earthly support and consolation in the hour of adversity.

On the establishment of the commonwealth, Bishop Juxon retired to

his private estate in Gloucestershire; but he emerged from his obscurity at the Restoration, was elevated to the primacy, and placed the crown on the head of Charles II. He died on the 4th of June, 1663, leaving behind him an unblemished moral reputation.

John Goodwin.

BORN A. D. 1593.—DIED A. D. 1665.

THIS distinguished polemic and politician was born in Norfolk in 1593. He received his education at Cambridge, where he took his degree of M. A., and was elected a fellow of Queen's college in 1617. On removing from the university he was chosen vicar of the living of St Stephen's, Coleman street, by the parishioners, from which he was afterwards ejected, on account of his refusal to administer ordinances to all his parishioners promiscuously. Having embraced independent principles, the natural warmth of his temper often led him into frequent and unseemly altercation with his presbyterian brethren. He adopted, and defended with much ability, the opinion of universal restoration, and devoted much of his time to the exposition and defence of Arminian tenets. While we cannot doubt for a moment the sincerity of his opinions on these and some collateral topics, we must regret that he should have chosen so frequently to insist on them, and that he should have so often been betrayed into very unguarded language respecting them. His 'Redemption redeemed' will always repay the attentive perusal of a clear-headed man; and his 'Divine authority of the Scriptures asserted,' is a work of much value and originality. The most obnoxious part of Goodwin's conduct was his vindication of the high court of justice. The pamphlet in which he made this attempt was entitled 'The Obstructors of justice; or a Defence of the honourable sentence passed upon the late King.' It has been pronounced an absurd, execrable, and even impious publication—a piece of savage republicanism. The following apology has been offered for it by Goodwin's recent biographer, Mr Jackson:—"It is but justice to Mr Goodwin to state, that in defending the army he was not influenced by any dislike of social order, or by any predilection for a republican government, as opposed to a limited monarchy. In the case of King Charles he was evidently misled by his passion for religious freedom. No man ever lived, who understood the rights of conscience better than he, or who was more tremblingly alive to their importance. All dominion over conscience he regarded as a usurpation of the Divine prerogative, and a wicked encroachment upon the most sacred rights of human nature. Whereas the king 'was careful' of episcopal 'uniformity,' and the parliament had issued ordinances in restraint of religious liberty sufficient to disgrace even a Spanish government, and to wound the obduracy of a Bonner. Had the king, therefore, been restored to the exercise of his regal functions, when the parliament voted his concessions to be a ground for a future settlement, the probability was, according to the opinion of Mr Goodwin and others, that the episcopalians or the presbyterians, or perhaps both, would enjoy the countenance and protection of the State; and all other bodies of religious people, after a sacrifice of

their property, and an exposure of their lives in the field, would be delivered up to the severities of prosecution. These not improbable anticipations doubtless made a strong impression upon Mr Goodwin's mind, as well as the revenge which he knew to be meditated by the royal party. Under the impulse of those feelings, which such a situation of affairs was calculated to excite, he wrote his two pamphlets in vindication of the army. The political principles inculcated in these publications, as well as in those of his bold compeers, are dangerous and indefensible; they are nevertheless the errors of an ardent and generous mind, desirous, above every thing besides, of restoring to his species those rights which they had received from their Maker, but of which they had been wantonly deprived." This we think satisfactory as an apology for Goodwin. He died in 1665.

Chalmers has treated John Goodwin with more than his usual severity, and, as appears to us, with very little fairness, in the brief notice of him which he has introduced into his 'Biographical Dictionary.' He represents him as a kind of Ishmaelite, whose hand was perpetually raised against the rest of the world, and who found his chief enjoyment in stirring up strife and angry contention. Against such an impeachment we shall only offer one brief extract from this great man's writings: "My God and my conscience," he says, "have deeply engaged me in a warfare, very troublesome and costly; even to contend in a manner with the whole earth, and to attempt the casting down of high things, which exalt themselves against the knowledge of God. And daily experience sheweth, that men's imaginations are their darlings,—that he who toucheth them toucheth the apple of their eye, and appeareth in the shape of an enemy. To bear the hatred and contradiction of the world, is not pleasing to me; notwithstanding the vehemency of desire which possesseth my heart, of doing some service in the world whilst I am a sojourner in it, and leaving it at my departure upon somewhat better terms for the peace and comfort of it, than I found it at my coming, swallows up much of that offensiveness and monstrousness of taste, wherewith otherwise the measure I receive from many would affect my soul. I have the advantage of old age, and of the sanctuary of the grave near at hand, to despise all enemies and avengers. I know that hard thoughts, and hard sayings, and hard writings, and hard dealings, and frowns, and pourings out of contempt and wrath, abide me. 'But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.' Farewell, good reader, in the Lord; let him have a friend's portion in thy prayers, who is willing to suffer the loss of all things for thy sake, that the truth of the Gospel may come with evidence and demonstration of the Spirit unto thee, and remain with thee. If the embracing of the truth before men keep thee from preferment on earth, it will most assuredly recompense thee seven-fold, yea, seventy times seven-fold in heaven."

Dr Burgess.

DIED A. D. 1665.

DR CORNELIUS BURGESS was descended from the Burgesses of Batcombe, in Somersetshire. In 1611 he was entered at Oxford. After taking orders, he held successively the rectories of St Magnus, London, and of Watford, Herts. In the beginning of the reign of Charles I., he was made one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. The opposition which he offered to some of Laud's tyrannical measures, drew upon him the indignation of that overbearing prelate. At last he was cited before the high commission court, on a charge of having libelled the bishops in a Latin sermon which he had preached to the London clergy. From this moment he became a decided opponent of the measures pursuing by the court party; and his influence contributed not a little to the adoption of those extreme measures which were afterwards resorted to by the people. "If all the puritans," says Dr Grey, "had been of his rebellious stamp, they had certainly been a wicked crew." Eachard is still more violent in his denunciation of him. He calls him "the seditious Dr Burgess, and one of the greatest Bontefeus of the whole party, being the perpetual trumpeter to the most violent proceedings—a great instrument in bringing on the miseries of the nation." In the beginning of the long parliament, he was appointed by the lords one of the sub-committee for the settlement of religion; and, in the capacity of speaker for the presbyterians, he answered Dr Hacket in the debate in the Jerusalem chamber. He was, however, against imposing the covenant, and refused to take it until he was suspended.

The parliament appointed him one of their preachers; and on the petition of the common council of London, he was appointed Sunday evening lecturer at St Paul's, with a pension of £400 per annum, and the dean's house to live in. He afterwards made an advantageous purchase of the manor of the bishop of Wells, although he had previously declared in public that he held it "by no means lawful to alienate the bishop's lands from public and private uses, or to convert them to any private person's property." On the 14th of January, 1648, he preached a sermon at Mercer's chapel, in which he inveighed with great boldness against the design of bringing the king to trial. Soon after, he drew up, and subscribed, along with fifty-seven other ministers, a paper, entitled, 'A vindication of the ministers of the gospel in and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the king to capital punishment.' This document is given at length by Dr Calamy. It may also be seen in Neale's History.

Upon the Restoration, Dr Burgess was deprived of all his property. He retired to Watford, where he devoted himself to the duties of the pastorship; but was at length reduced to such poverty as to be obliged to sell the greater part of his library for his support. A malignant cancer in his neck and cheek added to his many afflictions, and at last put an end to his life in June, 1665. Among Dr Burgess's works are

'A Chain of Graces for reformation of manners,' published in 1622; 'A Vindication of the reasons against the bishops' votes in parliament,' published in 1641; and several single sermons on public occasions.

Dr Francis Cheynell.

BORN A. D. 1608.—DIED A. D. 1665.

THIS bustling political divine was the son of Dr John Cheynell, a physician in Oxford. He received his education at the university of that city, and was elected fellow of Merton college in 1629. On the breaking out of the civil war, he adhered to the popular cause, and ultimately attached himself to the presbyterian party. The parliament, in return for the many good services he had rendered them, presented him with the valuable living of Petworth, in Sussex. He was afterwards made president of St John's, Oxford, and Margaret professor, but he relinquished both of his academical offices on being pressed to take the engagement. Among many peculiarities by which Dr Cheynell distinguished himself from his clerical brethren, was his love of military tactics. In Essex's campaign in Cornwall, he attended that general in the avowed capacity of chaplain; but he distinguished himself so much by his indomitable courage and military science, that his advice was generally sought on all points of importance connected with the movements of the army.

Dr Cheynell was a man of considerable parts and learning, and published a great many sermons and pieces of polemical divinity in his life-time. No one can accuse Cheynell of want of sincerity in the part he acted in the political and polemical world; but it is to be regretted that he exhibited so little of the *suaviter in modo*, either in his actions or writings. The biographers of Chillingworth in particular accuse him of the most intemperate and unjust conduct towards that eminent and noble-minded man, but had they been willing to deal as fairly by the memory of the one party as of the other, they would have acknowledged the fact, that it was the Socinianism of Chillingworth, not the man himself, that Cheynell detested and inveighed against.

Dr Cheynell died at Brighthelmstone in September, 1665. His principal works are:—'The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism;' 'Chillingworthi Novissima;' 'Letters concerning False Prophets;' 'The Divine Trin-Unity;' and 'Socinianism proved to be an unchristian doctrine.'

Edmund Calamy, B.D.[1]

BORN A. D. 1600.—DIED A. D. 1666.

EDMUND CALAMY, an eminent Puritan divine, was born of a citizen of London, in February 1600, and admitted student of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, in 1615. He early manifested a predilection for the Cal-

[1] Not D.D., as stated by Dr Watt in the 'Bibliothec. Brit.'

vinistic doctrine, and was honoured with the favour and patronage of Dr Felton, bishop of Ely, who appointed him one of his chaplains. That excellent bishop is said to have assisted him in his early studies, and from the honourable mention which Calamy makes of the bishop, there can be no doubt that he was deeply indebted to him for those high attainments in wisdom and piety which distinguished his character throughout life. His studies were particularly directed to the popish controversy, the Holy Scriptures, and the early Fathers. From his patron he received the vicarage of St Mary in Swaffham, Cambridgeshire, and though he resided in the bishop's house, yet his labours as a parish minister were rendered eminently successful. Soon after the bishop's death, which occurred in 1626, Calamy resigned his vicarage, and went to a lectureship in St Edmund's Bury, Suffolk. In this situation he laboured conjointly with Mr Burroughs, another eminent Puritan, for ten years, when the enforcement of Bishop Wren's articles, and the Book of Sports, constrained him, with thirty other excellent clergymen, to quit the diocese. Soon after this period, however, he was presented to the living of Rochford, in Essex. This removal was found prejudicial to his health. After suffering severely by a quartan ague, he became through life subject to a dizziness in the head, which induced him ever after to preach in the reading desk in preference to the pulpit. In 1639, he was chosen minister of St Mary Aldermanbury, London, and in 1641 he was appointed one of the commissioners selected by the parliament to settle the ecclesiastical differences which at that time agitated the nation. Although, during Bishop Felton's lifetime, Calamy had been a zealous episcopalian, yet it seems time and study had considerably modified his opinions. He now appeared as a decided but temperate defender of the presbyterian discipline. It was about this period that he came forward as one of the authors of the celebrated work which bore the name of 'Smectymnuus.' This was a defence of presbytery against episcopacy, which did much execution. It was the production of five divines, the initial letters of whose names were employed to give a title to the book: these were Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William (UU) Spurstow. It is said by Bishop Wilkins, in his discourse on preaching, to be 'a capital work against episcopacy;' and Calamy himself admits, that it gave the first deadly blow to the cause of the bishops. It drew forth several answers, and was followed up by 'A Vindication' from the same hands. Both works are written in a forcible and pointed style, and with ample proofs of the extensive learning of the authors. It is now reckoned one of the rarest theological tracts in our language. Notwithstanding the conspicuous part which Mr Calamy took in the controversies of the day, he was much esteemed by men of all parties for his moderation and Christian charity, while his ministerial character stood second to no man in the city of London. His preaching was plain, but impressive and eloquent. His church was attended by persons of the first distinction, was crowded even on the week days, and for twenty years together, Mr Baxter says, there might have been counted at the door upwards of sixty carriages.

Calamy appears to have been as strenuously devoted to an exclusive presbyterianism, as opposed to an exclusive episcopacy. The

free toleration which Cromwell was disposed to grant, excited his fears, and alarmed most of the other presbyterian ministers. On the 18th of January, 1648, they presented to the general and his council of war, what they denominated "the representation" of the London ministers, and which Collier denominates, "an instance of handsome plain dealing, and a bold reprimand of a victorious army." After the failure of the attempt to establish an exclusive system, Calamy confined himself quietly to the duties of his parish, and, during the period of the protectorate, mingled little either in politics or in controversy. After the death of Cromwell, however, he assumed a bolder attitude, and united with the earl of Manchester and other distinguished persons in procuring the restoration of Charles II. He was called to preach before parliament the day before the vote passed for recalling the king to the throne of his ancestors, and was subsequently appointed with other divines, to meet and congratulate him in Holland. After the king's return, he was appointed chaplain in ordinary, and was frequently at court, where he was always graciously received by the monarch; yet, with the other presbyterian divines, he soon experienced the altered tone and manner of men in power. He preached once, and like the rest of his party, but once before the restored king. His utmost efforts were now directed to accomplish such an accommodation as might reconcile the opposite parties into which the church was split. He is stated to have been an active agent in preparing the proposals on church-government which laid the foundation for the Savoy conference. He was subsequently chosen one of the commissioners for preparing exceptions to the liturgy, and after the reasons of the episcopal party had been heard, he was one of the principal persons employed in the reply to them. Notwithstanding his own great influence both at court, in the city, and throughout the country at large, he soon had the mortification of observing that an influence mightier than truth and reason was at work among the distinguished agents of the court, which threatened to bear down all opposition. An anecdote is told of him singularly characteristic of the man and of the times. General Monk being one day among his hearers when he had occasion to speak of 'filthy lucre,' he said, "and why is it called *filthy*, but because it makes men do base and filthy things. Some men," said he, waving his handkerchief (or, as some accounts say, throwing it) towards the pew in which the general sat, "will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake."

His repute was so high in the city, that the presidency was usually conceded to him in all meetings of the clergy. He had occupied a distinguished place among the Westminster assembly of divines, and after the failure of the Savoy conference, so important was it deemed to gain his concurrence to the views of the episcopal party, that the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry was offered to him. This, however, he resolutely refused, because he could not hold it on the terms of the king's declaration. In 1661, he was chosen by the city clergy to represent them in the convocation, but was not allowed to sit there. A week before the act of uniformity was passed, he perceived the storm was about to burst upon the church, and preached his farewell sermon to his parishioners. His text was taken from 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

After the act of ejectment, he continued to attend regularly at the

church in Aldermanbury. On one occasion the preacher, who ought to have been there, not appearing, the congregation became urgent for Mr Calamy to take possession of the pulpit. After some entreaty, and to prevent a disappointment, he yielded, and preached from 1 Sam. iv. 13, "Lo, Eli sat upon a seat by the way-side watching, for his heart trembled for the ark of God," &c. The consequence of his temerity was a warrant from the lord-mayor for his apprehension, upon which he was committed to Newgate. This act of severity called around him such a concourse of persons of all ranks, and excited so much dissatisfaction and resentment among the people, that in a few days he was discharged by an express order from the king.

He lived to witness the desolations of the city of London, both by plague and by fire. Being driven in a coach through the ruins, he is said by Mr Baxter to have taken it so much to heart, that when he returned home, he shut himself up in his chamber, and died within a month.

He left in print several sermons preached before both houses of parliament, and funeral sermons for Dr S. Bolton, the earl of Warwick, and Mr Simeon Ash. The sermon which caused his imprisonment, with his farewell sermon, may be seen in the London collection. He published also, 'The Godly Man's Ark,' and a vindication of himself against Mr Burton. He took part, as before stated, in the publications by Smectymnuus, and in the 'Vindication of the Presbyterian Government and Ministry,' 1650, as well as in the 'Jus. Div. Minist. Evang. et Anglicani,' 1654. 'A Treatise of Meditation,' taken by a hearer of his sermons, was printed clandestinely after his death, which occurred on the 26th of October, 1666. Mr Calamy had several children. The eldest, who was named Edmund, was minister of Moreton, in Essex. A second son was Dr Benjamin Calamy, a zealous conformist. The third son, named James, became a conformist, and possessed the living of Cheriton-bishops, Devonshire.

Jeremy Taylor.

BORN A. D. 1613.—DIED A. D. 1667.

THE seventeenth century was the heroic age of English theology. The divines of that period,—those at least whom we must regard as the fit exponents of the moral and intellectual character of the class of men to which they belonged,—were a Titanic race; they had a giant energy of conception and strength of purpose about them; they exhibited a higher order of feeling,—a sublimer range, and withal a more settled dignity of thought,—than is witnessed in the ordinary sons of men; their enterprises were the conceptions of mighty minds, fully conscious of inward power, and dauntless in every purpose.

Prominent amongst these master-spirits stands the subject of our present memoir. Jeremy Taylor was born at Cambridge in the month of August, 1613. His father pursued in that place the then respectable calling of a barber. Amongst his paternal ancestors was the celebrated Christian martyr, Dr Rowland Taylor of Hadleigh, whose life and death are so beautifully pourtrayed by Fox, the martyrologist. At three years

of age, Jeremy was sent to the free grammar school in Cambridge, which had just been founded by Dr Perse. At the age of thirteen, he entered as a sizar at Caius college, on one of Dr Perse's foundations.

Little is known of Taylor's university life. The Baconian philosophy was about this time beginning to shed its revivifying rays on the university of Cambridge, but it does not appear from any thing in Taylor's writings that he was greatly smitten with the new inductive philosophy. His works, however, exhibit abundant proof of his intimate acquaintance with the old Aristotelian logic. In 1630-1, he took his first academical degree, and was immediately chosen fellow of his college. Before he had completed his twenty-first year, he was admitted into holy orders; about the same time (1633), he took the degree of M. A. Having gone up to London to assist for a time as lecturer in St Paul's, the young preacher made a deep impression on his metropolitan audience: "by his florid and youthful beauty, his sweet and pleasant air, his sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel descended from the visions of glory!" Laud sent for him to preach before him at Lambeth, and was so much pleased with him that he determined to procure for the young divine a fellowship on the munificent foundation of All Souls, Oxford, rightly judging, perhaps, that a longer course of academical study was necessary to the full development of Taylor's genius. Wood says that Taylor profited greatly by the leisure of his learned retirement, and adds, that he occasionally gratified the university by his excellent casuistical discourses. What these were, is not very well known now, for there is but one of his discourses extant in print that seems entitled to such an epithet, namely, his celebrated sermon delivered in St Mary's, Oxford, on the 5th of November, 1638. While enjoying his fellowship at Oxford, Taylor contracted an intimacy with a Franciscan friar, known by the assumed title of Francis a Sancta Clara, but whose real name was Davenport. This gave rise to a rumour that Taylor was secretly inclined to Romanism; but as we find him, at this very period of his life, preaching a powerful argumentative discourse against Popish tenets, we are bound to regard the insinuation just noticed as having been utterly groundless.

In March, 1637-8, Taylor was presented to the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, by Bishop Juxon. The duties of the charge, added to those of his chaplainry to the archbishop and to the king, withdrew him from academic retirement. "Moreover," says a recent biographer[1] of his, "among the ascetic notions of moral discipline which in some measure distinguished him, that of celibacy was not one; nor was he insensible to that passion which refines all the rest, and cheers the spirit of man as he toils over the arduous steeps of life." As soon, then, as preferment enabled him to support a family, he entered into the blessed state of matrimony. His first wife was a Miss Phœbe Langsdale, by whom he had three sons, two of whom grew up to manhood. He was twice married, and must have been happy in both matrimonial connexions, if we may suppose the picture of conjugal happiness which he has drawn in his two sermons on "the Marriage ring" to have been borrowed from his own actual experience.

[1] The Rev. T. S. Hughes.

When public affairs began to draw towards a crisis, and Laud had fallen a victim to his own pride and insatiable ambition, Taylor and others, alarmed for the safety of the church, buckled on their armour and presented themselves in the yawning breach left by the death of the primate. Soon after Bishop Hall had published his 'Humble Remonstrance,' (to which several of the most eminent non-conformist ministers replied under the well-known signature of Smectymnuus,) Taylor produced a tract, entitled 'Episcopacy asserted against the Ærians and Acephali, new and old,' in which we are assured by Mr Hughes, he defended with great learning and acumen, the divine institution of bishops, "as being the immediate successors of the apostles, commissioned by them, and intrusted with the exercise of the highest apostolic functions." But neither the polemical acumen of these disputants, nor the royal sanction under which they fought, could stem the torrent to which they now opposed themselves. When the misguided and infatuated monarch had appealed to arms, and been driven from his capital by his indignant subjects, Taylor, with a fidelity for which we must admire him, attached himself to the person, and resolved to share the declining fortunes of his sovereign. During several years he continued to accompany the movements of the king's army in the quality of chaplain; and at this period of his history, though he had not the command of time and books, he laid the foundation of many of his subsequent publications.

The utter failure of the royal cause compelled him at last to seek an asylum in Wales. In this situation he composed many of his best practical works, and received much attention even from some of the most distinguished republicans. In reference to this part of his personal history, he writes thus characteristically in the epistle dedicatory to his 'Liberty of Prophesying':—"In the great storm which had dashed the vessel of the church in pieces, he had been cast upon the coast of Wales, and in a little boat thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England in a greater, he could not hope for. There he cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed him with such impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and he lost his anchor; and here again he was exposed to the mercy of the seas, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish persons nor things. And, but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of the people, had provided a plank for him, he had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But he knew not whether he had been more preserved by the courtesies of his friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy." Bishop Heber is inclined to suspect, that the cause which first drew Taylor away from the scenes of war was a tender one: that he had formed his attachment to the lady, who afterwards became his second wife, during the first visit of King Charles to Wales. The name of the lady was Bridges, and she was generally believed to be a natural daughter of Charles I. Among other means of support to which he was compelled to have recourse during his exile in Wales, was that of keeping a school or academy in partnership with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, who subsequently became prebendary of Lincoln. In conjunction with Wyatt, he published 'A New and Easy Institution of Grammar,' in

the preface to which we find Newton Hall, their place of residence, dignified by the name of *Collegium Newtoniense.*

In August, 1647, Taylor had a last interview with his royal master, and received from him, in token of regard, his watch, with a few pearls and rubies. In the same year, he brought out his 'Liberty of Prophesying,' a work which Bishop Heber regards as the ablest of all his compositions. With respect to the motives that principally induced Taylor to publish this treatise, he ingenuously confesses, that "he intended to make a defensative for his brethren and himself, by pleading for liberty of conscience to persevere in that profession which was warranted by all the laws of God and their superiors." His object then was to obtain free toleration for all, and every sound dissenter will admire the boldness and force of reasoning with which he contends for the freedom of all Christians to exercise their worship. But, it would appear, that after Taylor's position towards the government was altered, and ecclesiastical honours had begun to flow upon him, his opinions on the subject of toleration must have become very materially modified, or he could never have consented to sit as a member of that privy council from which those most intolerant edicts emanated, by which two thousand of the best men the church of England ever contained, were ejected from their pastoral cures, and in many cases imprisoned, and treated with a harshness that embittered and shortened the remainder of their days.

The next in the list of Taylor's literary labours was his 'Life of Christ, or the Great Exemplar.' This work, from its practical and devotional character, soon became exceedingly popular. It has been alleged, that it is merely a translation of a work compiled by a Carthusian monk. But Bishop Heber has successfully vindicated its author from this charge, and demonstrated the dissimilarity of the monk's performance to the 'Great Exemplar.' His next publication was an eloquent and affecting sermon on the death of Lady Carbery, in whose mansion at Llanfihangel he had found an asylum after the failure of his school establishment. Soon after, he published a volume of twenty-seven sermons which he dedicated to Lord Carbery. It is by his sermons that Taylor has been chiefly known to succeeding ages. They are noble compositions, bearing the genuine impress of lofty genius. What, for example, can be finer than the following appeal to a sinner standing before the judgment-seat of God in the great day of final sentence and retribution? "That soul which cries to the rocks to cover her, if it had not been for thy perpetual temptations, might have followed the Lamb in a white robe; and that poor man, that is clothed with shame and flames of fire, would have shined in glory, but that thou didst force him to become partner of thy baseness; and who shall pay for this loss? A soul is lost by thy means; thou hast defeated the holy purposes of the Lord's bitter passion by thy impurities; and what shall happen to thee by whom thy brother dies eternally?" Again, what can be more awful and sublime than the description of the last judgment in the following passage? "In final and extreme events, the multitude of sufferers does not lessen, but increase the sufferings; and when the first day of judgment happened,—that, I mean, of the universal deluge of waters on the old world,—the calamity swelled like the flood; and every man saw his friend perish,

and the neighbours of his dwelling, and the relatives of his house, and the sharers of his joys, and yesterday's bride, and the new-born heir, the priest of the family, and the honour of the kindred,—all dying or dead, drenched in water and the divine vengeance; and then they had no place to flee unto; no man cared for their souls; they had none to go unto for counsel,—no sanctuary nigh enough to keep them from the vengeance that rained down from heaven: And so it shall be at the day of judgment, when that world, and this, and all that shall be born hereafter, shall pass through the same Red sea, and be all baptized with the same fire, and be involved in the same cloud, in which shall be thunderings and terrors infinite; every man's fear shall be increased by his neighbour's shrieks; and the amazement that all the world shall be in shall unite, as the sparks of a raging furnace, into a globe of fire, and roll on its own principle, and increase by direct appearances and intolerable reflections. He that stands in a churchyard in the time of a great plague, and hears the passing bell perpetually telling the sad stories of death, and sees crowds of infected bodies pressing to their graves, and others sick and tremulous, and Death dressed up in all the images of sorrow round about him, is not supported in his spirit by the variety of his sorrow; and at doomsday when the terror is universal, besides that it is in itself so much greater, because it can affright the whole world, it is also made greater by communication and a sorrowful influence; grief being then strongly infectious, when there is no variety of state, but an entire kingdom of fear; and amazement is the king of all our passions, and all the world its subjects; and that shriek must needs be terrible,—when millions of men and women at the same instant shall fearfully cry out,—and the noise shall mingle with the trumpet of the archangel, with the thunders of the dying and groaning heavens, and the crack of the dissolving world,—when the whole fabric of nature shall shake into dissolution and eternal ashes!"

The next great work which employed Taylor's pen was his 'Holy Living and Holy Dying,' in which it has been well observed, all the treasures of ancient literature, all the sterling morality of antiquity, are brought in aid of his impressive subject. Two doctrinal tracts on Baptism, and a disquisition on 'the Real presence and spiritual of Christ in the blessed sacrament,' followed next in order.

In 1654, an attempt was made by some of the royalists to overthrow the commonwealth, and replace the Stuarts on the throne. In consequence of this conspiracy, and of several unguarded expressions which Taylor had used in some of his later publications, particularly in his preface to his manual called 'the Golden Grove,' he fell under suspicion, and was committed to Chepstow castle. It is evident, however, from his own statement, that he was treated with great lenity and indulgence. During his imprisonment, he completed his Ἐνιαυτός, by the addition of twenty-five sermons, and published his 'Unum Necessarium, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance.' The latter work was not received with much acceptance even by the church clergy, who justly viewed the author's explication of original sin and views as to the extent of human corruption as at variance with the articles of the church of England. Dr Warner published a general disclaimer on the episcopalian side; and two ministers, Jeanes and Gaule, assailed him on the presbyterian side. Soon after his liberation, Taylor was induced to

remove to London, where he officiated for some time to a small congregation of royalists. In 1658, he accepted an alternate lectureship in the town of Lisburne, at the N.E. extremity of Ireland. From Lisburne he seems to have removed to Portmore, where he found a peaceful retreat during the remainder of the interregnum, and brought to conclusion his great work, the 'Ductor Dubitantiam,' intended to be "a rule of conscience in all her general measures, and a great instrument in determining all her cases." Of this work it has been justly said by Mr Hughes, that the author "has handled his subject with more than ordinary powers of argumentation and casuistical reasoning; but his habits of thinking had too much of the imaginative and excursive cast to fit him thoroughly for that severe method of analysis which this particular train of investigation demands. Hence we find some obliquity of sentiment mingled with many right principles: conceptions clear in themselves are overlaid with words and metaphors,—secondary motives are sometimes substituted for primary springs of moral action,—and the determination of several questions is rendered doubtful by overstrained and overstated arguments on both sides."

When measures were adopted to procure the restoration of the Stuarts, Taylor, with many others, hastened to London. His signature was affixed to the memorable 'Declaration of the nobility and gentry,' in which a pledge was solemnly and publicly given that "all rancour and former animosities should be buried,"—a pledge which was soon afterwards as publicly violated. The guilt of this treachery is certainly not to be charged on all who subscribed the declaration, but it must have occasioned Taylor, and every honest man amongst them, deep regret to find that they had given a pledge which they were utterly incapable of redeeming.

Almost immediately after the king's accession, Taylor was presented to the bishopric of Down and Connor, to which was afterwards annexed that of Dromore, "on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry." The composition of several polemical and practical treatises, together with his diocesan duties, seem to have filled up the few remaining years of the bishop's life. His death took place at Lisburne, on the 3d of August, 1667.

Although we cannot agree with those who have assigned to Jeremy Taylor the highest rank amongst his gifted contemporaries, yet we do not think he can with justice be placed very far below the first mind of his age. Milton excepted, we know none to compare with him in luxuriance of fancy, flexibility of imagination, and the boundless command of an exuberant and varied diction. He possessed a powerful, though not always an acute understanding; his disquisitions are often highly ingenious and methodical, and he occasionally exhibits great dexterity in unravelling the intricacies of a difficult question; yet, upon the whole, he is much less characterized by a strong and searching intellect than by a fervent imagination and affluent genius. He is always filled with his subject, and catches his tone from the intrinsic grandeur and loftiness of his theme; sometimes he absolutely labours under the exuberance of his conceptions, and pours forth his "thick-coming fancies" with an energy and prodigality resembling inspiration itself. He always appears to speak from the intimate persuasion of his own heart; hence his language is perpetually rising into the expression

of holy and devout affection. Now and then a tendency towards pious mysticism betrays itself in his writings; but there can be no doubt that the real tone of his mind was sound and vigorous. Perhaps one of the most unpleasing features in the writings of this great and good man is a certain tone of exaggerated sensibility,—an occasional flush of unreal feeling,—a tendency to push his emotions a great deal too far for our ordinary sympathies.

John Hales.

BORN A. D. 1584.—DIED A. D. 1656.

THIS eminent divine and critic, usually distinguished by the appellation of the 'Ever-memorable,' was the fourth son of John Hales of High Church, near Bath, in Somersetshire. His early education was received in the country. In 1597, he was entered of Corpus college, Oxford, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1603. The reputation which our young collegian had acquired for intellectual powers and moral worth, recommended him to the attention of Sir Henry Saville, then warden of Merton college, who procured for him a fellowship on that foundation. Soon after his admission, he was appointed lecturer in Greek to the college; and assisted his friend, Sir Henry, in preparing his edition of Chrysostom's works.

On the death of Sir Thomas Bodley in 1613, Hales delivered the funeral oration at Merton college, where Sir Thomas was buried. It is reprinted in Bates's 'Vitæ Selectorum.' On the 24th of May, in the same year, he quitted his fellowship at Merton, and was admitted fellow of Eton. He was now in orders, and had acquired considerable reputation as a preacher. In 1616, he held a correspondence with Oughtred, the mathematician. In 1618, he accompanied Sir Dudley Carlton, ambassador to the Hague, in the quality of chaplain to the embassy, by which means he procured admission to the synod, then sitting at Dort. His observations on the proceedings of this celebrated assembly are recorded in his 'Golden Remains.' The effect produced on his own mind by the debates was, that he adopted the Arminian side of the controversy. It does not appear, however, that he was ever a very decided anti-predestinarian. In his sermons he pleads strongly for mutual forbearance and toleration betwixt the two parties. A more weighty charge has been made against him by Dr Heylin, who attributes two Socinian tractates, which have been printed in 'the Phœnix,' to the pen of John Hales. This has been disproved, but the biographers of Hales are compelled to admit that he leaned to the Latitudinarian side in polemics.

About 1636, he wrote his tract on 'Schism.' It was originally compiled for the use of his friend, Chillingworth. Its liberal sentiments drew upon him the displeasure of Laud; but, in a personal conference with the primate, he succeeded in satisfying him that he was a true and orthodox son of the church,—phrases, we presume, which served in those days not so much to disclaim heresy as to distinguish the adherents of the established church from puritans and non-conformists. In 1639, Laud presented Hales with a canonry of Windsor.

After Laud's death, Hales retired from his lodgings in the college to private chambers at Eton, where he remained for a few months in the greatest poverty, having been deprived of the funds from which he had hitherto drawn his support by the sequestration of the college rents. He finally lost his fellowship altogether by his refusal to take the engagement; but soon after he obtained a tutorship in a private family near Colebrook. On the appearance of the proclamation against malignants, Hales refused to allow his kind patroness, Mrs Salter, to incur any risk on his account; and immediately retired to a humble lodging occupied by the widow of one of his own servants, where he resided until his death, which took place in 1666. It has been alleged by some of Hales' biographers, that he died in extreme poverty. But it is difficult to reconcile such a statement with the fact, that we find him bequeathing by will considerable property, both in money and books, to his executrix, Hannah Dickenson, and others.

Hales does not appear to have published any thing himself except his oration at the funeral of Sir Thomas Bodley. In 1659, however, there appeared a collection of his works with this title, 'Golden Remains of the ever-memorable Mr John Hales of Eton college,' &c. of which a second edition, with additional pieces, appeared in 1673. This collection consists of sermons, miscellanies, and letters. In 1677, another fasciculus of his works appeared, consisting of a variety of theological tracts, and some short pieces, entitled 'Miscellanies.' Lord Hales edited a beautiful edition of his works in 1765.

William Spurstowe, D. D.

DIED A. D. 1666.

Dr WILLIAM SPURSTOWE, one of the authors of 'Smectymnuus,' was master of Katharine-hall, Cambridge, when 'the Engagement' was enforced upon the universities. He declined to take it, and was ejected from his mastership in consequence. His attainments and character, however, were so universally respected, that he was chosen one of the Savoy commissioners, and attended the negotiations with Charles I. at Newport. Baxter mentions him among "those famous and excellent divines who attended the earl of Essex's army," and adds, that he was chaplain to Hampden's regiment. He died at Hackney in 1666. Besides the part he took in Smectymnuus, he was author of several religious treatises and sermons.

Isaac Ambrose.

BORN A.D. 1591–2.—DIED A.D. 1668.

ISAAC AMBROSE, an eminent non-conformist minister, born 1591-2, was first minister of the town of Preston, in Lancashire, from whence he removed to Garstang, in the same county, where he continued till the passing of the act of uniformity in 1662, when he quitted his living. He died two years after, in the seventy-second year of his

age. He is described by his contemporaries as a man of great excellence, and of an exemplary life, both as a minister and private Christian. It was his custom once a-year to withdraw from all the active duties of life, that he might give himself to devotion and contemplation. He used to retire to some cottage or hut in a wood, or other secluded place, where he refused all converse with the world. This unusual practice contributed, in all probability, to that eminent piety and extensive usefulness which are recorded of him. After his ejectment he retired to Preston, the scene of his first ministerial labours; and becoming deeply conscious of his approaching end, prepared for it with Christian fortitude, and met it with hopeful resignation. Some of his people from Garstang having come to visit him a short time before his death, he gave them much good advice, and discoursed of his death with unusual seriousness. He told them he was now ready whenever his Lord should call, and that he had finished all he ever designed to write, having only the night before sent off to press his 'Discourse concerning angels.' He then accompanied his friends to their horses, and on his return to his house, shut himself up in his parlour, the ordinary place of his retirement. Here he continued longer than usual. The circumstance awakened the anxiety of those about him, and at length they opened the door, and found him just expiring. He published several theological works, both in English and Latin: the most celebrated of these was entitled 'Looking to Jesus.' The whole were collected and published in 1674, and have been several times reprinted.

Joseph Allein.

BORN A. D. 1633.—DIED A. D. 1668.

JOSEPH ALLEIN, an eminent non-conformist minister, was born at Devizes, in Wiltshire, in 1633. At the age of sixteen he entered Lincoln college, Oxford, and in 1651 was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi. In 1653 he was elected to the chaplainship, which he is said to have chosen in preference to a fellowship. His college career was distinguished by great diligence in his studies, and faithful attention to the duties of his office. He usually allowed himself but three hours for sleep, and frequently gave away his 'commons' that his studies might not be interrupted. In 1655 he became assistant minister to Mr Geo. Newton at Taunton. In the labours of his ministry he was distinguished by energy, fidelity, and affection.

Before the passing of the act of uniformity in 1662, it was expected that he would have conformed; but when he saw the clauses to which his *assent* and *consent* were required, he determined to refuse submission. He was fully resolved, however, not to suspend his preaching until he should be prevented by violence. Accordingly, he even redoubled his labours—preaching sometimes seven, ten, or even fourteen sermons a-week, in Taunton and its neighbourhood. Such was the respect felt for him that he was permitted to continue these labours undisturbed till May 26, 1663, when he was committed to Ilchester jail. In August he was tried at the assizes for holding a riotous and seditious

assembly. The verdict was given against him, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred marks, and to be imprisoned till the fine was paid. On his recommitment to prison, he was confined with upwards of sixty others, mostly quakers and nonconformists, in one room, where they all suffered greatly from the closeness of the place, and were constrained to take out the glass from the windows and remove some of the tiles from the roof to obtain fresh air. He continued nearly a year in confinement, and upon his release, commenced his public labours again. He had large congregations in various places, who were much attached to him. In July, 1665, he was again arrested, and with seven other ministers, and forty private persons, was committed to the jail at Ilchester. During his imprisonments he laboured diligently both to promote the welfare of all his fellow-prisoners, and by his writings to serve those who had composed his flock. He died in 1668. He was a man of distinguished piety, and of a most exemplary deportment. A long and interesting account of him is given in 'Clark's Lives.' He published several works, amongst which the 'Alarm to the Unconverted' is best known, and has been most extensively circulated. He wrote in Latin a body of natural theology, in which he first laid down the Christian doctrines, and then added testimonies from the ancient philosophers. Soon after his death, an account of his life, labours, and sufferings, was published by Mr R. Allein, R. Fairclough, G. Newton, and his widow. Mr Baxter wrote the Introduction, and two conformist ministers gave it their sanction.

Anthony Tuckney, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1599.—DIED A. D. 1669.

THIS learned and eminent divine was born at Kirkton, near Boston, in Lincolnshire, in September 1599. His father was minister at that place. At fourteen years of age, he matriculated of the university of Cambridge, being admitted of Emanuel college. In 1620, he proceeded M.A., and was some time resident in the earl of Lincoln's family. In 1627 he took his degree of B.D., after which he became assistant to John Cotton, then vicar of Boston, afterwards a distinguished leader in the New England churches.

When the assembly of divines met at Westminster, Tuckney was one of the two representatives sent up from Lincolnshire. Soon after this, he accepted the rectorship of St Michael Querne, in Cheapside. In 1645, he succeeded Dr Holdsworth in the mastership of Emanuel college, and three years afterwards was chosen vice-chancellor. On the removal of Dr Arrowsmith to Trinity college, Dr Tuckney was chosen master of St John's, and two years after, regius professor of divinity.

After the restoration he resigned his mastership and professorship, but was allowed a retiring pension of £100 per annum. He died in London, in February 1670. Calamy bears this testimony to his merits, that he had the character of an eminently pious and learned man, a true friend, an indefatigable student, a candid disputant, and an earnest preacher of truth and godliness. His candour and liberality

are eminently manifested in his 'Eight letters concerning the use of reason in religion,' &c., addressed to Dr Whichcote. His other works are 'Sermons,' and '*Conciones ad clerum.*'

Edmund Staunton, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1600.—DIED A. D. 1671.

DR EDMUND STAUNTON was of the family of the Stauntons in Bedfordshire. From his earliest years he was a diligent student, and while yet under-graduate, was chosen a probationer fellow of Oxford before eighteen of his seniors. He entered into orders early in life, and preached his first lecture at Witney in Oxfordshire. His first living was that of Bushy in Hertfordshire. In 1635, when the book of Sports came out, he was one among many who were suspended for not reading it. During his suspension he took the degree of D.D. at Oxford. On the meeting of the Westminster assembly, Dr Staunton was chosen a member, and appointed one of the six morning preachers.

In 1648, when the visitors discharged Dr Newlin from the headship of Corpus Christi college, Dr Staunton succeeded him, and introduced a very excellent code of discipline into that establishment. His government was in the highest degree beneficial to the interests of the college, over which he presided twelve years, until discharged from office in 1660. After this he devoted the remainder of his life to the preaching of the gospel in and around St Albans. He died on the 14th of July 1671. A few of his practical treatises have been published.

Vavasour Powell.

BORN A. D. 1617.—DIED A. D. 1671.

VAVASOUR POWELL was a native of Radnorshire, and educated in Jesus college, Oxford. He was descended, on his father's side, from the Powells of Knocklas, in Radnorshire; and, on the mother's, from the ancient family of the Vavasours. On leaving the university, he perambulated his native country, preaching the gospel wherever he could obtain an audience. It being objected to him, however, that he had not received any kind of ordination, he went to London and obtained, in 1646, a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr Herle, and seventeen members of the assembly of divines. Thus furnished, he returned to Wales, where he became a most indefatigable and active evangelist: traversing the country in every direction, visiting the mountain hamlets, attending the fairs and markets, and preaching in every place where he could gain admittance either by night or day. In the midst of all this incessant labour, and of the personal privations to which it exposed him, he maintained the appearance and deportment of a gentleman. He was also exceedingly hospitable and

generous, and would not only entertain and lodge, but clothe the poor and aged, although his whole means of subsistence did not amount to £100 per annum.

At the dawn of the restoration, being known to be a fifth monarchy man, he was taken into custody, and was ultimately confined in the Fleet, London, where he died in October, 1671. His religious sentiments were those of a Sabbatarian Baptist, and he was the founder of upwards of twenty churches in Wales professing similar sentiments.

Bishop Wilkins.

BORN A. D. 1614.—DIED A. D. 1672.

THIS ingenious and learned prelate was the son of Walter Wilkins, citizen and goldsmith of Oxford. He was born in 1614, at Fawsley, near Daventry in Northamptonshire. His earliest teacher was Edward Sylvester. At the age of thirteen he entered New-inn hall, Oxford, whence he removed to Magdalen hall, where he took his degrees in arts.

On obtaining orders, he became chaplain to William, Lord Say; afterwards he attended, in the same character, upon the count-palatine of the Rhine, to whom the proficiency which our young divine was known to have made in mathematical studies was a high recommendation. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, Wilkins took the league and covenant. He was afterwards made warden of Wadham college In 1648 he was created D.D. In 1656, he married Robina, widow of Peter French, and sister of the lord-protector. In 1659, he was made master of Trinity college, Cambridge, but was ejected thence the year following. He then became preacher to the society of Gray's inn, and was chosen a member of the royal society's council.

His eminent scientific talents, and the patronage of Villiers, procured for him some notice at court, and the bishopric of Chester was ultimately bestowed upon him, though not without considerable opposition from the primate Sheldon. He did not enjoy his preferment long. He died on the 19th of November, 1672. Burnet bears this testimony of him, that "he was a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as good a soul as any he ever knew." All the works which Bishop Wilkins published are learned and ingenious. His first was the famous piece entitled, 'The discovery of a new world; or a discourse tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable world in the moon; with a Discourse concerning the possibility of a passage thither.' This was a juvenile production, but the bishop in his old age adhered to the speculations of his youth, in spite of the ridicule to which they exposed him. The reader may be curious to know what the means of conveyance were which Wilkins proposed to employ in a journey to the moon; and we shall allow him to explain them in his own language:—"If it be here inquired," says he, "what means there may be conjectured for our ascending beyond the sphere of the earth's magnetical vigour, I answer: 1st. It is not, perhaps, impossible that a man may be able to flye by the application of wings to his oune body, as angels are pictured, and as Mercury and Dædalus are fained, and as hath been attempted by divers, particularly

by a Turke in Constantinople, as Busbequius relates. 2d. If there be such a great Ruck in Madagascar as Marcus Polus, the Venetian mentions, the feathers in whose wings are twelve feet long, which can soope up a horse and his rider, or an elephant, as our kites doe a mouse, why then it is but teaching one of these to carry a man, and he may ride up thither as Ganymed does upon an eagle. 3d. Or, if neither of these ways will serve, yet I doe seriously and upon good grounds, affirm it possible to make a flying chariot, in which a man may sit, and give such a motion into it as shall convey him through the aire." The mathematical and philosophical works of this enthusiastic projector were collected and published in one 8vo. volume in 1708. His theological works consist of discourses on preaching, on providence, and on prayer, also sundry sermons, and a posthumous work on 'the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion.'

Philip Nye.

BORN A. D. 1596.—DIED A. D. 1672.

THIS celebrated nonconformist was a native of Sussex. He was born of a genteel family in 1596, and educated at Magdalene college, Oxford. In 1630 he was curate of St Michael's, Cornhill. In this situation he soon made himself obnoxious to the high church party, and to avoid Laud's persecuting measures, retired to Holland in 1633. While abroad, he chiefly resided at Arnheim. In 1640 he ventured to return home, and was soon after made minister of Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire.

In 1643 he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and was sent by that body, in conjunction with Stephen Marshall, whose daughter he had married, to procure the assistance of the Scots. On his return, when parliament assembled to take the covenant in St Margaret's church, Westminster, he was the person who read it from the pulpit, and endeavoured to show its warrant from scripture. He was also one of the committee who drew up the preface to the Directory, which was to be substituted for the book of Common prayer. When the presbyterian party insisted on establishing their own form of church-government, Nye left them, and threw the weight of his talents and influence into the independent side.

After the restoration, he was ejected from his charge, and it was even debated in council whether he should not be excepted for life, on the ground of the extraordinary share he had taken in promoting revolutionary measures and principles. He employed the declining years of his life in preaching the gospel as he had opportunity amongst the dissenters in the metropolis. He died in 1672. Nye wrote and published a considerable number of polemical and political tracts.

Bishop Hacket.

BORN A. D. 1592.—DIED A. D. 1670.

JOHN HACKET, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was born in London in 1592. He was admitted, when yet very young, into Westminster school, where his diligence and proficiency procured for him the favourable notice of Dr Andrews, then dean of Westminster. In 1608, along with Herbert the poet, he was elected to Trinity college, Cambridge, of which college, after taking the proper degrees, he was chosen fellow. He took orders in 1618, and was collated to the rectory of Stoke-Hamon, in Buckinghamshire. In 1621, Bishop Williams, lord-keeper of the great seal, appointed Hacket his chaplain. Two years afterwards, James I. placed him on the list of his chaplains, and gave him the rectorship of St Andrews, Holborn, in London, and Cheam, in Surrey.

In 1625, he was appointed to attend an embassy from the court of England to Germany; but, recollecting how sarcastically he had treated the Jesuits in a Latin comedy, entitled 'Loyola,' which he composed in early life at Newstead abbey, the seat of the Byrons, he got alarmed at the prospect of visiting the continent, and declined the appointment. Preferment, however, still continued to flow in upon him. In 1641, he was made archdeacon of Bedford. In March 1641, he was appointed by the house of lords one of the sub-committee on the reformation of the liturgy. We hear little more of him from this period until 1648, when he attended Henry Rich, earl of Holland, on the scaffold.

After the restoration, Hacket recovered all his preferments, and was offered the bishopric of Gloucester, which he refused; but he accepted shortly after that of Lichfield and Coventry, to which he was consecrated in December 1661. In the ensuing year, he repaired Lichfield cathedral—which had suffered greatly during the civil wars—at his own expense. He also added some buildings to Trinity college, Cambridge. He died at Lichfield, in October 1670.

A century of Bishop Hacket's sermons was published by Dr Plume in 1675. They are inelegant compositions, with all the quaintness, but little of the force of Bishop Reynold's discourses. His 'Life of Archbishop Williams,' is a good piece of biography. It is said he intended to have done a similar service to the memory of that royal pedagogue, James I., but was disheartened by the loss of his manuscript collections during the interregnum. According to his own biographer, Dr Plume, Bishop Hacket, though a tolerant episcopalian, was very zealous against popery. Trained under Davenant and Ward, he leaned towards Calvinistic views in doctrine. In his younger years, he had applied himself with great diligence to the study of the scholastic logic; but, as he advanced in life, he perceived the futility of the study, and declared "that he found more shadows and names than solid juice and substance in it; and much disliked their horrid and barbarous terms, more proper for incantation than divinity; that he became perfectly of Beatus Rhenanus's mind, that the schoolmen were rather to

be reckoned philosophers than divines; but, if any pleased to account them such, he had much rather, with St John Chrysostom, be styled a pious divine, than an invincible or irrefragable one with Thomas Aquinas, or our own countryman, Alexander Hales. For knowledge in the tongues," continues Dr Plume, "he would confess he could never fix upon Arabian learning,—the place was *siticulosa regio*, 'a dry and barren land, where no water is;' and he being discouraged in his younger years by such as had plodded most in it, and often quarrelled with his great friend Salmasius, for saying he accounted no man solidly learned without skill in Arabic and other eastern languages."

Joseph Caryl.

BORN A. D. 1602.—DIED A. D. 1673.

THIS eminent non-conformist divine was born in London in 1602, and educated at Exeter college, Oxford. He preached for several years with considerable acceptance before the society of Lincoln's inn, and was a member of the Westminster assembly. In 1653 he was appointed one of the 'triers' for the examination and licensing of preachers. He was subsequently sent by the parliament to attend Charles I. at Holmby house, and was one of the commissioners in the treaty of the isle of Wight. In 1650, in company with Dr Owen, he attended on Cromwell in Scotland.

Soon after his ejectment from the rectory of St Magnus, in London, in 1662, he gathered a congregation in the same neighbourhood, to whom he preached as the times would permit, until his death on the 7th of February, 1673. Caryl was a man of considerable parts and learning, and indefatigable industry. His personal piety was unquestionable; in his views of church government he was an independent. His principal work is an exposition of the Book of Job, which was first published in twelve volumes 4to, but is more commonly met with now in two volumes folio.

Hugh Paulin Cressey.

BORN A. D. 1603.—DIED A. D. 1674.

HUGH PAULIN CRESSEY, a celebrated Roman catholic writer of the seventeenth century, was born of respectable parents, at Wakefield, in 1603, and was taught the first rudiments of learning at a grammar-school in that town. In 1619, he went to Oxford; and in 1626, was admitted fellow of Merton college. He took the degree of A. M., and entering into holy orders, became chaplain to Viscount Falkland, accompanied his lordship to Ireland, and was promoted, by his interest, to a canonry in the collegiate church of Windsor, and to the deanery of Laughen, in Ireland. On the death of his patron, he accepted a proposal that was made him of making the tour of Italy with Mr Bertie, afterwards created earl of Falmouth; and whilst thus engaged, and after a serious examination of the doctrine and discipline of the church of

Rome, he made a public profession of its faith in 1646. He then repaired to Paris, and studied theology with great attention, under the celebrated Henry Holden, doctor of the Sorbonne. The fruit of his studies appeared in his 'Exomologesis, or a Faithful Narrative of the occasions and motives of his conversion to Catholic unity.' Two editions of this work have appeared, one in 1647, the other in 1658. Cressey afterwards became a monk of the order of St Benedict, in the abbey of English monks at Douay; and, at his profession, took the name of Serenus, by which he was afterwards generally known in the learned world. His conversion did not deprive him of the friendship of several of his protestant acquaintances. The learned Dr Henry Hammond having received from him a copy of his 'Exomologesis,' declined, in the language of friendship, to become his antagonist, "that he might give no disturbance to a person, for whom he had," as he expressed himself, "so great a value, and who could have no humane consideration in the change he had made." Cressey remained seven years in the Benedictine convent at Douay. Here he became acquainted with the manuscript writings of Father Baker, a laborious collector of antiquities, relating to the ecclesiastical history of England, and a great master of acetic science. Baker was in correspondence with Camden, Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr Selden, and several other antiquaries of eminence, and left behind him large manuscript treasures. To these Reyner, the author of the 'Apostotatus Benedictorum in Anglia,' was greatly indebted, and from some of them Cressey collected his 'Sancta Sophia; or Directions for the prayer of contemplation,' in two volumes 8vo. Douay, 1657,—a work, according to Butler, highly deserving the attention of all, who either study the philosophy, or seek to acquire the practice of mystic devotion. Of Father Baker's manuscript collections, Cressey also availed himself in the composition of his 'Church history of Brittany, from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman conquest,' Roen, 1668, in one volume folio. This is a work of great labour and much accuracy, although the bulk and substance of it is taken from Father Griffin's 'Ecclesiastical Annals.' He left in manuscript a second part of this history, which carried it down, it is said, to his own times. It was preserved in the Benedictine convent at Douay, and is supposed to have perished in the general devastation at the French revolution. Father Cressey had respectable antagonists; and among them, Lord Clarendon and Dr Stillingfleet. A new edition of his Exomologesis, with a succinct view of the controversy between Cressey and his two great opponents, would, says Butler, form an interesting manual of catholic controversy. On the marriage of Charles II. with the Infanta of Portugal, Cressey became one of his chaplains, and resided in Somerset-house. In the decline of life, he retired to East Grinstead, and died at the seat of Richard Caryl, Esq. in 1674, in the 71st year of his age.[1]

[1] Biog. Brit.—Butler's Memoirs of Catholics, vol. iv.

John Lightfoot, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1602.—DIED A. D. 1675.

THIS learned and pious presbyterian divine, so distinguished for his Hebrew lore, was born in March 1602, in the rectory house at Stoke-upon-Trent, in Staffordshire. His father, Thomas Lightfoot, who was the incumbent of that living, was ranked among the puritans, and was a man much esteemed for his learning and piety. His mother was Elizabeth Bagnall, a lady of respectable family, and of exemplary piety. He had four brothers, Thomas, the eldest, brought up to trade, Peter, a physician, and Josiah and Samuel, clergymen.

Dr Lightfoot received the rudiments of his education under the care of Mr Whitehead, at Morton Green, near Congleton, Cheshire. At the age of fifteen he was removed to Christ's college, Cambridge. Here he enjoyed the superior advantage of having for his tutor the learned and excellent William Chappel, the tutor of John Milton and Dr Henry More.

Lightfoot pursued his studies in general literature with great ardour, and was considered by his tutor as the best orator of all the undergraduates in the university. He is said, however, to have had no taste for the technicalities of dialectical disputation, nor even to have paid much attention to Hebrew learning, in which he afterwards became so eminent.

After a residence of four years at college, and taking his bachelor's degree, he returned to his former preceptor, Mr Whitehead, who was now master of Repton school, in Derbyshire. After remaining here two years as an assistant in the school, he entered into holy orders and commenced his ministry at Norton-under-Hales, Salop. Here he became acquainted with Sir Rowland Cotton, Knt., who resided at Bellaport in that neighbourhood, and who was distinguished for his profound knowledge of Hebrew. At the age of seven he is said to have been able to read fluently the Biblical Hebrew, and to have made such progress, as to have readily conversed in the language. To this study he had been early directed by the instructions of Mr Hugh Broughton, who was a frequent guest at his father's house in London.

Sir Rowland having frequently put questions to Mr Lightfoot on the subject of the Hebrew Scriptures, with which, by his profession, he was supposed to be acquainted, though, in truth, he was a mere novice, the young minister felt ashamed of his deficiency; and was stimulated the more to apply diligently to this study, that he might not be less informed in an important branch of his sacred profession than his patron, a private gentleman. Here, therefore, he laid the foundation for his Rabbinical learning, in which he received all possible assistance and encouragement from his worthy patron. With him he continued till Sir Rowland left the country to reside with his family in London, at the request of Sir Allen Cotton, his uncle, who was then lord-mayor of the city.

Mr Lightfoot soon followed his patron to the metropolis, but returned in a short time to the country to visit his parents, residing at

Uttoxeter, with a view of taking leave of them previously to an intended tour on the continent. Having left home with this purpose, he was detained on his way at Stone, in Staffordshire, and, by importunity, persuaded to abandon his further travels, and become minister of that place, then destitute. Here he continued about two years, and, in May, 1628, married Joyce, the daughter of William Crompton of Stone Park, Esq., and widow of George Copwood of Dilverne, in the county of Stafford, Gent.

Not being able to procure those books which his studies required, Mr Lightfoot removed to Hornsey, near London, that he might be in the vicinity of the library of Sion college, to which he often resorted. During this period, he gave to the public, in 1629, a specimen of his studies, by the publication of his 'Erubhim, or Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical.' He was now 27 years of age, and was well-acquainted with the Latin and Greek Fathers, as well as the classics. After a residence of two years in this place, he removed with his family to Uttoxeter; and, after a residence there for six months, his patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, presented him to the rectory of Ashley, in Staffordshire. Here he remained for twelve years in the faithful discharge of his pastoral duties, and in the most assiduous cultivation of his favourite studies in Hebrew learning, spending most of his days in the delightful seclusion of a small dwelling, consisting of three apartments, which he had erected for this purpose, in the midst of a garden near the parsonage house. From this calm retreat, he was induced, but not without much reluctance, to depart to enter into the arena of polemical strife then commenced in the metropolis. His abilities soon attracted notice, and he was speedily called to be the minister of St Bartholomew's, near the Exchange, in London; and was also appointed a member of the assembly of divines, which met, A.D. 1643, in Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster, by authority of parliament, for the purpose of deliberating on the agitated points of doctrine and discipline in the church, and delivering their solemn opinion. In this sphere, Lightfoot's attainments had full scope for exercise and use. Questions were continually arising in which his extensive knowledge of Hebrew and of Jewish antiquities was of great importance. In some points he differed from his brethren, but on the whole was decidedly favourable to the presbyterian mode.

In the course of the year 1643, Dr Lightfoot was made master of Catherine-hall by the parliamentary visitors of Cambridge, in the room of Dr Spurston, and before the close of the same year was appointed to the rectory of Much-Munden, in the county of Hertford, void by the death of Dr Samuel Ward, the Margaret professor of divinity in Cambridge.

Occasionally Dr Lightfoot was called to preach to the house of commons. Among other topics of reform he strongly recommends a revision of the authorized version of the Scriptures of 1611. On this subject he says: "I hope you will find some time among your serious employments, to think of a review and survey of the translation of the bible; certainly, that might be a work which might very well befit a reformation, and which would very much redound to your honour. It was the course of Nehemiah, when he was reforming, that he caused not the law only to be read, and the sense given, but also caused the

people to understand the reading.' And, certainly, it would not be the least advantage, that you might do to the three nations (if not the greatest) if they be your care; and means might come to understand the proper and genuine reading of the Scripture, by an exact, vigorous, and lively translation. I hope (I say it again) you will find some time to set afoot so needful a work; and now you are about the purging of the temple, you will look into the oracle, if there be any thing amiss there, and remove it." He adds: "I beseech you, hasten the settling of the church. I rejoice to see what you have done in platforming classes and presbyteries; and I verily and cordially believe, it is according to the pattern in the mount."

He commenced doctor in divinity in the year 1652, and then preached a Latin sermon from 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran-atha." In 1655, Dr Lightfoot was chosen vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, which office he discharged with great care and diligence, at the same time faithfully performing his duties as a pastor, when not required to attend in his offices at the university. Indeed, being now in the very prime of life, his days were all most busily occupied with the most important engagements. Beside his public duties, he was employed laboriously in writing those works which have instructed the world, and in assisting the learned in their magnificent undertakings for the promotion of sacred literature. The sheets of Walton's polyglott passed under his perusal as they came from the press, and he assisted that noble work in various ways by furnishing criticisms, especially on the Samaritan Pentateuch, lending MSS., contributing Rabbinical notes, &c., beside procuring subscriptions to the work. On its completion, under the substantial patronage of Cromwell and the council, Lightfoot delivered a speech at the university commencement, wherein he congratulates the university on the accomplishment of a work so honourable to the English nation.

Dr Lightfoot was also a promoter of that great work undertaken by Dr Castell, the Lexicon Heptaglotton, wherein he was encouraged, assisted, and comforted by Dr Lightfoot, when almost deserted by the bishops and others who had undertaken to patronize the work. Another great and lasting monument of sacred learning, Poole's Synopsis Criticorum, was also encouraged and assisted by this patron of great works for the elucidation of the sacred Scriptures, to which object Lightfoot's life was chiefly dedicated.

By the interest of Sir Olando Bridgman, lord-keeper of the great seal, Dr Lightfoot was presented to a prebendal stall in Ely cathedral. In 1660, he attended on the side of the presbyterian divines, at the conference held at the bishop of London's lodgings, at the Savoy, relative to alterations and corrections in the book of Common Prayer. He himself did not practically conform to the rubric, not wearing the surplice, and selecting only certain portions of the Liturgy for public worship.

In the latter part of the year 1675, while travelling from Cambridge to Ely, the Doctor caught a violent cold. During his indisposition, he was persuaded to eat a red herring, and drink two or three glasses of claret. A fever immediately ensued, occasioned, or at least heightened (as his physicians pronounced) by a diet to which he was alto-

gether unaccustomed, his usual beverage being only water or table-beer. His head being much oppressed, without much bodily pain, he fell into a state of torpor. At intervals, his mind recovered its wonted power, and his habitual piety marked his last hours. When questioned as to his state, his usual reply was, "I feel myself in the hands of a good God." In this lethargic condition, having continued for a fortnight, he expired Dec. 6, 1675, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains were removed to Munden, where he had been minister for thirty-two years, and Mr Fulwood, formerly of Catherine-hall, preached his funeral sermon.

Dr Lightfoot had four sons and two daughters by his first wife, viz. John, chaplain to Bishop Walton; Anastasius, also named 'Cottonus Jacksonus,' in memorial of the Doctor's friends, Sir R. Cotton and Sir J. Jackson; Athanasius, a tradesman; and Thomas, who died young. His daughter, Joyce, was married to Mr Duckfield, rector of Aspeden, in Hertfordshire; and Sarah, to Mr Colclough, a gentleman of Staffordshire. With his first wife he lived nearly thirty years. His second wife was Mrs Ann Brograve, a widow, related to Sir T. Brograve, Bart., a gentleman dear to Lightfoot, from his having a relish for Rabbinical learning. He had no children by his second wife, whom he survived.

Dr Lightfoot is said to have possessed a mild countenance, as appears by his portrait, and a ruddy complexion. He was grave, but affable and courteous, and very communicative to inquirers; plain, unaffected, and gentlemanly in his behaviour. If by chance he were present when rude or profligate conversation was introduced, he would testify his disapprobation by silence and speedy withdrawal from the company. On returning home from a journey, it was his custom to pass directly to his study, and not to converse with his family, until he had previously acknowledged the providence of God in his private devotions. He was particularly susceptible of gratitude for any kindness and favour, of which his pathetic and passionate expressions in the funeral sermon which he preached for his good patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, sufficiently testify; and all his learning and virtues were adorned with the covering of unaffected modesty and humility. He lived upon the best terms with persons of religious sentiments differing from his own. His house, says Strype, was a continual hospital, none went away unrelieved. He would frequently bring poor people within doors to his fire, and in winter found them occupation in spinning and other employments. Whenever his duties required him to be at Ely, or Cambridge, he was wont to express his desire to return to his flock, whom he familiarly termed his dear 'russet-coats.'

Dr Lightfoot's numerous works were published in a collective form in 1684, in 2 vols. folio, under the joint care of Dr George Bright, rector of Loughborough, and the Rev. John Strype, M.A., of Low Leighton, Essex. Other editions followed; and the last edition of his entire works was published by the London booksellers in 1825, in 13 vols. 8vo, edited by the Rev. J. R. Pitman, A.M.

Isaac Barrow.

BORN A.D. 1630.—DIED A.D. 1677.

ISAAC BARROW, an eminent mathematician and divine, was born in the city of London, in the month of October, 1630. His father, Thomas Barrow, who survived him, is honourably recorded as "a citizen of London, of good reputation." He was linen-draper to Charles I., whom he followed to Oxford; continuing, indeed, through life, a steady adherent to the royal cause. His brother, Isaac Barrow, uncle to the subject of this memoir, was educated at Cambridge for the church, and became fellow of Peterhouse. He was ejected for writing against the covenant, and, during the commonwealth, experienced great varieties of hard fortune. At the Restoration, he was re-instated in his fellowship, and, soon after, raised to the bishopric of the isle of Man. For some years he was made governor of that island by the earl of Derby. He was translated to the see of St Asaph in 1669, when his nephew, Isaac Barrow, preached his consecration sermon. He died in 1680. There was another Isaac Barrow, brother to the great-grandfather of the subject of this memoir. He was a doctor of medicine, and, in his youth, tutor to Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury. The early youth of Dr Barrow was unpromising. He was sent to the Charter-house school, where he showed no disposition for learning, and was chiefly remarkable for encouraging quarrels and fighting among his school-fellows. His worthy father was often heard to say, that if it pleased the Lord to remove any of his children, he wished it might be his son Isaac.

"Nescia mens hominum fati, sortisque futuræ!"

He was removed to Felstead, in Essex, where his successful diligence in study speedily confuted all his father's gloomy prophecies, and procured him the situation of tutor to Lord Fairfax of Emely, in Ireland. In 1643 he was admitted a pensioner of Peterhouse, Cambridge, of which, however, he does not appear to have been long a member, owing, probably, to the expulsion of his uncle. He entered Trinity college in 1645. At this time the fortunes of his family were greatly reduced, through their attachment to the royal cause; and the young student was mainly indebted for his support at college to the kindness of Dr Hammond, whose memory he afterwards celebrated in an epitaph. His steady resolution in refusing to take the covenant gave offence to many in the college; but his modesty and discretion preserved the respect and regard of his superiors. A Latin oration on the gunpowder-plot (which is still extant) so far[1] provoked some of the fellows of Trinity that they demanded his expulsion, on which Dr Hill, the master, gave them a quietus by saying, "Barrow is a better man than any of us." He is said to have been dissatisfied with the physiology then taught in the schools, and to have studied with great care the

[1] There does not appear to be much offensive matter in this discourse. The commendations bestowed upon the character and policy of James I. were probably the most unpalatable parts. Speaking of the religion of that time, he says, "Nec veteres illa corruptela, nec *hesternas ineptias* admittebat.

writings of Lord Bacon, [2]Des Cartes, Galileo, and all the profoundest philosophers of the age. In 1649, he commenced B.A.; in 1652, he proceeded M.A., and in the same year was incorporated in the same degree at Oxford. After his election to a fellowship in Trinity college, he was so discouraged at the aspect of the times towards the episcopal clergy, that he turned his attention to the medical profession, and pursued with great vigour the study of anatomy, botany, and chemistry. On further consideration, however, and consultation with his uncle, he abandoned the study of medicine, and resumed the profession of divinity. It is said that the reading of Scaliger upon Eusebius directed his attention to astronomy, as a science essentially necessary in the study of chronology; and that his application to astronomy made him a student of the mathematics in which he afterwards attained such extraordinary eminence. About this time he was an unsuccessful competitor for the professorship of Greek, then vacant by the resignation of Duport. It is said that his Arminianism was the cause of his defeat. In the year 1655 he set out on his travels into foreign countries, having sold his books to defray his expenses. In Paris he found his father an attendant upon the English court; and, as one of the doctor's biographers tell us, "out of his small viaticum, he made his father a seasonable present." After staying some months in France, he visited Italy, and at Florence availed himself of the opportunity of consulting the ducal library. The plague then raging at Rome, he was prevented from visiting the eternal city, so that he took shipping at Leghorn and sailed for Smyrna. The vessel was attacked by an Algerine corsair; on which occasion Barrow came on deck, and fought manfully through the whole action, until their obstinate defence compelled the pirate to abandon the attempt. Of this voyage and combat he has given us a long poetical narrative in hexameter and pentameter verse. At Constantinople, Barrow read through the works of Chrysostom, whose diocese was there prior to the irruption of the Turks. For the writings of this father he always entertained the highest esteem. He returned to England by way of Venice, and through Germany and Holland. Soon after his return he was ordained by Brownrigg, bishop of Exeter,—a prelate whose works, in two volumes folio, attest the vigour of his understanding and the depth of his learning. At the time of the Restoration it was expected by Barrow and his friends that something would have been done for him; but 'our most religious sovereign the king' was too deeply occupied with court-harlequins and prostitutes to remember any thing so insignificant as piety and learning. It was at this time that Barrow wrote his well-known epigram,

> "Te magis optavit rediturum, Carole, nemo,
> Et nemo sensit, te rediisse minus."

[2] Though far from adopting the Cartesian physics, he thus speaks of the French philosopher in an essay bearing this title, 'Cartesiana hypothesis haud satisfacit præcipuis Naturæ Phœnomenis:' "Renatus Cartesius, vir procul dubio optimus atque ingeniosissimus, ac serio philosophus, et qui videtur ad philosophiæ hujus contemplationem ea attulisse auxilia, qualia fortassis nemo unquam alius; intelligo eximiam in mathematicis peritiam; animum natura atque assuefactione meditationis patientissimum; judicium præjudiciis omnibus et popularium errorum laqueis exutum, extricatumque; ne memorem incomparabile ingenii acumen, et facultatem quibus præstabat eximia tam clare et distincte cogitandi, quam raucum etiam paucis verbis admodum plane ac dilucide explicandi."

In 1660 he was elevated to the Greek professorship at Cambridge. He delivered a course of lectures on Aristotle's Rhetoric; "of which," says Hill, "I can only say, that some friend (to himself, I mean,) thought fit to borrow, and never to return those lectures." In 1661 he took the degree of B. D. The following year he was appointed, on the recommendation of Dr Wilkins, to the professorship of geometry in Gresham college; where he not only filled his own chair with distinguished ability, but also lectured on astronomy in the absence of his colleague, Dr Pope. In 1663 he was chosen fellow of the Royal Society in the first election of members after their incorporation. In the same year he was appointed to the then recently instituted Lucasian professorship of mathematics at Cambridge, when he resigned the Greek chair in that university, as well as his situation in Gresham college. After discharging the duties of this office with great ability for nine years, he resigned it to his illustrious pupil, Mr, afterwards Sir Isaac Newton; and, for the remainder of his life, applied himself wholly to divinity. He was created doctor of divinity in 1670. Two years after he was raised to the mastership of Trinity college; on which occasion the king observed, that "he had given it to the best scholar in England." On receiving this appointment he resigned a small living in Wales, previously bestowed upon him by his uncle, the bishop of St Asaph, and a prebend in Salisbury cathedral, to which he had been presented by Ward, bishop of Salisbury. Of these preferments he had always distributed the profits in charity. A few years after he was made vice-chancellor of the university. In the month of April, 1677, he was seized with a fever, which terminated his life on the fourth of May following. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his friends erected a monument to his memory, exhibiting a Latin epitaph from the pen of Dr Mapletoft. Dr Barrow is described as short in stature, of a pale complexion, but possessed of great muscular strength. His character was a beautiful assemblage of virtues: intrepid firmness, incorruptible integrity, a perfect simplicity of life and manners, a courtesy and cheerfulness which no change of circumstances seems to have impaired, a native modesty unspoiled by all his great abilities and acquirements, and a serious piety arising out of the profoundest conviction of the truth and value of religion. Of his humanity the following characteristic anecdote is preserved. Walking about the premises of a friend in the evening, he was attacked by a fierce mastiff, which was left unchained at night, and had not become acquainted with the Doctor's person. He struggled with the dog and threw him down; but when on the point of strangling him, he reflected that the animal was only doing his duty in seizing a stranger; for which, therefore, he did not deserve to die. As he durst not loose his hold, lest the dog should seize and tear him, he laid himself down on the animal, and there remained till some one came to his assistance. Dr Barrow is said to have been extremely negligent of his personal appearance. Of this a ludicrous story is recorded in the Biographia Britannica. The well-known anecdote of his 'wit-combat' with Lord Rochester illustrates his power of repartee. The witty profligate, on meeting Barrow, exclaimed, "Doctor, I am yours to the shoe-tie;" to which the clergyman replied, "My lord, I am yours to the ground." The peer rejoined, "Doctor, I am yours to the centre;" "My lord," retorted the doctor, "I am

yours to the antipodes." Determined not to be outdone, his lordship blasphemously added, "Doctor, I am yours to the lowest pit of hell;" on which Barrow turned on his heel and said, "And *there*, my lord, *I* leave you." In speaking of the intellectual powers of Barrow, and commenting upon his works, it is difficult to do anything like justice to the subject, without seeming to run into the extravagances of inflated and unmeaning panegyric. Yet he may be safely pronounced one of the most remarkable men of any age or nation. As a mathematician, he is, unquestionably,

"If not first, in the very first line;"

deserving honourable mention even in the age of Newton and Leibnitz, of Pascal and the two Bernoullis. After all the improvements in the exact sciences to which later times have given birth, his mathematical lectures may still be read, even by accomplished geometers, with instruction and delight. In particular they display extraordinary insight into what may be called the metaphysics of mathematical science. The theological writings of Barrow—which were most of them published after his death—consist principally of sermons; containing, however, two longer treatises of great value, on the Pope's supremacy, and the Unity of the Church. His sermons are truly extraordinary performances; and, intellectually considered, are, in our judgment, beyond comparison superior to those of even his greatest contemporaries. We can willingly spare the ever-blazing imagination of Taylor, the wit and elegance of Louth, the rough originality of Hall and Donne, and the nervous rhetoric of Chillingworth, in one who every where displays a gigantic grasp of intellect, an exuberant fecundity of thought and illustration, a closeness of logic, and a sustained majesty of style, for which, in their combination, we know not where else to look. He possessed beyond all men, since the days of Aristotle, the power of *exhausting* a subject. Hence Le Clerc says of his sermons, that they are treatises or exact dissertations, rather than harangues to please the multitude. The discourses on the duty of thanksgiving, on bounty to the poor, on the folly and danger of delaying repentance, on faith, and on the Trinity, may be instanced as among his finest. His description of facetiousness, (in the sermon against foolish talking and jesting,) which Dr Johnson considered the finest thing in the language, is both too long and too well-known to be quoted here. We shall give one or two quotations, however, which may exhibit, not indeed the reach and force of his intellect, for a due idea of which it would be necessary to read through a whole discourse, but the rich exuberance of thought, the beauty of imagery, and felicity of diction, by which he is eminently distinguished.

"Yea, 'tis our duty not to be contented only, but to be delighted, to be transported, to be ravished with the emanations of God's love: to entertain them with such a disposition of mind as the dry and parched ground imbibes the soft dew and gentle showers; as the chill and darksome air admits the benign influences of heavenly light; as the thirsty soul takes in the sweet and cooling stream. He that with a sullen look, a dead heart, a faint sense, a cold hand, embraces the gifts of heaven, is really unthankful, though with deluges of wine and oil he makes the altars to o'erflow, and clouds the sky with the steam of his sacrifices."[3]

[3] First Sermon on Thanksgiving.

"As to the commands of God, we may 'lift up ourselves against them,' we may fight stoutly, we may in a sort prove conquerors; but it will be a miserable victory, the trophies whereof shall be erected in hell, and stand upon the ruins of our happiness."[4]

"We may consider and meditate upon the total incomprehensibility of God, in all things belonging to him; in his nature, his attributes, his decrees, his works and ways; which are all full of depth, mystery, and wonder. God inhabiteth a light inaccessible to the dim and weak sight of mortal eyes; which 'no man hath seen, or can see.' Even those spiritual eagles, the quick and strong-sighted seraphim, are obliged to cover their faces, as not daring to look upon nor able to sustain the fulger of his immediate presence, the flashes of glory and majesty issuing from his throne."[5]

"Let us consider the Spirit of God as vouchsafing to attend over us, to converse with us, to dwell in us; rendering our souls holy temples of his divinity, royal thrones of his majesty, bright orbs of his heavenly light, pleasant paradises of his blissful presence,—our souls which naturally are profane receptacles of wicked and impure affections, dark cells of false and fond imaginations, close prisons of black and sad thoughts."[6]

With all the excellencies of which we have spoken, the sermons of this illustrious divine are by no means recommended as models of pulpit eloquence. Their very depth and comprehensiveness of thought, their laboured majesty of style, would place them far beyond the understanding of any congregation that ever was or ever will be assembled in this world. They are also chargeable with a more serious fault; a defective exhibition of the great principles of the gospel. In saying this, we do not allude to his Arminianism; nor do we charge him with denying any one of the essential doctrines of the gospel. But the fault we find is this; that the great evangelical principles which we know him to have held, were not exhibited with sufficient prominence or in due proportion. They are recognised, they are defended by him; nay, they sometimes kindle him into a rapturous eloquence worthy of his theme. But they are not made the life and soul of his theology, the centre of the system, the source of influence, vitality, and attraction. The Opuscula of Barrow consist in the main of college-exercises, both verse and prose, in the learned languages; and of lectures delivered in his professorial capacity. They possess a high degree of merit; displaying, indeed, all the excellencies of thought and style by which his English compositions are distinguished. If the *Oratio Sarcasmica in Scholâ Græcâ*, is not to be considered a mere *jeu d'esprit*, we fear that the study of Greek was but lightly esteemed by the young Cantabrigians of that day. "Levasti me," says the doctor, "levasti me (humanissimi quotquot estis academici) gravissimo onere; a maximo periculo liberastis; labori, solicitudini, pudori meo abunde pepercistis; jugi scilicet illa et pertinaci absentiâ, qua has scholas refugistis.—Enimvero ex quo in anni decedentis auspiciis longum mihi vale peroranti dixistis, desedi continuo solus huic cathedræ (nemo vestrum sat scio vel mentienti αυτοπτης testis fidem derogabit) tanquam rupi suæ Prometheus affixus: vel ut arbiter quidam supremus in illa (quam non nemo nuper excogitavit) republica Solipsorum; non montibus dico

[4] On Submission to the Divine Will. [5] Sermon on the Trinity. [6] Ibid.

aut sylvis, sed parietibus istis atque subselliis sententias Græcas, figuras, phrases, etymologias undique conquisitas admurmurans; plane ut Attica noctua ab omni aliarum avium commercio segregata.—Quod si forti vagabundus quispiam recens, vel naufragus sophista (unus aut alter) temerario œstu abreptus, vel infelicis auræ cujuslibet impulsu deportatus in has aliquando (quod perraro tamen memini accidisse) oras appulerit, vix obiter is inspecta provincia, aut tribus verbis acceptis, tragici quippe nescio quid sonantibus, quasi a barbato Græculo, si perstaret, propœdiem devorandus, e meo repente Polyphemi antro in pedes se conjicit." He pursues the same vein of pleasantry through several pages. Dr Barrow's theological works first appeared in three vols. folio, in 1685. They were published under the superintendence of Dr Tillotson and Abraham Hill. The Opuscula were first published in 1687. His mathematical works appeared in the following order. Euclidis Elementa, 8vo. Cantab. 1655. Euclidis Data, 8vo. Cantab. 1657. Lectiones Opticæ, 4to. Lond. 1669. Lectiones Geometricæ, 4to. Lond. 1670. Archimedis Opera; Apollonii Conicorum Libri IV.; Theodosii Sphærica, 4to. Lond. 1675. After his death appeared his Lectio de Sphœra et Cylindro, 12mo. Lond. 1678; and his Lectiones Mathematicæ, 8vo. Lond. 1783.[1]

John Tombes, B.D.

BORN A.D. 1603.—DIED A.D. 1676.

THIS pious and learned non-conformist was born at Bewdley in Worcestershire, in 1603. His early proficiency in grammar-learning enabled those who had the charge of his education to send him to Magdalene hall, Oxford, before completing his fifteenth year. His tutor at the university was William Pemble, upon whose decease he was chosen to succeed him in the catechetical lecture given in the hall, though but twenty-one years of age at the time. He held this lectureship about seven years, and then removed, first to Worcester, and afterwards to Leominster, in both which places he was very popular as a preacher. He ultimately was presented with the living of Leominster; but, in 1641, he was compelled to relinquish his charge in that place, and retire to Bristol, in consequence of the virulence of the high church party, who disliked the zeal and tolerant spirit of their brother of Leominster, and felt particularly aggrieved by the disposition which he evinced to purge the service of the church from human inventions.

At Bristol he was warmly received by General Fiennes, then in command there, who gave him the living of All Saints; but on that city falling into the hands of the royalists, a special warrant was issued for his apprehension, and he made his escape with difficulty to London. Here he was some time minister of Fenchurch; but beginning to entertain scruples respecting infant baptism, he was ultimately obliged to resign his charge. So early as the year 1627, he had been led in the

[1] Hill's Life of Barrow.—Pope's Life of Ward, Bishop of Salisbury.—Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College.—Biog. Brit.

course of his lectures to discuss the subject of baptism, and had conceived doubts concerning the scriptural authority for that of infants. A committee of his London brethren now waited upon him to discuss the grounds of his hesitancy, but they failed to remove his scruples. He then drew up, in Latin, a statement of his views on the subject, which he sent to the chairman of the Westminster assembly; but this document does not appear to have been treated with the attention it merited. He printed an apologetical statement of his views on the subject of baptism in 1646, after which he undertook the charge of a church at Bewdley. Here he held several public disputations on the subject of infant baptism with Baxter and others, and formed a separate church of persons holding his own sentiments, though he retained, at the same time, the parochial charge of Bewdley.

On the restoration, he appears to have readily fallen in with the new order of things, and wrote in support of the oath of supremacy, but he soon found the 'yoke of bondage' which the new government imposed upon all its clerical adherents, too heavy to be endured; and despairing of further usefulness in his clerical character, he laid down the ministry and retired into private life. He died at Salisbury in 1676. Mr Baxter bears honourable testimony to his worth, talents, and learning. He wrote and published a number of theological tracts, mostly on the subject of baptism.

Archbishop Sheldon.

BORN A.D. 1598.—DIED A.D. 1677.

GILBERT SHELDON, archbishop of Canterbury, was the youngest son of Roger Sheldon, a servant in the earl of Shrewsbury's household. He was born at Stanton in Staffordshire in 1598. In 1613, he was admitted a commoner of Trinity college, Oxford. In 1622, he was elected fellow of All Saints college, and about the same time entered into holy orders. He afterwards became domestic chaplain to the lord-keeper Coventry, who gave him a prebend in Gloucester cathedral.

The lord-keeper appears to have entertained considerable respect for Sheldon. He employed him in many affairs of importance, so that the young chaplain was soon marked out as a rising man. Laud presented him with the rectory of Newington, with which he held that of Ickford, in Bucks. In 1632, the king presented him to the vicarage of Hackney, in Middlesex; and in 1635 he was elected warden of All Souls college. Chillingworth had, about this time, begun to give offence to his dignified brethren by the sentiments which he held on the subject of toleration, and his views on some points of theology. The opportunity was a favourable one for Sheldon to display his orthodoxy, and, accordingly, he addressed several letters of remonstrance to his friend, which advanced him not a little in the esteem of those whom it was his interest to conciliate. The king now appointed him clerk of the closet, and one of his chaplains in ordinary. It was also contemplated to confer on him the office of master of the Savoy, but the political events of the day hindered the latter arrangement.

During the civil war, Sheldon adhered steadily to the royal cause,

and was sent by Charles to attend his commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge, where he argued very earnestly in favour of the church. In 1647-8, he was ejected from his wardenship by the parliamentary visitors, and placed under restraint at Oxford, in company with Dr Hammond and some others. Upon his release, he retired to Snelston, in Derbyshire, from whence he frequently remitted sums of money to the exiled prince.

On the restoration, Sheldon was made dean of the chapel royal; and upon Bishop Juxon's translation to the see of Canterbury, the bishopric of London was bestowed upon him. He held the mastership of the Savoy in conjunction with his bishopric; and the famous conference between the episcopal and presbyterian clergy, concerning alterations to be made in the liturgy, was held at his house in the Savoy. On the death of Juxon, he was elevated to the archiepiscopal see in 1663. He died at Lambeth in 1677.

Sheldon was a prelate more distinguished for learning and munificence than for piety. He mingled too much in the politics of the day to preserve his moral integrity unimpeached; though Neale goes too far when he affirms that he was a mere "tool of the prerogative," and one "who made a jest of religion any further than it was a political engine of state."

Archbishop Bramhall.

BORN A. D. 1593.—DIED A. D. 1663.

THIS prelate was of the family of the Bramhalls of Cheshire. He was born at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, about the year 1593. He received his school-education at the place of his birth, and was removed from thence to Sidney college, Cambridge, in 1608. After taking his university degrees, he had a living given him in the city of York. A public disputation which he held in 1623, with a secular priest and a Jesuit, at North Allerton, introduced him to the favourable regards of Matthews, archbishop of York, who made him his chaplain, and presented him with a prebend of York. He afterwards received a prebend of Rippon, and removed to that place, where he discharged the duties of sub-dean. In the year 1633, he obtained the archdeaconry of Meath, in Ireland. Next year, he was promoted to the bishopric of Londonderry, and made himself very instrumental in persuading the Irish episcopal church to adopt the thirty-nine articles of the English church. The active part which he took in supporting the royal cause, and the keenness with which he applied himself to the recovery of church lands, and the enlargement of the revenues of his church, soon brought our prelate into bad odour with the people. At last, he found it necessary to quit Londonderry and retire to the continent.

He went first to Hamburgh, and thence to Brussels. In 1648, he ventured to return to Ireland, but found the country too hot for him, and narrowly escaped with his life. On the restoration, his services were rewarded with the archbishopric of Armagh. He died in 1663. His works were published in one volume, folio, in 1677. The

most curious and valuable of his writings, is one entitled, 'The Catching of the Leviathan,' in which he argues with great force and acuteness against Hobbes' notions on liberty and necessity.

Thomas Manton, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1620.—DIED A. D. 1677.

This learned and eminent nonconformist was born at Laurence-Lydiard, in Somersetshire, in 1620. His father and grandfather were both clergymen. He received his early education at Tiverton. In 1635, he was entered of Wadham college, Oxford, whence he removed, in 1639, to Harthall, where he took his degree of bachelor-in-arts. Wood says he was accounted in his college "a hot-headed person;" if this be true, we can only say that he must have soon attained the faculty of self-command, for he bore a very different character throughout life, and when all eyes were upon him. After studying divinity, he was admitted into deacon's orders by Hall, bishop of Exeter, who predicted of the young divine that "he would prove an extraordinary person."

His ministerial functions were exercised in various places; but his first settlement was at Stoke-Newington, near London, where he continued seven years, and became much admired for his pulpit talents, and particularly his faculty of exposition. It was whilst he held the living of Stoke-Newington that he preached those lectures on the epistles of James and Jude, which are, even to this day, so highly esteemed. He was also occasionally called to preach before parliament.

Upon the death or resignation of Obadiah Sedgwick, Manton was presented to the living of Covent Garden by the earl of Bedford. Here he had a numerous auditory. In 1653, he was appointed one of the protector's chaplains; about the same time he was nominated by parliament one of a committee of divines to draw up a scheme of fundamental doctrines, and also one of the triers, as they were called, whose office it was to examine and pronounce upon the qualifications of ministers.

Manton took an active part in promoting the restoration, and was one of the commissioners sent over to Breda. He was afterwards offered the deanery of Rochester, but declined the preferment. He was one of the ministers who were silenced on St Bartholomew's day, 1662. From this period his history, like that of his nonconforming brethren, is one of suffering and persecution. He was imprisoned for preaching, although patronised and esteemed by the duke of Bedford, and many of the first nobles of the land. His constitution, impaired by intense study, early gave way. He died in the 57th year of his age, on the 18th of October, 1677. His works were published in five volumes folio. They are very highly esteemed.

Theophilus Gale, M. A.

BORN A. D. 1628.—DIED A. D. 1678.

Theophilus Gale was born in 1628, at King's Teignton, Devonshire, of which place his father, Dr Theophilus Gale, was vicar. Dr Gale was also prebendary of Exeter. The subject of the present article was entered student of Magdalen college, Oxford, in 1647. In 1650 he was chosen fellow in preference to several of his seniors, and in 1652 he proceeded M. A. Here he was engaged as a tutor and a preacher, in both which capacities he became eminently successful. Bishop Hopkins, who was one of his pupils at the university, is said to have paid him always the greatest respect, notwithstanding his nonconformity. During his residence in the university, he formed the plan, and commenced the execution of his great work, entitled, 'The Court of the Gentiles,' the leading object of which is to show that the theology, philology, and philosophy of the pagan nations were originally derived from the pages of inspiration. It is admitted by all competent judges to be a splendid monument of the learning and talents of the writer, and one of the most masterly productions which any age or any country has produced. In 1657, Mr Gale was made preacher at Winchester cathedral. He had then embraced the principles of the independents.

Upon the passing of the act of uniformity, Mr Gale suffered ejectment both from the cathedral of Winchester and from the fellowship of his college. This harsh measure threw him upon the necessity of again resorting to the labours of tuition. Lord Wharton received him into his family, and placed his two sons under his care. Soon after, he removed with his pupils to Caen, in Normandy, where he continued to reside for about two years. During his residence at Caen he formed the acquaintance, and enjoyed the friendship of the celebrated Bochart, who was then a pastor and professor in that town. In 1665, he returned to England, and after residing a few months with his pupils at their father's seat in Buckinghamshire, gave up the charge of their tuition. He then directed his course towards London, but as he approached it he beheld the city in flames. When he had left his native country for France, he had deposited the manuscripts of his great work, with many other papers, in the hands of a friend in the city. Upon his return to London, the first intelligence he received was, that the house of this friend had been consumed; and, of course, his fears instantly presumed that all his papers, the results of so many years' hard study, had been destroyed. It appeared that his friend had removed most of his own goods, but had forgotten the valuable deposit which Mr Gale had committed to his custody. The cart containing what he deemed most valuable was about to remove from the door, while the desk containing Gales' manuscripts was left behind. But, fortunately for the world, and for Theophilus Gale, this friend thought he would make up the load by adding this very desk, which was lying in his counting-house, without at the time reflecting, that it was the most valuable package of the whole. Thus, by a mere incidental and momentary thought, was preserved from destruction one of the most valuable and important

treasures of learning. The first part of this great work was given to the public in 1669; the second part two years after; the third and fourth in 1677, and the addition to the 4th part in 1678. Such was the esteem which this work speedily acquired, that it was translated into Latin, and became extensively known on the continent, and was especially admired in Germany. During the progress of Mr Gale's great work, he published in 1676 another scarcely less learned, the object of which was to show in a compendious view, what was the nature of the ancient philosophy. Its title was 'Philosophia Generalis in duas partes determinata; una, de ortu et progressa Philosophiæ: 2, de habitibus intellectualibus: 3, de Philosophiæ objecto.' Being written in Latin, this work excited less attention in England than on the continent, where it was received with eagerness, and read with much commendation. The design of the work was in a great measure identified with that of the Court of the Gentiles. It is however written with more conciseness, and is more especially intended for persons engaged in a regular course of philosophical inquiry.

While Mr Gale was engaged in the completion of these important works, although interdicted from the public exercise of his ministry, he yet engaged as an assistant to Mr John Rowe, who officiated as the pastor of a private congregation of nonconformists assembling in Holborn. After he had completed his Court of the Gentiles, he applied, as a member of the university of Oxford, to Dr Fell, the vice-chancellor, for his license to its publication, which was readily granted. The first part then appeared, and being favourably received, the others, in due course, made their appearance.

His connexion in the ministry which Mr Gale had formed with Mr Rowe, continued till the death of the latter, which took place in 1677. Previously, however, to this period, he had commenced, and successfully conducted an academy at Newington. In this retreat he was both enabled to prosecute his studies, and render himself useful by instilling the best principles into the minds of youth. Here, too, he was often visited by persons of distinction, and men of eminent learning. A short time before his death he published proposals for printing by subscription a Greek Lexicon to the New Testament, but was cut off early in the same year, before this work was brought to perfection. He died in his 50th year, about March, 1678, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

The character of Mr Gale commanded universal reverence and esteem. Wood speaks of him as "a man of great reading; well conversant with the writings of the fathers and old philosophers, and a good metaphysician and school divine." But Mr Gale's reputation rested not upon his mere learning. He was a man of distinguished talents, of cheerful piety, of unblemished character, and of attractive manners. His attachment to nonconformity was ardent and conscientious; yet his charity towards those who differed from him was large and catholic. Of his devotedness to those views of truth which he had embraced, he gave proof in bequeathing his estate real and personal, in trust, for the education of students in his own principles. His library, which is said to have been well chosen, he left to the promotion of useful learning in New England; and there, we believe, it is preserved to this day.

After the death of Mr John Rowe, Mr Gale succeeded to the care

of his church, and was assisted in his pastoral duties by Mr Samuel Lee. But the connexion subsisted only a few months, for Mr Gale was removed by death, and in the following year Mr Lee removed to Bignal, in Oxfordshire. Gale had acquired the reputation of an able minister of the gospel while a fellow of Magdalen college, and this character he maintained to the last. In the department of learning which he principally pursued, he lived and died almost without a rival. To the present day his great work commands the attention of the learned, and presents a rich treasury of information upon one of the most interesting inquiries that can engage the students of the higher philosophy. The eminent qualities, however, which adorned Mr Gale's Christian character, were his highest glory, and these to the present day continue to throw an imperishable lustre around his name. He may be considered as one of the brightest ornaments of independency, as well as one of the most illustrious of Christian scholars. His works are—1. The Court of the Gentiles. 2. The True Idea of Jansenism, both historic and dogmatic, 1669, 8vo. Dr Owen wrote a long preface to this book. 3. Theophilic, or a discourse of the saints' amity with God in Christ, 1671, 8vo. 4. The Life of Mr Trigosse, late minister of the gospel at Milar and Mabe, Cornwall, with his character, 1671, 8vo. 5. The Anatomy of Infidelity; or an Explication of the nature, causes, aggravations, and punishment of unbelief, 1672, 8vo. 6. A discourse of Christ's coming, and the influence of the expectation thereof, 1673, 8vo. 7. Idea Theologiæ, tam contemplativæ, tam activæ, ad formam S. Scripturæ delineata, 1673, 12mo. 8. Wherein the love of the world is inconsistent with the love of God, a sermon on 1 John, ii. 15, in the supplement to the morning exercises at Cripplegate, 1674. 9. A Summary of the two Covenants prefixed to Mr Strong's discourse on the two Covenants, 1678.

Matthew Poole, M.A.

BORN A. D. 1624.—DIED A. D. 1679.

Matthew Poole, born in the year 1624, was the son of Francis Poole, Esq. of the city of York. He received an excellent grammar-education, most probably in his native city, and at the usual age was entered at Emanuel college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Dr John Worthington. During his college residence, he was distinguished by laborious study, by his grave demeanour, and scriptural knowledge. He does not appear to have proceeded M.A. till some years after he entered upon the ministry. He most probably embraced the principles of non-conformity before he left the university, but without becoming a violent party man. He was yet in his youth when the national contentions and troubles commenced. But though he was decidedly opposed to episcopacy as then established, and of course embraced the side of the parliament, yet he continued at college diligently and zealously pursuing the most important and useful studies. In the year 1648, however, and at the age of 24, he entered upon the regular duties of the ministry as the successor to Dr Tuckney—who was made vice-chancellor to the university of Cambridge—in the re-

tory of St Michael le Querne, in London. In the year 1654 he first appeared as author in a defence of the orthodox doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, against the famous John Biddle. The work was entitled, 'The Blasphemer slain by the sword of the Spirit,' &c. In the year 1657 Cromwell resigned the chancellorship of Cambridge in favour of his son Richard, and in that act Mr Poole was incorporated M.A. of that university. The next year he formed and promoted the useful design of maintaining some divinity students of distinguished talents and piety, during their studies at both universities. This plan met with the approbation of the heads of houses, and in a short time the sum of £900 was contributed towards the object. Dr Sherlock, dean of St Pauls, was educated on this foundation. But the design was quashed by the restoration. In 1659, he addressed a printed letter to Lord Charles Fleetwood, relating to the critical juncture of affairs at that time. The same year he also published a work, entitled, 'Quo Warranto,' a work designed to support the authority of an ordained ministry, against a work, entitled, 'The Preacher sent.' This work was written by the appointment of the provincial assembly at London. He continued in his rectory till the passing of the Bartholomew act, when he resigned his living, rather than conform against his conscience. During the fourteen years in which he was a parochial minister, he is described as having been a most faithful, diligent, and affectionate preacher: laborious in his studies to the highest degree, which his stupendous work, entitled, 'Synopsis Criticorum,' in 5 vols. folio, amply testifies. This undertaking occupied his attention for ten years, and is a monument, not only of his extensive reading, but of his critical acumen, and sobriety of judgment. Mr Anthony Wood—always jealous of praising divines of Mr Poole's class—owns that it is an admirable and useful work, and adds, that "the author left behind him the character of a celebrated critic and casuist." His industry in compiling his great work is well worthy of record. He rose at three or four o'clock, took a raw egg at intervals, and kept on labouring all day till towards evening, when he usually sought for a short time the relaxation and enjoyment of society at some friend's house. He is represented by his biographer as being of an exceedingly merry disposition, though always within the limits of reason and innocence. His conversation is said to have been diverting and facetious in a very high degree. How great then must have been the restraints he exercised in so severe and continued a seclusion from society, and so close an application of mind to the very driest and dullest of studies—*criticism!* Mr Poole, however, appears to have enjoyed the happy art of both exciting and of regulating innocent mirth. He seems to have entertained a strict sense of what was decorous, and of what was useful in facetious and entertaining, or even in mirthful discourse; but when he found that the strain was likely to be too long continued, or surpass the due limit, he would say, 'Now let us call for a reckoning,' and then would begin some very serious conversation, and endeavour thereby to leave upon his company some useful and valuable impression. It is highly probable, that the habit of passing his evenings with his friends, and in so cheerful a manner, greatly contributed to relieve both body and mind from the ill effects of those severe and protracted studies in which he engaged. It happened more fortunately for Mr

Poole than for most of his ejected brethren, that he had a provision of about £100 per annum, independent of his rectory, so that he was enabled to live in comfort and pursue his studies, without much inconvenience, after he became a non-conformist. He appears, however, to have once been, or to have thought himself, in danger of being murdered on account of his zeal against popery. In the year 1679, his name appeared in the list of persons who were to have been cut off, printed in the depositions of Titus Oates. Soon after, he was spending an evening at Mr Alderman Ashurst's, and was returning home with a Mr Chorley, who had gone with him for the sake of company; when coming near the narrow passage which leads from Clerkenwell to St John's court, they saw two men standing at the entrance; one of whom, as Mr Poole approached, said to the other, "there he is;" upon which the other replied, "let him alone, there is somebody with him." As soon as they were passed, Mr Poole asked his friend if he had heard what had passed between the two men; and, upon his answering that he had, "Well," replied Mr Poole, "I had been murdered to-night had you not been with me." It is said, that prior to this incident, he had given not the slightest credit to what was said in Oates' depositions; but he appears to have been greatly alarmed by this occurrence, for he soon after made up his mind to quit England, and accordingly removed to Holland, and fixed his residence at Amsterdam. He died the same year (1679), in the month of October, aged fifty-six. It was generally supposed he was poisoned, but the matter remained doubtful, and no discovery was ever made. His body was interred in the vault belonging to the English merchants in that city.

Mr Poole is chiefly known to posterity by his two works on the Bible. The one in Latin, his 'Synopsis,' the other, 'English Annotations.' He was greatly encouraged in his Synopsis by the promised assistance of the great Dr Lightfoot, and the patronage both of Bishop Lloyd and Archbishop Tillotson. It first appeared in 1669, and following years. His 'English Annotations' was in progress when he died, and of course was left in manuscript. He had completed it down to the 58th of Isaiah. The remainder was supplied by several other persons, viz. Mr Jackson, Dr Collins, Mr Hurst, Mr Cooper, Mr Vinke, Mr Mayo, Mr Veal, Mr Adams, Mr Barker, Mr Ob. Hughes, and Mr Howe. The whole appeared in 2 vols. fol. 1685. Both these works are of great value, and are in general request and high estimation among divines to the present day.

Mr Poole's other works are the following: 1. The Blasphemer slain with the sword of the Spirit; 2. A model for maintaining students in the university; 3. A Letter to Lord C. Fleetwood; 4. *Quo Warranto*, &c.; 5. Evangelical worship; 6. *Vox clamantis in deserto*, respecting the ejection of the ministers; 7. The Nullity of the Romish faith; 8. A seasonable apology for religion; 9. Four Sermons in the morning exercises, for 1660; 10. A Poem and two Epitaphs, on Mr Jer. Whitaker; 11. Two on the death of Mr R. Vines; 12. Another on Mr Jacob Stock; 13. A Preface to Sermons of Mr Nalton, with some account of his character; 14. Dialogues between a popish priest and an English protestant, &c.

Mr Poole bore throughout life the reputation of an amiable man, a devout and charitable Christian. When his non-conformity exposed

him to deprivation, and enforced upon him silence, he resigned himself patiently to his trial, and most usefully for the church of Christ, employed his leisure in completing those important works, which will perpetuate his name among those of the ablest biblical critics.

Thomas Goodwin, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1600.—DIED A. D. 1679.

THOMAS GOODWIN was born at Rolesby in Norfolk, in 1600. At the age of thirteen he was sent to Cambridge, where he applied himself with great diligence to his studies, and, in 1619, became a fellow of Catherine-hall. Having taken orders, he was chosen, in 1628, to the lectureship at Trinity church; in 1632, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of the same church; but becoming dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, he relinquished his university preferments, in 1634, and retired to Arnheim, in Holland, where he undertook the pastoral charge of a small independent church.

On the breaking out of the civil war, he returned to England, where he was gladly received and patronized by the parliamentary party. Cromwell, in particular, was so highly pleased with his ministrations that he got him appointed president of Magdalen college, Oxford. Here he formed a church on congregational principles, of which Owen, Gale, and Charnock were members. He acquitted himself in the presidentship with great ability and unimpeachable fairness. On the Restoration he removed to London, whither many of his church followed him, and where he continued in the faithful discharge of his ministry till his death in February, 1679. He was author of numerous pieces of controversial and practical divinity, which were collected and published after his death, in five volumes, folio.

Stephen Charnock, B. D.

BORN A. D. 1628.—DIED A. D 1680.

STEPHEN CHARNOCK, the author of the celebrated discourses on the Existence and Attributes of God, was born in 1628. He studied successively at Cambridge and Oxford, and was senior proctor of the latter university in 1652. He accompanied Henry Cromwell to Ireland, in the quality of family chaplain. After the restoration he appears to have lived chiefly in London, occasionally visiting France and Holland. He died in 1680. His works were published after his death in two volumes, folio. Toplady says of his Discourses on the Attributes: "perspicuity and depth, metaphysical sublimity and evangelical simplicity, immense learning and plain but irrefragable reasoning, conspire to render that performance one of the most inestimable productions that ever did honour to the sanctified judgment and genius of a human being."

Richard Allein, M. A.

BORN A. D. 1611.—DIED A. D. 1681.

RICHARD ALLEIN, a nonconformist minister, was the son of Mr Richard Allein, for fifty years minister of Dichiat, in Somersetshire. He was born in 1611, and at the age of sixteen entered as a commoner at St Alban's-hall, Oxford. On taking the degree of B. A., he removed to New Inn, and continued there till he took the degree of master. On taking orders he went to assist his father. In 1641, he became rector of Batcombe, Somersetshire. He and his father were constituted assistants to the parliamentary commissioners for ejecting scandalous and insufficient ministers. He continued minister of Batcombe till the passing of the act of uniformity, and is represented as a pious, diligent, and zealous instructor of his people. After his ejectment from his rectory, he preached privately in various places, and was befriended by a Mr More (an M.P.) Such was his great reputation, and the meekness of his deportment, that, though often summoned to appear before the magistrates, and severely reprimanded for preaching, yet they deemed it more prudent to connive at him than commit him to prison. After the passing of what is called the 'five mile act,' he removed to Froom Selwood, and preached privately there till the day of his death, which took place Dec. 22d, 1681, in the 70th year of his age. He was so much respected, that the vicar of the parish in which he had lived preached a funeral sermon for him. A singular anecdote is told of one of his writings. The work was entitled, 'Vindiciæ Pietatis,' but a license could not be obtained for its publication. The book was, however, printed and sold privately. The sale going on to a very considerable extent, the king's bookseller caused a seisure to be made of all the remaining copies. These were condemned and sent to the king's kitchen. The royal bookseller thinking it a promising, if not a fair way to turn a penny, contrived to redeem them for a trifle from the ignoble destruction into which he had been the instrument of bringing them. They were then bound up and sold in his own shop. The infamous transaction was however brought to light, and the bookseller compelled to beg pardon, upon his knees, at the council-table. The books were then remanded back to the kitchen, where they were ordered to be *bisked* or rubbed over with an inky brush.

Mr Allein was the author of several other works of a religious nature, which have been highly esteemed and frequently republished.

John Owen, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1616.—DIED A. D. 1683.

JOHN OWEN, the second son of the Rev. Henry Owen, was born at Stadham, in Oxfordshire, in the year 1616. His father was for some time minister of Stadham, and afterwards rector of Harpsden, in the same county. He was a nonconformer, and accounted by his neigh-

hours a strict puritan. John received the elements of classical learning from Edward Sylvester, master of a private academy at Oxford, who had the honour of also numbering among his pupils Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester, Wilkinson, afterwards Margaret professor, and William Chillingworth. At twelve years of age, he was admitted a student of Queen's college; and on the 11th of June, 1632, when only sixteen, took the degree of A.B. On the 27th of April, 1635, he commenced master of arts. During this period, he pursued his studies with incredible diligence, never allowing himself above four hours of repose. His ambition was, even at this early period of life, to raise himself to the highest attainable honours, whether in church or state; but, as he subsequently confessed, he was indifferent to the ecclesiastical profession, excepting only as it might be viewed as a means for attaining the object of his ambition.

The same year, 1637, that produced the celebrated resistance of Hampden to illegal taxation, drove Owen from Oxford, in consequence of the ecclesiastical tyranny of Laud. In virtue of his office as chancellor of Oxford, that churchman had caused a new body of statutes to be drawn up for the university, in which, obedience to some superstitious rites was imposed on pain of expulsion. The mind of Owen was sufficiently enlightened at this time to see and embrace the worthier alternative. It cost him a severe struggle to tear himself from his 'alma mater,' but the sacrifice was made. Owen's conduct on this occasion has drawn down upon him, from Anthony Wood, the ridiculous charge of perjury; because, forsooth, he had already taken the oath of allegiance when graduating!

On leaving Oxford, having previously received orders from Bishop Bancroft, Owen resided for some time in the family of Sir Robert Dormer of Ascot, as domestic chaplain, and tutor to his eldest son. He afterwards became chaplain to Lord Lovelace of Hurbury, in Berkshire, with whom he continued till the commencement of hostilities between the king and the parliament, when Lord Lovelace joined the former, while Owen as warmly embraced the cause of the latter. This step lost him the favour of his uncle, a gentleman of considerable landed property in Wales, who had intended to make him his heir. Forsaken both by his patron and his family, Owen came up to London, and took lodgings in Charterhouse-yard, where he employed himself in composing his 'Display of Arminianism,' which appeared in 1642, and was very favourably received. It appears that Owen, when he came first to the city, suffered much from religious dejection and perplexity. His unhappiness may have arisen, as Mr Orme suggests, from some misconception of the subjects which the Arminian controversy embraces; and it is very probable that that led him to the train of investigation contained in the 'Display.' It was reserved, however, for an unknown preacher to remove his dejection by a sermon from these words: "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" The sermon was a very plain one; but the effect was mighty through the blessing of God.

The 'Display of Arminianism' recommended its author to the attention of parliament, and he was soon after presented by the committee "for purging the church of scandalous ministers" with the living of Fordham, in Essex. This presentation remained in force only during

the life of the sequestered incumbent: at his death, the living reverted to the patron, and Owen was superseded, but he was immediately presented by 'the good earl of Warwick' with the neighbouring living of Coggeshall, at the request of the congregation. It is uncertain when he made his first efforts in the ministry, but immediately on being appointed to Fordham, he entered on the diligent discharge of his parochial duties, and published two short catechisms for the better instruction of his parishioners. At this time he seems to have leaned towards presbyterianism; but upon paying closer attention to the points in dispute betwixt the independents and presbyterians, he embraced independency. On the 29th of April, 1646, being the day appointed for the monthly fast, he was appointed to preach before the parliament. His sermon on this occasion was published, and he appended to it what he calls a 'Country Essay for the practice of church government,' in which he exposes the iniquity and folly of contention among Christians about points of minor importance, and contends for a large and liberal toleration. Speaking of the iniquity of putting men to death for heresy, he declares, that "he had almost said it would be for the interest of morality to consent generally to the persecution of a man maintaining such a destructive opinion." The same sentiments he inculcated in two different public sermons which he was soon afterwards called upon to preach. It ought not to be forgotten that Dr Owen's advocacy of religious liberty was not that of a dissenter, but that of a man in close connexion with the prevailing persuasion, and the ruling powers of the day.

On the 31st of January, 1649, the day after the execution of the king, Owen was called to preach before parliament. It was a trying occasion, and Anthony Wood and Grey have laboured hard to prove that the preacher applauded the regicides, but without success. The truth is, that on the subject of the preceding day's transactions, Owen observed a profound and evidently studied silence, and the text which he made choice of for the occasion (Jeremiah xv. 19, 20.) partakes more of solemn admonition than of congratulation. He tells the parliament very faithfully that much of the evil which had come upon the country had originated within their own walls, and warns them against 'oppression, self-seeking, and contrivances for persecution.' On the 19th of April following, he again preached before the parliament and chief officers of the army. Cromwell heard him for the first time on this occasion, and was so much pleased with him that he insisted on his accompanying him to Ireland, in the quality of his chaplain. With this invitation Owen was at first not a little unwilling to comply, but the lieutenant-general would take no refusal, and his brethren in the ministry advised him to go.

On arriving at Dublin, Owen took up his residence at Trinity college, the affairs of which he superintended for above half a year. On his return to England, he seized the first opportunity to call the attention of his countrymen to the spiritual wants of Ireland, and it was in consequence of his representations that six eminent preachers were sent over by parliament to that country, with general instructions to exert themselves for the promotion of religion and education among the Irish. In the summer of 1650, he accompanied Cromwell's expedition to Scotland, and remained with the army till early in the following year.

On the 18th of March, 1651, he was raised to the deanery of Christ church; Goodwin being raised at the same time to the presidency of Magdalene college. His appointment gave very general satisfaction to the students. In about a year and a half after, he was made vice-chancellor of the university, on the nomination of Cromwell now chancellor. The office in these times was a difficult and invidious one; but Owen's administration reconciled many difficulties, and extorted the approbation even of the episcopalian party. Granger admits, that "supposing it to be necessary for one of his persuasion to be placed at the head of the university, none was so proper as this person (Owen;) who governed it several years with much prudence and moderation, when faction and animosity seemed to be a part of every religion;" and Lord Clarendon's testimony is still more decisive. He says, that the university "yielded a harvest of extraordinary, good, and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced, applied themselves to the study of learning, and to the practice of virtue. So that when it pleased God to bring King Charles II. back to his throne, he found that university abounding in excellent learning, and little inferior to what it was before its desolation." Mr Orme has collected the following particulars descriptive of the vice-chancellor's personal conduct. "The doctor managed the different parties in the university by his gentlemanly behaviour and condescension, by his impartiality and decision, and by his generous disinterestedness. He was moderate, but firm; dignified, and at the same time full of gentleness. He gained the good wishes of the episcopalians, by allowing a society of about three hundred of them, who used the liturgy, to meet every Lord's day over against his own door without disturbance, although they were not legally tolerated. He secured the support and favour of the presbyterians, by giving away most of the vacant benefices in his gift to persons of that denomination; and with the presbyterians of the university he had the most intimate intercourse. Among the students he acted as a father. While he discountenanced and punished the vicious, he encouraged and rewarded the modest and the indigent. He was hospitable in his own house, generous to poor scholars, some of whom he took into his family, and others he assisted by presents of money. Foreigners as well as natives experienced his bounty; for some of them by his favour, and that of the canons of Christ church, were admitted to free commons and the use of the library."

In 1654, Dr Owen was returned as representative for the university of Oxford, but his eligibility being questioned by the committee of privileges, on the ground of his being in the ministry, he sat only for a short time. The attempt has repeatedly been made, but without success, to show that Owen, during his vice-chancellorship, engaged much in political intrigue. The truth is, that in every instance in which he was not necessitated by the duties of his high official situation to act otherwise, he stood carefully aloof from all parties in the state. His subsequent conduct upon his dismissal from Oxford, when Richard Cromwell was chosen chancellor in room of the protector, who had resigned, was equally guarded. Vernon and other party-libellers of the day, attempted to represent him as being mainly instrumental in compelling Richard Cromwell to dissolve his parliament. But he met the

charge with a bold and unqualified denial. "Let me inform you," says he in his 'Vindication of Animadversions on Fiat Lux'—"that the author of the Animadversions is a person who never had a hand in, nor gave consent to the raising of any war in these nations; nor to any political alterations in them; no—not to any one that was amongst us during our revolutions. But he acknowledges that he lived and acted under them the things in which he thought his duty consisted; and challenges all men to charge him with doing the least personal injury to any, professing himself ready to give satisfaction to any one that can justly claim it." Owen preached before parliament for the last time, on the 8th of May, 1659. Soon after he was employed by the congregational churches in London, to draw up a letter of remonstrance to Monk, who was now in Scotland, and who seemed to be preparing to support the presbyterian party in England. The result of the negotiation which ensued with that hypocritical and selfish man have been already detailed. Owen's connexion with Oxford was soon after this completely dissolved by his dismissal from the deanery of Christ church, to make room for the presbyterians' man, Dr Reynolds.

He now retired to Stadham, his native place, where he had purchased an estate, and where he undertook the charge of a small congregation; but the Oxford militia broke it up, and Owen himself was compelled to seek safety in concealment and flight. He then took up his residence in London, where Baxter represents him as "keeping off, as if he had been more ashamed or afraid of suffering than his brethren." But it is not true that he "kept off" in this sense; on the contrary, he was never wanting, when the occasion called for it, to vindicate the conduct and principles of his brother-sufferers for conscience sake, and, when Baxter himself shrunk from the task of replying to Parker's 'Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie,' alleging in excuse that he considered himself "as excepted from the reproaches which had been thrown out, and that if he were to answer Parker, they would soon make him as odious as the rest." Owen undertook the duty from which Baxter "kept off," and drew down upon himself the treatment which Baxter had rightly anticipated for the apologist of dissent. We also find him during the plague, and after the great fire in London, when the clergy forsook the churches, opening places for public worship throughout the city in conjunction with Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Griffiths, Brooks, Caryl, Vincent, and others, both presbyterians and independents. Owen afterwards formed a congregation in London, and instituted the Pinners' hall weekly lecture, in conjunction with Manton, Bates, Baxter, Jenkins, and Collins. On the death of Caryl, in 1673, his church united with that under Owen. In 1674, Dr Owen was honoured with a conference with the duke of York, and subsequently his majesty sent for him, and after strong professions of his regard for liberty of conscience, gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities. Stillingfleet insinuates, that the duke's object in wishing to conciliate the dissenters at this period, was the promotion of his own interests as to the succession; but Owen declares, "that never any one person in authority, nor any one that had any relation to public affairs, did ever speak one word to him about any indulgence or toleration to be granted unto papists."

Owen married his first wife soon after his presentation to Fordham. By her he had eleven children, all of whom, except one daughter, died young. In 1677 he married again, and received such a fortune with his second lady as enabled him to keep his carriage and country-house at Ealing, in Middlesex, where he mostly lived during the latter years of his life, which were chiefly devoted to writing. His last production was, 'Meditations and Discourses on the glory of Christ,' which was put to press on the day he died. Anthony Wood malignantly asserts, "that he did very unwillingly lay down his head and die." Were it at all necessary, we could here insert abundant evidence to the contrary of this, but no one who is acquainted with Owen's writings, or has studied the character of the man, will require such proof from us. His death took place on the 24th of August, 1683.

A noble monument to Owen's memory might be reared from the testimonies of his rivals and enemies. Baxter speaks of his "complying mildness, and sweetness, and peaceableness." Wood declares that he could, "by the persuasion of his oratory, in conjunction with some other outward advantages, move and wind the affections of his admiring auditory almost as he pleased;" and that "he was one of the fairest and most genteel writers who have appeared against the church of England, as handling his adversaries with far more civil, decent, and temperate language than many of his fiery brethren." Stillingfleet bears testimony to the same effect; and Chancellor Hyde cannot sufficiently express his surprise, that so learned a man as Dr Owen embraced the novel opinion of independency. Owen's integrity is not for a moment to be called in question, when we recollect his own confession, that at the outset of life he was highly ambitious, and then witness him almost immediately attaching himself to the most despised body of religionists in the kingdom. As a writer, while we cannot give Owen the praise of an elegant style, and should, we dare say, find it impossible to select a single ornate sentence from his voluminous writings, we must claim for him the higher praise of simplicity of language, lucid reasoning, and clear systematic views of religious truth. His expository writings entitle him to no mean rank as a biblical critic, and his practical treatises are only surpassed by those of the seraphic Howe in devotional ardour and spirituality. An anonymous writer, who has studied and felt Owen's character deeply, thus writes of him: —"When I bring before me, in idea, the scene of the civil war,—crowded with daring spirits wound up to desperation,—agitated by the clash of rival energies, rival principles, rival prejudices, rival motives, and rival arms;—while crowns, mitres, and maces, lie as broken shields upon the arena of conflict; I feel as if it must have been impossible to do any thing during the struggle except to 'stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.' But to be at this time, at once a presiding spirit in the conflict, and a student such as Owen was, would have been to me inconceivable, were not his works before me. Cæsar wrote commentaries during his campaigns, but the world never witnessed the union of public enterprise and private exertion, in the same degree in which they subsisted in Owen. His engagements seem, in fact, subversive of each other; for what more apparently incompatible than solving cases of conscience, and counselling the great assembly of the nation; than being alternately closeted with statesmen and penitents;

than guiding the studies of universities, and the steps of pilgrims; than preaching before parliament, and before the Essex farmers; than walking with God and with Cromwell! And yet these are the extremes which he managed to combine, without compromising principle, or serving 'the Lord deceitfully.' The Muses obeyed his call at Oxford, and re-visited the banks of Isis in the fulness of their inspiration;—and the graces of the Holy Spirit came at his intercession to Coggeshall. He made the sages of antiquity popular at the university, and rendered Christ 'precious' in the humblest churches. The learned 'heard him gladly' as a chancellor, and 'the common people' as a pastor. Like the angel Gabriel, who could accommodate himself with equal facility to the timid Mary, and to the learned Daniel, Owen became all things to all men without disappointing any man, and was a Proteus free from stratagem. The explanation of all this is to be found, I apprehend, in his spiritual mindedness; that enabled him to pass 'unspotted' through the contaminating and conflicting 'world' in which he lived. Spirituality encircled him with an enshrining halo, which, while it attracted general notice, intimidated even the ambitious from attempting to suborn him to their purposes. Neither Cromwell nor Charles II. dared to tamper with his integrity:

"Abashed, the Devil stood."

The author of Owen's epitaph has anticipated me in pointing out the true secret of his eminence: 'though a pilgrim on earth, he was next to a spirit in heaven.'"

Bishop Morley.

BORN A. D. 1597.—DIED A. D. 1684.

DR GEORGE MORLEY, who successively filled the sees of Worcester and Winchester, was the son of Mr Francis Morley, by a sister of Sir John Denham; and was born in London on the 27th of February, 1597. At the age of fourteen he was elected a king's scholar at Westminster, and in 1615, became a student of Christ church, Oxford. After a residence of seven years at his college, he became chaplain to the earl of Carnarvon, and lived in that nobleman's family seven years.

In 1642, he took his degree of D. D.; but his sermon which he preached before the house of commons soon after, gave so little satisfaction that the customary compliment of requesting him to print it was not paid him by that assembly, and he remained ever after under suspicion as a royalist. He was, however, permitted to attend Charles as one of his chaplains; and he attended Lord Capel on the scaffold. In 1649, he went abroad, and attached himself to the family of Sir Edward Hyde in the quality of chaplain. The restoration, to which he mainly contributed by his active and judicious services, opened up preferment to him in his own country. Upon the king's return he was made dean of Christ church; and in October, 1660, was nominated to the bishopric of Worcester.

In the following year, Bishop Morley took an active part in the conference betwixt the episcopal and presbyterian divines, who had been

commissioned to review the liturgy. Baxter informs us, that on this occasion, Morley proved himself a very able divine, and the best speaker among the bishops. The death of Dr Duppa made way for his translation to the richer bishopric of Winchester, which he enjoyed twenty-two years. He died on the 29th of October, 1684, having reached an advanced age by the temperance and regularity of his habits.

Morley was a hard-working student, and a pious as well as learned man. Calamy records several instances of his moderation towards dissenters; but he was at times very irritable, and gave way to a peevishness of disposition greatly beneath a man of his elevated rank and commanding talents. He was the author of a number of pamphlets chiefly of a polemical character.

Benjamin Calamy, D.D.

DIED A. D. 1686.

BENJAMIN CALAMY, son of Edmund Calamy by a second wife, was educated first in St Paul's school, from whence he was removed to Catherine Hall, Cambridge, where, after taking several degrees, he became fellow and tutor. Having distinguished himself as a scholar and a preacher, he was chosen minister of St Mary Aldermanbury, the church from which his father had been ejected fifteen years before. His zeal in the cause of episcopacy obtained for him the favour of the court, and in a short time he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the king. He took the degree of D.D. in 1680, and in 1683 preached in his own church the famous sermon on Luke xi. 41, entitled, a 'Discourse about a scrupulous conscience.' It was subsequently published with a dedication to Sir George Jefferies, chief justice, and afterwards lord-chancellor. This sermon, containing a challenge to the nonconformists, was answered by Mr Thomas Delaune in a letter to Dr Calamy. Delaune was immediately committed to Newgate. He wrote to Dr Calamy supplicating his interference, and deprecating such a method of conducting the controversy. Calamy answered coldly, but promised assistance. Nothing effectual, however, was done, and it was but too evident that Calamy was well pleased to see his adversary placed under so powerful a restraint. In the January following Delaune was tried at the Old Bailey for a libel, and sentenced to pay a fine of 100 marks, and to remain prisoner till the same was paid. Delaune had no means of raising this sum of money, and his opponent, who had at least been the occasion of his sufferings, if not the direct agent of the persecution, made no effort to raise it for him. He did indeed apply to Jefferies for his pardon, but this could not be obtained. The result was, that Delaune, one of the ablest scholars and divines of the age, perished in Newgate, with his wife and children. His death is said to have given Dr Calamy great concern, as well it might. Delaune's appeal to Dr Calamy, after the trial and condemnation, is exceedingly powerful and touching, and has fixed an indelible stain upon the character of his persecutor.

Dr Calamy resigned the living of Aldermanbury in 1683, upon his admission to the vicarage of St Lawrence Jewry with St Mary Magda-

lene Milk-street annexed. In 1685 he obtained the prebend of Harleston, in St Paul's. Soon after, he met with a severe affliction in the condemnation of Mr Alderman Cornish, for high treason. He had appeared for him on his trial, and visited him in Newgate, nor did he cease to entreat Judge Jefferies in his favour, as long as any hope remained of saving his life. But Calamy was destined by a retributive Providence to feel, in this instance, the cruelty of that inexorable persecution against one of his own friends, whose severity against an innocent controvertist there is too much reason to think he had winked at, and secretly enjoyed, if not prompted. The reply of Jefferies to his last application in favour of Cornish was strikingly characteristic of that ermined monster:—"Dear Doctor, set your heart at rest, and give yourself no further trouble; for I assure you, that if you could offer a mine of gold as deep as the monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the flames at the top of it, it would not purchase that man's life."

It has been said, that the execution of this gentleman, together with other public calamities, induced that illness under which the doctor speedily sunk. He terminated his earthly career in January, 1686. During his lifetime seven sermons were published which had been preached on special occasions, and, after his death, his brother James published, in one volume, thirteen others. These sermons have been much admired by episcopalian divines. They display very respectable abilities, and are calculated for impression.

Bishop Pearson.

BORN A. D. 1612.—DIED A. D. 1686.

DR JOHN PEARSON, born in 1612, was successively master of Jesus and Trinity colleges in Cambridge, and also Margaret professor of divinity in that university. He held the living of St Clement's, Eastcheap, and was consecrated bishop of Chester on the 9th of February, 1672. He was an excellent divine and a profound scholar. His works are few but of great reputation. His exposition of what is called the Apostles' Creed, is esteemed one of the most finished pieces of theology in our language. It has gone through a great many editions. It has been alleged that as a bishop, Dr Pearson was somewhat too remiss and easy in the discharge of his episcopal functions; this may be accounted for in some measure, by the fact of his late preferment.

Bishop Fell.

DIED A. D. 1686.

DR JOHN FELL was the son of Dr Samuel Fell, some time dean of Christ church, Oxford. In 1643 he graduated M. A. About this time he volunteered in the king's cause, and was made an ensign in the garrison of Oxford. After the restoration, his loyalty was rewarded with the deanery of Christ church. In 1667 he was made vice-chancel-

lor of the university, and in 1675 was consecrated bishop of Oxford. Learning was greatly indebted to his patronage and munificence. He was a munificent benefactor to his college, and greatly improved the press of the university. For many years he annually published a book, generally a classic author, to which he wrote a preface and notes, and presented it to the students of his college as a new year's gift: among these was a very valuable and excellent edition of the Greek Testament in 12mo. 1675. His edition of the works of Cyprian affords also a conspicuous proof of his industry and learning.

John Bunyan.

BORN A. D. 1628.—DIED A. D. 1688.

JOHN BUNYAN, the author of 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in 1628. His parents were poor but honest people, who gave their son such an education as their circumstances could afford. His early life was marked by many irregularities; even while yet a child, he says of himself, he "had but few equals for cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the holy name of God." Bunyan has, in his 'Grace Abounding,' given many curious particulars of his early history and experience. It is a most interesting psychological document, but our limits forbid quotation.

About the year 1653, Bunyan became a member of the Baptist church in Bedford, then under the care of the Rev. John Gifford. Three years afterwards, he began to preach himself. He has given the particulars of this important crisis in his history, in a piece entitled, 'A Brief Account of the Author's Call to the Work of the Ministry.' After having exercised his gifts for about five years, during which time he supported himself by his honest industry as a tinker, he was apprehended and indicted "as an upholder and maintainer of unlawful assemblies and conventicles, and for not conforming to the national worship of the church of England." To this event, disastrous as its first aspect was to himself and his family, he was indebted, under the providence of God, for that leisure which enabled him to compose those various treatises with which his name is now associated, and some of which will stand alone and unrivalled while the world endures.

"It is not known," says Southey, "in what year 'The Pilgrim's Progress' was first published, no copy of the first edition having as yet been discovered. The second is in the British Museum; it is with additions, and its date is 1678. But as the book is known to have been written during Bunyan's imprisonment, which terminated in 1672, it was probably published before his release, or, at latest, immediately after it." The eighth edition of this work was printed for Nathaniel Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, for whom also a tenth edition was published in 1685. "The rapidity," says Southey, "with which editions succeeded one another, and the demand for pictures to illustrate them, are not the only proofs of the popularity which 'The Pilgrim's Progress' obtained before the second part was published. In the verses prefixed to that part, Bunyan complains of dishonest imitators:—

——————'Some have of late, to counterfeit
My Pilgrim, to their own my title set;
Yea, others, half my name and title too,
Have stitched to their books, to make them do.

"These interlopers," Mr Southey continues, "may have very likely given Bunyan an additional inducement to prepare a second part himself. It appeared in 1684. No additions or alterations were made in this part, though the author lived more than four years after its publication."

'The Pilgrim's Progress' has been translated into almost all the modern European languages. Next to the Bible, it is probably the most popular book in the world. Writers of all parties, and of every variety of taste, have concurred in representing it as a master-piece of piety and genius,—'in which sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail.' It is certainly the finest allegorical piece of writing extant.

"If this work," says Southey, "is not a well of English undefiled, it is a clear stream of current English, the vernacular speech of his age; sometimes, indeed, in its rusticity and coarseness, but always in its plainness and its strength. To this natural style Bunyan is in some degree beholden for his general popularity; his language is every where level to the most ignorant reader, and to the meanest capacity: there is a homely reality about it; a nursery tale is not more intelligible in its manner of narration to a child. Another cause of his popularity is, that he taxes the imagination as little as the understanding. The vividness of his own imagination is such, that he saw the things of which he was writing as distinctly with his mind's eye as if they were indeed passing before him in a dream. And the reader, perhaps, sees them more satisfactorily to himself, because the outline only of the picture is presented to him, and the author having made no attempt to fill up the details, every reader supplies them according to the measure and scope of his own intellectual and imaginative powers."

Mr Ivimey remarks, "The plan of this work is admirable, being drawn from the circumstances of his own life, as a stranger and pilgrim, who had left the 'City of Destruction,' upon a journey towards the 'Celestial Country.' The difficulties he met with in his determination to serve Jesus Christ, suggested the many circumstances of danger through which this pilgrim passed. The versatile conduct of some professors of religion, suggested the different characters which Christian met with in his way; these, most probably, were persons whom he well knew, and who, perhaps, would be individually read at the time. His deep and trying experience, arising from convictions of sin, drew the picture of a man with a heavy burden upon his back, crying as he fled from destruction, but going he knew not whither, 'Life! life! eternal life!'"

"With the account of his experience and imprisonment before us," Mr Ivimey justly observes, "we cease to wonder that Bunyan's fine imagination, though he had no books but the Bible, and Fox's 'Acts and Monuments,' should produce so exquisite a performance as 'The Pilgrim's Progress:' it naturally grew out of the circumstances of his life. The manner in which he relates the steps that led to its composition and publication, is so simple and yet so expressive, that though it is printed with every edition of this work, as the author's apology

for it, yet I cannot withhold myself the pleasure of inserting it in this place.

When at the first I took my pen in hand
Thus for to write, I did not understand
That I at all should make a little book,
In such a mode; nay, I had undertook
To make another; which, when almost done,
Before I was aware, I this begun:
And thus it was—I, writing of the way,
And race of saints, in this our gospel day,
Fell suddenly into an allegory,
About their journey, and the way to glory,
In more than twenty things which I set down:
This done, I twenty more had in my crown;
And they again began to multiply,
Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.
Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,
I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
Should prove *ad infinitum*, and eat out
The book that I already am about.
Well, so I did, but yet, I did not think
To show to all the world my pen and ink
In such a mode; I only thought to make
I knew not what; nor did I undertake
Thereby to please my neighbour; no not I;
I did it mine own self to gratify.
Neither did I but vacant seasons spend,
In this my scribble, nor did I intend
But to divert myself, in doing this,
From worser thoughts, which make me do amiss.
Thus I set pen to paper with delight,
And quickly had my thoughts in black and white:
For having now my method by the end,
Still as I pulled, it came; and so I penned
It down; until at last, it came to be,
For length and breadth, the bigness which you see.
Well, when I had thus put my ends together,
I showed them others, that I might see whether
They would condemn them, or them justify;
And some said, Let them live; some, let them die;
Some said, John, print it; others said, Not so;
Some said, It might do good, others said, No.
Now was I in a strait, and did not see
Which was the best thing to be done by me;
At last I thought, since you are thus divided,
I print it will; and so the case decided.'

"Thus, it appears, that, concerning this work, which, from the excellence of its matter, and from the circumstances in which it was written, has excited universal admiration, the good man was himself obliged to give the casting vote in its favour, and was doubtless charged with vanity by many for publishing it: but he will now be justified, as actuated by the spirit of love and of a sound mind."

Bunyan was restored to liberty in 1672, through the interference, it is generally supposed, of Barlow, bishop of Lincoln. Soon after his enlargement, he built a chapel at Bedford, by the contributions of his friends; and here he continued to preach to large audiences till his death. He also occasionally extended his ministrations to the surrounding country. Little, however, has been recorded of his life dur

ing the sixteen years which elapsed between his enlargement and death. He died in London on the 12th of August 1688. He is described as having been "tall of stature, strong-boned, but not corpulent, somewhat of a ruddy face, with sparkling eyes, wearing his hair on his upper lip, after the old British fashion. His hair reddish, but, in his latter days, time had sprinkled it with grey. His nose well set, but not declining nor bending, and his mouth moderately large, his forehead somewhat high, and his habit always plain and modest."

Bunyan's writings are numerous, and of very different degrees of merit. Besides 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' he is the author of another allegorical treatise, entitled, 'The Holy War.' It is, however, a work of very inferior merit compared with the other.

The fall and recovery of man are represented in 'The Holy War' by two remarkable revolutions in the town of Mansoul: the human soul being represented allegorically as a once beautiful and prosperous town, seduced from its allegiance to its king and governor by the stratagems of Diabolus, his inveterate enemy; but, after a tedious war, again recovered by the victorious arms of Immanuel, the king's son. Bunyan was not unqualified for the management of a military allegory, having himself been a soldier in early life, and present at some of the contests in the civil war. His works were collected and published in folio, in 1692, by Ebenezer Chandler, Bunyan's successor at Bedford, and John Wilson, a brother pastor. His biography has engaged several pens. Scott, Burder, Ivimey, and Southey, have written memoirs of Bunyan; and several elaborate essays on his writings and genius have appeared in periodical works.

George Fox.

BORN A. D. 1624.—DIED A. D. 1690.

GEORGE FOX, the founder of the society of friends or quakers, was born at Fenny-Drayton, a village of Leicestershire, in the year 1624. His father is reputed to have been a man of strictly religious habits, and to have paid great attention to the education of his son. He was however in the humble rank of a weaver, and was very probably infected with something of the fanaticism which too frequently prevailed in that age, prolific above all others in forms of opinion and variety of sects. George Fox was apprenticed at a suitable age to a grazier, and there is little doubt that his occupation tended to foster the native bias of his mind. The keeping of sheep has been found in all ages favourable to meditation. The pastoral life has been honoured by some of the most illustrious visions of inspiration, and it has often also been a nursery of wild imaginations and fanatical delusions.*

At the age of nineteen he professed to have received a divine com-

* Whatever were the extravagances and improprieties of George Fox's public conduct, to which we cannot avoid alluding, we wish to infer from them no charge whatever against that highly respectable and benevolent body who own him as the founder of their sect, but who would, we believe, be the last to justify, or to imitate many of the actions attributed to Fox.

mission or call to forsake his worldly employment, and commence the work of a religious reformer. Having equipped himself with a leathern doublet, he forsook his situation and commenced a wandering life without any very distinct notions of the nature of the reform he wished to promote, or any plan of operations. Having made his way to London, he remained for some time concealed in obscurity, but was at length discovered by his relations, and through their earnest importunities was induced to return with them to his home. But his inclination to reform the vices and errors of the time was not to be thus repressed. After a short period he again commenced his itinerant life, sought retirement in woods and solitudes, read and studied the Bible, and practised fasting. Sometimes he affected the hermit, and would sit enclosed for a whole day in a hollow tree! When he was about four and twenty he began to propagate his opinions publicly, and commenced as a preacher first in Manchester, where for a time he gained little attention. After this he moved from place to place through the adjoining counties, and usually preached in the market-places, where he was variously received, being sometimes treated with scorn, and often with cruelty and persecution. By degrees his opinions assumed a definite shape, and he began to enforce those peculiarities of dress, language, and sentiment, which constitute now the peculiarities of quakerism. About this period too, the sect, which began to number a few proselytes, received the nickname of *quakerism*. It is said to have originated at Derby in consequence of their trembling and agitated mode of delivery, as if suffering under a divine afflatus, and also in their calls upon the magistracy to tremble before the Lord. In some places the rude attacks of Fox, or some of his preachers, upon the public worship of other bodies of Christians, produced serious disturbances. In 1655, Fox was seized by the magistracy and remitted as a prisoner to Cromwell: but that wise usurper soon discovered by a personal examination that there was nothing in the opinions of Fox inimical to the stability and order of civil government, and in consequence he ordered him to be immediately restored to liberty. The local magistrates, however, were indisposed to treat him with similar lenity. Indeed the conduct of Fox and his partisans in disturbing the ministers during their public services, by violent exclamations and indecent interruptions, justly exposed them both to censure and punishment; and had it not been for the kindly interference of the protector on several occasions, Fox would not have escaped with impunity. Notwithstanding the license he had hitherto taken in assailing other sects, he considered himself and his party the subjects of unchristian persecution, and in many instances they undoubtedly were so. When a public fast was appointed on account of the persecution of protestants abroad, he took occasion to publish an address to the heads and governors of the nation, in which he powerfully appealed against similar severities, as he considered them, exercised against Christian professors at home. This protest was not without its use in exposing the inconsistency and impolicy of persecution under any circumstances, and in any of its forms. During the early part of Charles the Second's reign, Fox, like all other dissenters, was subject to many cruelties. Previous, however, to this period, he had made many proselytes to his opinions. In the year 1666 we find him in prison for his nonconformity, and in the same year he was liberated

by order of the king. About the same time he commenced the formation of regular societies, and for this purpose travelled extensively through the kingdom, and met with much success. In the year 1669, he married the widow of Judge Fell, and soon after embarked on a mission to America, where already a few of his friends had settled. He continued there two years, made many proselytes, and then returned to England. Preaching soon after at Worcester, he was cast into prison, but was not long detained. He then passed over into Holland, but soon returned and was harassed by a suit for ecclesiastical claims, in which he was cast. The many vexations he now endured, and the persecutions which almost universally followed him, drove him again into exile. But his health being impaired by the toilsome and suffering life he had passed, he again sought an asylum in his native country, where he lived in a more quiet and retired manner till the period of his death, which took place in 1690, when he was about 67 years of age. Although Fox was very illiterate yet he wrote many treatises and tracts on theological and controversial subjects. These were collected and published after his death, in 3 vols. folio. The first contains his Journal—the second his Letters—and the third his Doctrinal Pieces. There are also a few separate pamphlets not contained in these volumes.[1]

John Flavel, B.A.

BORN A. D. 1627.—DIED A. D. 1691.

JOHN FLAVEL, of University college, Oxford, the son of Mr Richard Flavel, minister of Bromsgrove, afterwards of Hasler, Worcestershire, was born in 1627. At the university he was distinguished by diligence and ability. Before the age of twenty-three he took the degree of B.A., and soon after was recommended as an assistant to Mr Walplate of Dipford, Devonshire. He settled there in April, 1650, and about six months after, was examined and ordained by an assembly of presbyterian ministers held at Salisbury. This took place Oct. 17. On Mr Walplate's death, which happened very soon after, Mr Flavel succeeded to the rectory. Here he married Mrs Joan Randal, a pious and excellent woman, of good family, but she died in child-birth with her first child. After the lapse of a suitable time, he married Elizabeth Morrice, who proved a help-meet to him in his bodily afflictions and his public troubles. Some time after this second marriage, he received an unanimous invitation to succeed Mr Anthony Hartford at Dartmouth. This being a more populous place, and consequently a larger sphere of usefulness, Mr Flavel was induced by the advice of several neighbouring ministers to accept the invitation, though the rectory of Dipford was a far more valuable living, and his situation at Dartmouth was only that of assistant to Mr Geare. An order for his settlement was issued by the commissioners for approbation of public preachers, dated Dec. 19, 1656. Notwithstanding this great pecuniary sacrifice, Mr Flavel cheerfully entered upon the duties of his larger sphere of labour. During the few years of quiet that followed, he diligently pursued his

[1] Clarkson's Life—Jowett's History of Quakers.

ministerial calling, and became an exceedingly useful and popular minister. In less than six years, however, he was silenced by the act of uniformity, and compelled to relinquish his living. For some time he continued privately to minister to the edification and comfort of his flock, but upon the passing of the Oxford or five mile act, he was constrained to quit Dartmouth for some residence five miles from any corporate town. Upon this occasion a large proportion of the inhabitants of Dartmouth accompanied him out of the town, and took leave of him at the church-yard of Townstall, which is the mother church to Dartmouth, and where he had partly laboured in conjunction with Mr Allan Geare. This parting is said to have been very sorrowful on both sides—on that of the people for their persecuted minister, and on that of the minister for his bereaved flock.

He removed to a place called Slapton, a parish five miles from Dartmouth. A manuscript account, which has been preserved, states, that the house to which he retired was called Hudscott, a seat belonging to the family of the Rolles, near South Molton, and that he preached in the great hall at midnight for secrecy, when it was thronged with attentive auditors. Here he remained in safety for some time, although he preached afterwards in the day-time, and had great numbers of his former parishioners from Dartmouth to hear him. It is also stated that he occasionally slipped by night into Dartmouth, and preached to his friends in private, and that though many adversaries were upon the watch, he never, on any of these excursions, fell into their hands.

During this period of severe suffering to the nonconformists, he happened to be once at Exeter, and was importuned by many good people of that city to preach to them in a wood. He consented, and a place was accordingly chosen about three miles from the city. The sermon was scarcely begun when their enemies came upon them. Mr Flavel, by the assistance of his friends, who stood firmly by him, made his escape through the very midst of their persecutors, and though some were seized and dragged away to a neighbouring justice, yet the remainder, undismayed by the attack that had been made upon them, accompanied Mr Flavel to another wood, where he preached his sermon without further disturbance. After this service Mr Flavel was hospitably entertained for the night at the house of a gentleman, an entire stranger, near the wood; and the next day returned in perfect safety to his friends in the city of Exeter.

On the first indulgence granted by King Charles to the nonconformists, he returned to Dartmouth, and kept an open meeting in the town. This liberty being, however, soon after recalled, he laboured in private only, as opportunity could be found. But at length the spirit of persecution rose so high that he deemed it unsafe to remain any longer in Dartmouth, and, accordingly, resolved to remove to London.

During the period of his absence from Dartmouth, he had lost his second wife, and was married a third time to Ann Downe, daughter of Mr Thomas Downe, minister at Exeter. She bore him two sons, but lived only eleven years after their marriage.

Previous to his departure for London, which it was determined should be by sea, Mr Flavel had a remarkable dream, which occurred only the night before his embarkation. From this he augured that he should have some trouble on the passage. His friends, however, as-

sured him he was likely to enjoy good weather. Off Portland isle, however, they were overtaken by a dreadful tempest. The seamen, after much effort to manage the ship, concluded that they must be lost, unless the wind were changed. Upon this Mr Flavel called all that could be spared to join him in prayer in the cabin. With great difficulty, owing to the rocking and pitching of the ship, they performed this solemn duty, Mr Flavel himself clinging while in prayer to the pillars of the cabin bed. Soon after he had finished this solemn appeal to heaven, one came down from the deck, crying "Deliverance! deliverance!—God is a God-hearing prayer! In a moment the wind is become fair west!" They soon after arrived safe in London. Here he found many friends, and was much engaged in privately preaching, but being once very nearly apprehended by some soldiers, who burst in upon a few ministers assembled only for prayer and fasting, he resolved to quit London, and retire again to Dartmouth. Before this event, however, he had lost his third wife, and married a fourth, a widow lady, and daughter of Sir George Jefferies, minister of Kingsbridge. Upon his return to Dartmouth, however, he found it no longer prudent even to venture out of doors, and in consequence, was confined a close prisoner to his house. Yet even then he did not wholly discontinue his ministry; for many of his congregation used to steal in late in the night of Saturday, or early on the Sunday morning, and so continue with him all the Sunday, enjoying the benefit of his instructions. During this period he received two pressing invitations to return to London, and accept the charge of large and opulent congregations. But though Mr Flavel had a family of children to maintain, and but a small supply from his friends at Dartmouth, yet nothing could induce him to forsake the poor people who had been so long the objects of his solicitude.

In 1687, when James II., for the purpose of favouring the catholics, thought proper to increase the liberties of dissenters, Mr Flavel again stepped forth to public labour. A large place of worship was accordingly built for him in Dartmouth, and a numerous congregation soon gathered. Here he continued to labour with great success till the 26th of June, 1691, when he was suddenly cut down by a stroke of paralysis, in the 64th year of his age. He was a man of distinguished excellence, and of a peaceable disposition. Through all the changes and troubles of the persecuting times in which he lived, he conducted himself with great prudence and moderation. Though frequently exposed to danger, he never fell into the hands of his enemies, but died at length, crowned with honour and success.

His works are—1. Πνευματαλογια, or a treatise of the soul of man. 2. The Fountain of Life, in 42 sermons. 3. The Method of Grace, in 35 sermons. 4. England's Duty, in 11 sermons. 5. A Token for Mourners. 6. Husbandry Spiritualized. 7. Navigation Spiritualized. 8. Repentance enforced by arguments from reason only. 9. Several other pieces collected since his death. The whole published in two volumes folio, with his life prefixed. There is also an edition of his works in eight volumes 8vo.[1]

[1] Calmet.—Middleton.

Richard Baxter.

BORN A. D. 1615.—DIED A. D. 1691.

RICHARD BAXTER, son of Richard Baxter, of Eaton-Constantine in Shropshire, was born Nov. 12, 1615. He received his earliest education, from six to ten years of age, under the successive curates of the parish, but describes himself as having learnt very little from any of them. Of Mr John Owen, however, the master of the free school at Wroxeter, he speaks very respectfully. From Mr Owen's care he was transferred to Ludlow, and placed under the tuition of the Rev. Mr Wickstead. But Baxter enjoyed little instruction from this gentleman, though he found means to pursue his studies by the assistance of books. It is remarkable that with such a glaring neglect of initiation Baxter should ever have risen to eminence. But possibly the license of these early years, in this respect, tended to cherish that independence of thought which distinguished him in after life. After leaving Ludlow he returned to his father's house, and, for a short time, took charge of his old master's school at Wroxeter. Having, however, determined to enter into the ministry, he placed himself as a theological pupil under Mr Francis Garbet, then the minister at Wroxeter. Here it seems he applied his mind chiefly to logic, metaphysics, and the schoolmen: for it is certain he never made any considerable attainments as a linguist. At the age of eighteen his tutor advised him to relinquish the church, and try his fortune at court. He was accordingly introduced to Sir Henry Newport, the master of the revels. Having passed about a month at Whitehall in witnessing the gaieties of a dissolute and irreligious court, he returned home at the solicitations of his mother, who was ill, but rejoicing to escape from scenes in which he could find no satisfaction. He soon after lost his mother, and his mind became more than ever impressed with the duty of entering into the ministry. He had paid some attention already to the puritan controversy, but continued a decided churchman. About his twentieth year he became acquainted with several eminent nonconformists, by whose piety he acknowledges himself to have been greatly benefitted; but still he entertained no scruples which could have prevented his subscription. About the year 1638, Mr Thomas Foley, of Stourbridge, built and endowed a school at Dudley, the mastership of which he offered to Baxter. This was accordingly accepted, and Baxter repaired to Worcester, and was ordained by Bishop Thornborough, receiving at the same time the bishop's license to teach the school at Dudley. There, in the upper church, he commenced his ministry—and there, too, he first began to waver respecting conformity. He continued at Dudley about a year, and then removed to Bridgnorth as an assistant to the parish minister, Mr Madstard. While settled at Bridgnorth there appeared that extraordinary measure called the *et cetera* oath, which tended greatly to alarm and disturb Baxter's conscience. He determined not to submit to this oath. About this time the parliament interfered, and evinced their opposition to this measure, as well as to many others both in church and state, which King Charles had thought proper, under the influence of Laud

and Strafford, to enforce. Much confusion now ensued in the state of the church. The committee of the long parliament was appointed to inquire into the state of the clergy, and examine how far they discharged properly the duties of their station. In consequence of this committee finding the minister of Kidderminster a very incompetent man, the inhabitants of that place were allowed to invite Baxter to become an assistant, to preach to them, while their other minister was to read the prayers, &c. He accordingly entered upon his duties there in the year 1640, and continued in the discharge of them for about two years, till the war drove him away. His removal appears to have been caused by the violence of a royalist mob. The county of Worcester was staunch to the king's cause, and the royal army occupied it. This may account for the odium which Baxter's attachment to the parliamentary cause drew upon him in Kidderminster.

During the period of the war, he sometimes attended and preached to the army, but, for a considerable period, resided at Coventry, where he was occupied partly in study, and partly in preaching to the garrison, and disputing with all sorts of sects. But subsequently he became a regular chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, and an attendant upon the army, endeavouring to repress immorality and promote piety. It is remarkable that during this busy period he should have written several excellent works, and among them one by which, perhaps, he has been best known, and become most useful to the world—that is, 'The Saints' Rest.' This work evinces the extraordinary elevation and vigour of mind which he then enjoyed, and especially his devout abstraction from the noisy and anxious scenes in which he must have moved. It has been well remarked, that "had he never written more, this book would have stamped his character as one of the most devotional and most eloquent men of his own, or of any other age."

Upon the termination of the civil war, Baxter, at the request of the inhabitants, returned, as lecturer, to Kidderminster, after having suffered a long illness brought on by a violent bleeding at the nose. He resumed his station at Kidderminster in 1648, and laboured there with much success, and with an increasing influence in the town and neighbourhood, until the dissolution of the commonwealth. He took a zealous part in all the public movements of the age, engaged in almost every controversy, and was constantly intermixed with the parties and the politics of the times. Notwithstanding the extreme dissoluteness of the inhabitants of the town of Kidderminster, and the repugnance of their political feelings to his, he yet became the instrument of great good among them, and effected such a reformation as few ministers of the gospel have ever seen in the midst of so considerable a population. He continued to labour most zealously for the benefit of his parishioners during the space of about thirteen years, when the act of uniformity, passed and enforced in 1662, constrained him to quit the church, and forsake the scene of his useful and happy exertions. This period of his life was especially marked by the production of many of his most useful and popular works, especially his 'Call to the Unconverted,' 'Reformed Pas'or,' &c. &c.

Before Baxter finally renounced the church of England, he took a conspicuous part in the conference at the Savoy; and after the total failure of that attempt at pacification, he further endeavoured to obtain

a reinstatement as preacher at Kidderminster. But though he was offered the bishopric of Hereford if he would conform, yet he could not obtain even the poor favour of his lectureship without it. Such, however, was the high respect felt for Baxter, that the king and the lord-chancellor would have willingly restored him to his lectureship; but their favour was counteracted and entirely defeated by Sir Ralph Clare and Morley bishop of Worcester. Upon the total abandonment of all hope of a restoration to his people, he obtained a license to preach occasionally in and about London, and was appointed one of the king's chaplains. Shortly after the passing of the act of ejectment, an event occurred in Baxter's history which made no inconsiderable noise—this was his marriage. "Some time before it took place," he tells us, "it was reported, and rung about every where, partly as a wonder, and partly as a crime; and that the king's marriage was scarcely more talked of than his." The lady whom he chose was Miss Margaret Charlton, daughter of Francis Charlton, Esq. She was not more than twenty-three, and he was in his forty-seventh year. This lady had a small property, which was of eminent service to him in his declining years, and the many heavy troubles and vexations which succeeded his ejectment. Immediately after the passing of the Bartholomew act, the nonconformists were greatly harassed; but still many of them continued to preach privately in London, and Baxter as zealously as any, though he was frequently in great danger for doing so. Having lived about three years in London, and finding it greatly prejudicial to his health, as well as to his studies, he determined upon retiring a short distance into the country. Accordingly, in July, 1663, he removed to Acton, a village about five miles east of London, where he diligently pursued his studies, and finished his elaborate and valuable work, entitled 'A Christian Directory.' Besides this laborious production, he wrote, between the time of leaving Kidderminster and the year 1665, several others, both practical and controversial. Among these were the 'Life of Faith,' 'The successive Visibility of the Church,' 'The vain religion of the formal hypocrite,' 'The last work of a Believer,' 'The mischiefs of Self-ignorance,' 'The controversy with the bishop of Worcester,' 'The Saint or Brute,' 'Now or Never,' and 'The Divine Life.' "These works, considering the public business in which he was engaged, and his various trials and changes, must have found him very full employment; and only a mind of unceasing activity, and a pen of more than ordinary despatch, could have accomplished so much."

During Baxter's residence at Acton he preached but very little, except to his own family, because at that time the act against conventicles was in full force, and much zeal was displayed by the zealous episcopalians in bringing to punishment all who dared to violate it. But when that act expired he had a large attendance, and soon found that he had not room to receive the people. During this period he witnessed both the plague and the fire of London, which he describes in an affecting and interesting manner in his life. While residing at Acton he also enjoyed the acquaintance and friendship of Sir Matthew Hale, the lord-chief-baron of the exchequer, and one assuredly of the most eminent Christians and exemplary judges whom England ever produced. Baxter draws his character with great ability, and mentions the kindness which Sir Matthew showed to him with much gratitude. "When

the people crowded in and out of my house to hear, he openly showed me so great respect before them at the door, and never spoke a word against it, as was no small encouragement to the common people to go on; though the other sort muttered, that a judge should seem so far to countenance that which they took to be against the law." But Baxter's proceedings at Acton were viewed in a very different light by Dr Ryves, the clergyman of the parish. He procured a warrant, and had Baxter cited before the justices at Brentford. By the *mittimus* of these justices he was sent to Clerkenwell prison for holding a conventicle, and refusing to take the Oxford oath. Baxter says, "the whole town of Acton were greatly exasperated against the dean (Dr Ryves) when I was going to prison; so much so, that ever after they abhorred him as a selfish persecutor." After remaining in prison some time, he was brought up to the court of common pleas by writ of *habeas corpus*, and discharged upon the defects of the *mittimus*. Another was subsequently made out against him, but was not, we suspect, enforced. He removed, however, from Acton to Totteridge, near Barnet, where he spent about a year, but in a weak state of health generally, and sometimes in great pain.

In the year 1670 the act against conventicles was renewed with increased severity, and in violation of all sound principles of justice. It was declared that the faults of the *mittimus* should not vitiate it, and that, in all doubtful cases, the act should be interpreted in the sense most unfavourable to conventicles. The consequence of this act was extreme violence and outrage against the most respectable and distinguished of the nonconformist ministers of London. But, soon after, the rigour of this act was in a good degree relaxed; and, through the connivance of the king and his council, the ministers were allowed to hold their meetings undisturbed. This was considered a wise and useful measure, as most of the churches destroyed by the great fire still remained in ruins, and most religious persons felt a dreary want of pious instruction. The object, however, of this relaxation, was less to favour the nonconformists, than to serve the papists, and in conformity with the secret treaty with France. It was followed, in 1672, by the king's declaration, dispensing with the penal laws against nonconformity, the object of which also was still more openly to admit of catholic worship. Under favour of this declaration, Baxter obtained a license, and about November, 1672, recommenced public preaching, and removed his family to Bloomsbury. He preached a Tuesday lecture in New Street, Fetterlane, but undertook no regular charge of a congregation.

About this time the jealousies of popery rose to a great height, and, as afterwards appeared, upon just ground. In consequence of these fears, the king's declaration was voted illegal by the parliament—but to procure the concurrence of the nonconformists to the test act, a measure was promised by which their worship was to be legally tolerated. They quietly acquiesced in the test act, through the general dread all parties entertained of popery, but they found no return of kindness from the episcopal party, whose cause they had succoured when in the utmost danger. The nonconformists were now deprived of the protection of the king's declaration, and exposed again to all the penal statutes against this worship. In London, however, they were usually connived at, on account of the common danger which drove

protestants of all classes into more friendly terms with each other. About 1674, Baxter suffered severe affliction for many months, which compelled him to relinquish most of his public services. He rallied however in health, about the middle of 1674, and preached once a-week at St James's market-house, where he says his labours were much wanted, and where his preaching was eminently successful in the reformation of many. But after this period, the laws against conventicles were again rigidly enforced, through the zeal and intolerance of some of the bishops. Baxter was the first and chief victim. Upon him convictions and fines were continually heaped, through the intervention of informers and bigotted magistrates. Notwithstanding the inconveniences and troubles of the times, Baxter continued to preach frequently at St James's market-house, but his people desiring a larger place, one was built for him in Oxenden street. Before he entered upon the use of it, he was deprived of nearly all he possessed by persecution.

The following affecting statement will show to what a condition of poverty and want this good man was reduced by the harassing measures which the prelates pursued against him :—"I was so long wearied with keeping my doors shut against those that came to distrain on my goods for preaching, that I was fain to go from my house, and to sell all my goods, and to hide my library first, and afterwards to sell it; so that if books had been my treasure (and I valued little more on earth), I had now been without a treasure. For about twelve years I was driven an hundred miles from them; and when I had paid dear for the carriage, after two or three years I was forced to sell them. The prelates, to hinder me from preaching, deprived me also of these private comforts; but God saw that they were my snare. We brought nothing into this world, and we must carry nothing out. The loss is very tolerable. I was the more willing to part with goods, books, and all, that I might have nothing to be distrained, and so go on to preach." But as Baxter continued from time to time to disappoint his persecutors, their violence became the more exasperated. The chapel which had been built for him was not used more than a very few times before his ill health rendered country air necessary; and when he was somewhat recovered, then the spirit of persecution kept him from occupying his place. Thus he continued much in retirement, and devoted his leisure to the useful purpose of writing, and during this period he composed many valuable works. But his preaching was continually watched. A constable was placed to prevent his entering the chapel in Oxenden street to perform service, and he had to pay £30 a-year ground-rent for a place he was not allowed to use. Still he gained access to another chapel in Swallow street, where he preached whenever it was considered safe. But here again he was so watched for many months as to be kept out of the pulpit. He then accepted an invitation to preach to a congregation in Southwark, where he laboured for some months without any disturbance. About the year 1680, he lost, by death, his amiable and excellent partner, who had been a great support and comfort to him in his many trials and harassing persecutions. In the year 1681 his afflictions and trials increased. He was apprehended, fined, and imprisoned—then released, then imprisoned again, and bound to good behaviour. These persecutions were frequently repeated between the years 1681 and 1687. The death of Charles II. and acces-

sion of James II. only opened new prospects of oppression and suffering to Baxter and his friends. In May, 1684-5, he was brought to trial before the lord-chief-justice, Jefferies, on an extraordinary charge of sedition. The indictment was founded upon his 'Notes on the New Testament,' and set forth, that, in certain places, he had reflected upon the bishops of the church of England, and so was guilty of sedition. The infamous conduct of the chief-justice on this occasion was perhaps one of the most glaring instances of oppression and injustice which ever disgraced the English bench. Even his counsel were not allowed to speak freely on his behalf, and the jury, under the direction of the judge, found the defendant guilty. At first, the punishment intended by Jefferies was a public whipping through the city, but the other judges would not consent to it, and the sentence—called 'a mitigated one,' but all will think severe enough—was, that he should pay a fine of five hundred marks, lie in prison till it was paid, and be bound to good behaviour for seven years. The conduct of Jefferies, however, on this occasion, was but a specimen of those tragedies which he afterwards enacted in the west, and which contributed more, perhaps, than any thing else to bring on the downfall of the royal miscreant, whose tool and creature Jefferies was. These hateful proceedings, commencing in Baxter's trial and condemnation, may be said to have been the principal means of working the effectual and permanent deliverance of the nation from the insupportable oppressions of the Stuart dynasty. But, upon the sentence thus pronounced, Baxter being totally unable to pay the fine, went to prison, where he remained two years. His imprisonment was greatly alleviated by the kindness of his friends; and at length the court finding that he would neither pay the fine nor petition the parliament, sent him a release on the 24th of November, 1686. For some time after he resided in Charterhouse-yard, and assisted Mr Sylvester in the duties of the ministry. A declaration of King James II., issued in April, 1687, for liberty of conscience, was intended to benefit the catholics, but it proved also a happy and seasonable relief to the persecuted dissenters generally. Speedily after this, the Revolution followed, and brought with it a legal toleration. After this happy event, Mr Baxter was permitted to live till an agreement of the most truly Christian character was formed between the presbyterians and independents. He lived also to see his country restored again to peace, after a long season of bitter contention, agitation, and change. From the period of the Revolution till his death, a space of three years, he continued to assist his friend, Mr Sylvester, and, even in the midst of suffering, continued his public services till he had nearly expired in the pulpit—so determined was he to preach the gospel as long as any strength remained to enable him to do so. He died in great peace and joy, December 8, 1691, aged 76, and was buried in Christ church.[1]

Of a character so well known and so generally admired by men of all parties it is scarcely necessary to speak. He was a man of great energy, great piety, and great industry. With unwearied zeal he

[1] It is a singular fact, that no monument has been reared to perpetuate his memory. If this fact, in one view, is an honour to a name that cannot perish, in another, it is a disgrace to those who ought to have consecrated the spot where his ashes repose.

devoted himself to the sacred profession, and was made extensively useful. His learning was rather wide than deep, but his natural acuteness and ingenuity either supplied or concealed the defects of his education. His peculiar views in theology are a compound of the Calvinistic and Arminian schemes—at least so they are generally represented—but we believe few in the present day of any school, are disposed to think that he has successfully united the hostile theories. For a time Baxter's views had an extensive influence among the nonconformists. Men were proud of owning themselves Baxterians, and his views had well nigh formed and perpetuated a distinct sect. But their influence has become lost through their refinement and subtlety.—It is now most generally thought that Baxter was fitted rather for practical, than for speculative divinity. All parties conspire to do homage to his piety, integrity, and talents. Dr Barrow said, his practical writings were never mended, and his controversial ones seldom confuted. The honourable Robert Boyle said, "he was the fittest man of the age for a casuist, because he feared no man's displeasure, nor hoped for any man's preferment." Archbishop Usher condescended importunately to request him to write on the subject of conversion, and thereby he evinced the high value he set upon his works. Dr Manton thought he came nearest the apostolical writings of any man of his age. Dr Bates said, "his books for their number and variety of matter, make a library. They contain a treasure of controversial, casuistical, and practical divinity."

As to his works in detail, it is quite impossible to recount them here. In the new edition lately published in London, and which contains only a part of them, there are 22 vols. 8vo. "The best method of forming a correct opinion of Baxter's labours from the press, is by comparing them with some of his brethren, who wrote a great deal. The works of Bishop Hall amount to ten vols. 8vo.; Lightfoot's extend to thirteen; Jeremy Taylor's to fifteen: Dr Goodwin's would make about twenty; Dr Owen's extend to twenty-eight—Baxter's, if printed in a uniform edition, would not be comprised in less than SIXTY VOLUMES! Several of his works have been translated into all the European languages. Of one of his works, 'The Call to the Unconverted,' 20,000 are said to have been sold in one year.

Describing the most prominent features of this remarkable man, Mr Orme observes—"I have no better or more appropriate term which I can employ than the word *unearthly;* and even that does not give a full view of all that was absent from, and all that belonged to his character as a Christian, a minister, and a divine. Among his contemporaries there were men of equal talents, of more amiable dispositions, and of greater learning; but there was no man in whom there appears to have been so little of earth, and so much of heaven; so small a portion of the alloy of humanity,—and so large a portion of all that is celestial. He felt scarcely any of the attraction of this world, but felt and manifested the most powerful affinity for the world to come."[1]

[1] Orme's Life.—Biog. Brit.

John North, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1645.—DIED A. D. 1683.

Of the six sons of Dudley, Lord North, the eldest, succeeded to the title, and the greater part of no very large estate. The second son was Francis, afterwards Lord Keeper Guilford. The third son, Dudley, sought his fortunes abroad as a merchant. The fourth went to Cambridge, and rose in the church. The fifth son, Montagu, was a Levant merchant. The sixth and last was Roger, who succeeded in the law, was the faithful friend and companion of his brothers, and wrote the lives of them all. Dudley North, after his return to England, obtained a principal place in the customs, and was knighted. When James II. ascended the throne, he came into parliament, where he took a principal part in the debates. At the revolution he was left out of the commission of the customs, and retired into private life, in which he died, in London, in the year 1691.

The Hon. John North was born at London, in 1645. His reserved and studious temper, even in childhood, early marked him for the church. At the proper age he was sent to school at Bury, where he enjoyed the tuition of Dr Stephens, a celebrated cavalier pedagogue, "noted for high flights of poetry and criticism," but unfortunately, also, "a wet epicure, the common vice of bookish professions." In the year 1661, Mr North was sent to Cambridge, where he was entered a fellow-commoner, and afterwards a nobleman, of Jesus' college. Here he commenced that severe course of study which brought upon him a premature old age, and, in the meantime, encouraged that irritability of the nervous system, by which his whole subsequent life was tormented. "One would have expected," says his amiable biographer, "that a youth at the university, no freshman, nor mean scholar, should have got the better of being afraid in the dark; but it was not so with him, for when he was in bed alone he durst not trust his countenance above the clothes."

In 1666 he was admitted fellow of his college, and began to indulge himself in the warmest passion which animated him,—the love and possession of books. He appears to have directed his chief attention to the study of Greek, and so qualified himself to fill the chair of that language, to which he was afterwards elected. "Greek became almost vernacular to him, and he took no small pains to make himself master of the Hebrew language, and seldom failed carrying an Hebrew Bible (but pointed) to chapel with him." His relaxations from study were few and simple. Music was a favourite resource; and his morbid sensibilities found an innocent and amiable amusement in studying the habits and modes of the life of spiders. It appears, however, that he did not find himself quite comfortable in his college, for he resigned his fellowship of Jesus' college, and took up his abode in Trinity, of which Dr Barrow was then master.

Soon after he took orders, it fell to his lot to preach before the king (Charles II.) at Newmarket. He was not a little agitated at the prospect, but managed to acquit himself to the satisfaction of his royal au-

ditor. The Doctor appears to have had an extremely fastidious taste, and a morbid longing after perfection, in his own productions. Hence all his deep and long-continued researches came to nothing. The only evidence of his varied learning and intense application was a heap of notes. His papers were all, by his especial directions before his death, committed to the flames.

After Dr Barrow's death, Dr North was appointed to succeed him in the mastership of Trinity. The elevation added little to his personal comfort. He got involved in a squabble with the senior fellows, which, harassing his feeble and sensitive frame, hastened his death. He died in 1683, and was buried in the outward chapel, in order that, as he expressed it, the fellows "might trample upon him dead, as they had done living."

Henry More, D.D.

BORN A.D. 1614.—DIED A.D. 1687.

THIS eminent divine and philosopher was born at Grantham in Lincolnshire, on the 12th of October, 1614. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Eton school, where he remained three years; he was then admitted of Christ's college, Cambridge. Here, as he informs us, "he plunged himself immediately over head and ears in philosophy, and applied himself to the works of Aristotle, Cardan, Julius Scaliger, and other eminent philosophers," all of which he had diligently read over before he took his bachelor's degree in 1635. He next betook himself to the Platonic writers and mystical divines, whose writings entirely captivated his fancy, and gave a tone to all his subsequent speculations.

In the year 1640, he commenced the composition of a singularly mystical poem, entitled 'The Song of the Soul.' In it he has attempted an exposition of the nature, attributes, and states of the soul, according to that system of Christianized Platonism which he had adopted. It is divided into four parts:—Psychozoia, or the Life of the Soul; Psychathanasia, or the Immortality of the Soul; Antipsychopannychia, or a Confutation of the Sleep of the Soul after Death; and Antimonopsychia, or a Confutation of the Unity of Souls. Southey has observed that, "amidst the uncouth allegory, and still more uncouth language of this strange series of poems, there are a few passages to be found of extreme beauty." The opening of the second part is a very favourable specimen of More's poetical genius:—

"Whatever man he be that dares to deem
True poet's skill to spring of earthly race,
I must him tell, that he doth misesteem
Their strange estate, and eke himself disgrace
By his rude ignorance. For there's no place
For forced labour, or slow industry
Of flagging wits, in that high fiery chace;
So soon as of the muse they quick'ned be,
At once they rise, and lively sing like lark in skie.

"Like to a meteor, whose materiall
Is low unwieldy earth, base unctuous slime,

Whose inward hidden parts ethereall
Ly close upwrapt in that dull sluggish *fime*,—
Ly fast asleep, till at some fatall time
Great Phœbus' lamp has fir'd its inward spright,
And then even of itself on high doth climb;
That earst was dark becomes all eye, all sight,
Bright starre, that to the wise of future things gives light.

" Even so the weaker mind, that languid lies
Knit up in rags of dirt, dark, cold, and blind,
So soon that purer flame of love unties
Her clogging chains, and doth her spright upbind,
Shee sores aloft; for shee herself doth find
Well plum'd; so rais'd upon her spreaden wing,
She softly playes, and warbles in the wind,
And carols out her inward life and spring
Of overflowing joy, and of pure love doth sing."

More, in his dedication of his poems to his father, says that it was the hearing of Spenser's Fairie Queen read to him on winter-nights by his father, that "first turned his ears to poetry." He has imitated his master occasionally with considerable success; but after all, it is too evident that his genius was not essentially a poetical one. "He may have perceived the capabilities of his subject, but he wanted the animating touch to waken it into life and beauty. His zeal could not, like the indignation of Juvenal, supply the deficiencies of nature. His diction is copious, not select; his versification rugged, and incorrect in the extreme." Yet his design was, in this, as in every thing else which he wrote, lofty and good.

In 1639 he took his degree of M. A., and subsequently was chosen fellow of his college. He afterwards took the degree of D.D. He was of a remarkably meditative turn of mind, even in his childhood, as appears from various anecdotes recorded by himself and others; and the insatiable thirst of knowledge by which he was actuated, and especially the deep interest he felt on the subject of religion, induced him to devote himself to a life of study in the seclusion of his own college. Attempts were indeed made to decoy him into a bishopric: "his friends got him as far as Whitehall, in order to the kissing his majesty's hand for it; but as soon as he understood the matter, which it was then necessary to acquaint him with, and till then had been concealed from him, he could not by any means, or upon any account, be prevailed upon to stir a step further towards it." He is mentioned by Burnet, in conjunction with Cudworth, Whichcote, and others, as one of the founders of the Cambridge school of divines, known by the name of *Latitudinarians*, whose aim it was to restore the old connexion between religion and philosophy, and, by a new infusion of learning and active piety, to quicken the decaying energies of the church of England. He was also one of the earliest asserters of the Cartesian system, and a correspondent of Des Cartes himself. Burnet characterises him as "an open-hearted and sincere Christian philosopher;" and Hobbes is reported to have said, that "if his own philosophy was not true, he knew none that he should sooner like than More's of Cambridge."

His principal prose works are the 'Mystery of Godliness,' the 'Mystery of Iniquity,' and his 'Philosophical Collections.' Addison styles his 'Enchiridion Ethicum' an admirable system of ethics; but

the most popular of his pieces is his 'Divine Dialogues' on the Attributes and Providence of God. His works were collected by himself in three volumes folio, 1679. He died in 1687.

Ralph Cudworth, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1617.—DIED A. D. 1688.

RALPH CUDWORTH was the son of a pious and learned divine of the church of England, and was born at Aller in Somersetshire, in the year 1617. His father's death left him, at a very early age, without an instructor, and apparently beclouded his prospects in life; but on his mother's second marriage, the place of a parent was amply supplied by his father-in-law, Dr Stoughton, to whom he was indebted for a most careful education. In 1630 he was admitted a pensioner of Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he pursued his studies with extraordinary diligence, and, in 1639, obtained the degree of Master of Arts with great applause. He was soon after chosen a fellow of the college, and became one of the tutors, in which capacity he rose to such eminence as to have had at one time the almost unprecedented number of twenty-eight pupils under his care. After remaining in the college for some time, he was presented to the rectory of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, worth at that time about £300 a year. The leisure which he thus obtained was not spent after the manner of many, in looking carefully after the emoluments of his office, and in diligently scraping together every fraction of tithe, but in the prosecution of those profound researches and reflections which had already begun to occupy his mind, and afterwards produced such an abundant harvest. In 1644 he published a discourse, which was received with great applause, and has obtained the praise of Bochart, Selden, and Warburton, concerning the true nature of the Lord's Supper, and in the same year appeared his "Union of Christ with the Church a Shadow." About this period he took the degree of B. D. A year or two previously, Hobbes's 'De Cive,' the first work in which he broached his peculiar opinions, had been privately circulated in Paris, and from the theses which Cudworth maintained on taking his degree, it appears probable that his attention had been already drawn to the reappearance in modern times of these antiquated dogmas, in the eradication of which his after-life was spent. The theses were, 1. Dantur boni et mali rationes æternæ et indispensabiles;—2. Dantur substantiæ incorporeæ sua natura immortales. Shortly after taking his degree, he was appointed master of Clare-hall, Cambridge, in the room of Dr Parke, who was ejected by the parliamentary visitors, and, in 1645, he was unanimously elected Regius professor of Hebrew. To what act of his life he owed the favour of the parliament must remain doubtful, since it does not appear that he sided with either of the two great parties—which then convulsed the empire—more decidedly than to receive from the Roundheads the offices tendered for his acceptance. Few men took less interest in the politics of the day than Cudworth. While events were taking place, the most important which had occurred in English history, and which were destined to exercise no small influence over the fortunes of civil-

ized Europe, the lonely student, in the recesses of his academic retirement, was quaffing deep draughts from the most hidden fountains of ancient lore, or was borne away on the strong wing of contemplation from the stirring acts of modern times to the faintly recorded creeds and opinions of the world's primitive inhabitants. It is probable, however, that Cudworth obtained the favour of the parliament from his known hatred of persecution, and from his already immense learning: for the Roundheads ever showed themselves desirous of encouraging literature in any way not absolutely injurious to their political interests. From whatever cause his promotion arose, he determined from this time to abandon altogether the stated duties of the ministry, and to devote himself entirely to academical studies and employments. In 1647 he preached a sermon before the house of commons, which he subsequently published, and for which, at the time, he received the thanks of the house. In 1651 he was created a doctor in divinity. About this period he was compelled by want of money to leave Cambridge. His friends, and indeed the university in general, viewed his secession from them with great consternation, and at length succeeded in recalling him, by obtaining for him the mastership of Christ's college, which he held during the whole of his subsequent life. In 1659 he was appointed one of a committee to consult concerning a revision of the English translation of the Bible. The committee met several times at the house of Whitelocke, who has given us a brief account of their proceedings; but the dissolution of the parliament prevented the execution of their design. He appears to have had some intention of publishing a number of Latin discourses in defence of Christianity against Judaism; but want of encouragement, or some other cause, changed his purpose. They are still extant in manuscript, and it may be hoped that some future age, less superficial and less wise in its own conceit, will witness their publication, especially as they drew forth no undistinguished praise from no undistinguished man,—Dr Henry More.

At the restoration, Cudworth wrote a congratulatory ode to his new sovereign, but neither his flattery nor his talents obtained for him any respect in those evil days. In that "paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds," the detestable doctrines of Hobbism had taken deep root, and, like rank weeds in an uncultivated soil, flourished luxuriantly. Religion and its inseparable concomitant liberty, were hated with a good and a perfect hatred. It cannot therefore be a matter of surprise, that a man of Cudworth's profound learning and lofty character should have met with all possible opposition from the superficial wits and sensualized sceptics, who were buzzing through the little hour of their contemptible existence in the sun-shine of court-favour. His learning was the appropriate object of their ridicule, and his piety, of their deadliest aversion. Accordingly, we find that his great work, "The true Intellectual System of the Universe," which was published in 1678, was satirized and attacked with the utmost of their puny strength, by the dissolute courtiers. The attempt of the knight of La Mancha to overthrow the windmills, was not more hopeless. It will scarcely be believed, however, that on account of this work, the express object of which was to overthrow atheism, Cudworth was accused of entertaining atheistic opinions. It was a wise saying, that the extremes of error meet. While the bigots of infidelity assailed him on the one hand, the

bigots in religion assailed him on the other. Turner, in his discourses on the Messiah, styles him a Socinian or Deist, at the least, if not an Atheist; and Dryden has said, "Cudworth has raised such strong objections against the being of a God and providence, that it is thought by many he has not answered them,"—"the common fate," adds Lord Shaftesbury, "of all who dare to appear fair authors."

Soon after the publication of his 'Intellectual System,' Cudworth was installed a prebendary of Gloucester. His life from this period presents little of interest. It was spent, as it had been begun, in the acquisition of knowledge. He expired on the 26th of June, 1688, in the 71st year of his age, and was interred in the chapel of Christ college. It is a pleasing circumstance that his daughter, Lady Masham, after watching the declining footsteps of her illustrious father, had the honour of nursing in his dying hours the immortal Locke, who expired in her house.

Cudworth is one of those writers who possess a very high reputation among the few who have studied him, and scarcely any reputation whatever among the many. To the large majority of the reading public his name must be barely known. It does not redound much to the credit of English literati, that a man who raised our national character so high in the opinion of the continental philosophers, should have so little honour in his own country. He was one of that lofty, though selectly-remembered school of English philosophers, who, issuing forth from the academic shades of our southern universities, set themselves diligently to oppose both the persecuting bigotry of the high church party, and the fanatical excesses of the Millenarians, and Fifth-monarchy men. "They," says Bishop Burnet, in his 'History of his own Times,' "and those who were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the church and the liturgy, and could well live under them, but they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation, and they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and they allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and divinity. Hence they were called Latitudinarians." Of this school, Jeremy Taylor, Dr Thomas Burnet, Dr Henry More, and Cudworth, were the heads. All of them were deeply imbued with the spirit of their great master Plato, and indulged in fair dreams of bliss yet in store for the world, when man should attain to that real happiness which flows from the purification and elevation of his moral and intellectual nature by reason and religion. There was never a more attractive sect of philosophers than this. The lofty talent of those who composed it—their habits of deep contemplation—their boundless learning—the elevation of the subjects on which they wrote, and of what they wrote, seemed rather the attributes of a band of ancient sages, than of modern speculators. Sir James Mackintosh,[1] has likened Cudworth's great work to the production of a later Platonist, and the same simile applies to the writings of all. The 'Telluris theoria sacra' of Burnet,—the 'Enchiridion

[1] Dissertation Second. Encyl. Brit. New Ed.

Ethicum' of More, and the 'Intellectual System' of Cudworth, are works of the same genus and character of mind.

Cudworth's original intention was merely to write a treatise upon liberty and necessity, showing that necessity, upon whatever grounds and principles maintained, will serve the design of atheism, and undermine Christianity and all religion. He found, however, that the Necessarians or Fatalists, were divided into three classes. Of these parties, one maintained that senseless matter necessarily moved, was the only original and principle of the universe;—another, that God, by his immediate influence, determined all actions, so making them necessary; while a third party acknowledging that the Deity permitted other beings than himself to act voluntarily, denied that man possessed any such liberty as to make him capable of praise or dispraise. In order to overthrow these opinions, he set about to prove the three following propositions: 1. That one omnipotent intellectual power presides over the universe. 2. That this power being essentially good and just, there is something of its own nature eternally just and good. 3. That man has so much power over his actions as to be accountable for them. With these three propositions, he proposed to erect a true intellectual[2] system of the universe, which might supersede at once the ancient atheism of Democritus and Epicurus, and the modern of Hobbes[3] and Gassendi. The first part only of this gigantic undertaking was completed, nor shall we be so much surprised as grieved at our loss, when we contemplate the indefatigable toil which has accumulated in every page learning almost sufficient to furnish amply the brain of a modern scholar. The first part of his work is however complete in itself, and a more triumphant refutation of atheism could not be desired.

To make every thing comprehensible, he gives us in the first book a clear and full account of the atomic philosophy (called by Epicurus, the Physiological Fate) on which the atheistic system of Democritus was founded. The atomic philosophy, rests on the axiom that no real entity does of itself come from nothing or go to nothing. Reflecting on this, the ancients were led to conclude that the forms and qualities of bodies, so long believed to be things actually existent in themselves, were nothing more than different modifications of the small particles of which bodies are composed, and that feelings and ideas, such as those of light, colour, hardness, beauty, &c. were not things existent in matter itself, but were generated by modifications of matter in sentient minds. Cudworth proves undeniably that this famous system was not the invention, perhaps we should say the discovery, of Democritus, and Leucippus, to whom it has frequently been ascribed, but of much earlier philosophers, and not improbably of the Phœnician Moschus or Mochus, whom he conceives to be identical with the Jewish lawgiver, Moses. It is certain that the originators of this doctrine and its early supporters believed, and deduced as a necessary sequence from their system, the existence of incorporeal substance, i. e. of an immaterial and sentient principle—the immortality of this principle—and its presidence over matter; and that the atheism of which it was for so

[2] The word *intellectual* is employed to distinguish his system from the mere corporeal systems; such as those of Tycho Brahe, or Copernicus.

[3] Hobbes's system was not directly atheistical, but it unquestionably made atheism necessary.

many ages the vehicle, was subsequently engrafted on it by Democritus and his followers. Democritus admitting that nothing could spring of itself from nothing, and finding it maintained by the atomic philosophy, that there is in body no intellectual or self-moving power, but that it is altogether inert and passive, detached from the system the doctrine of incorporeal existence; and adding to it his own notion, that there is nothing in the world but body, thus "begat," says Cudworth, "a certain mongrel and spurious philosophy, atheistically-atomical, or atomically-atheistical." Cudworth next proceeds to state the reasons adduced by Democritus and his followers, both ancient and modern, in support of their opinions. He then gives an account of three other forms of atheism, which he deems it necessary to demolish,—the Hylo-zoick, the Anaximandrian, and what he terms the Pseudo-Zenovian, better known perhaps as the Stratonical. The Hylozoists hold that there is nothing in existence save matter, but that every particle of matter has life essentially belonging to it. By means of this life, each atom has the capability, though without any previous intention of forming itself artificially and methodically into combinations with those most suited to its nature, and of thereby gradually improving into sense, self-enjoyment, thought, and reason in animals. It is evident that, by this theory, the necessity of a Deity or of any incorporeal substance is altogether precluded. The Anaximandrian atheism was still more irrational than the Hylozoick, since it maintained that matter, devoid altogether of understanding and life, is the first principle of all things, and that infinite worlds are thus generated and corrupted. Anaximander affirmed, says Eusebius, "that infinite matter is the only cause of the generation and corruption of all things, and that the heavens and infinite worlds were made out of it by way of secretion or segregation. Also, that those generative principles of heat and cold, (γονιμον θερμου τε φλογος σφαιρον,) that were contained in it from eternity, being segregated when this world was made, a certain sphere of flame or fire did first arise and encompass the air which surrounds this earth, (as a bark doth a tree) which being afterwards broken and divided into smaller spherical pieces, constituted the sun and moon, and all the stars." Anaximander's account of the origin of men and animals is curious, as showing to what absurdities the love of hypothesis may lead. He thought that animals were generated in moisture, and were encompassed about for a certain time with a rough thorny bark, which at length cracking, they issued forth; and that men were subsequently generated in the bellies of other animals, inasmuch as man being weak, requires nourishment for a much longer time than the brutes. According to Plutarch, he assigned to fishes the honour of having nurtured the future lords of creation. The fourth form of atheism, supposes the existence of a certain plastic, methodical, and artificial nature, altogether devoid of sense and conscious understanding, which presides over the world, and disposes every thing in that order and regularity which we behold around us. It is obvious that these four forms of atheism, in addition to the prodigious absurdity by which they are all characterized, are utterly inconsistent one with another. To use Cudworth's quaint language, "Atheism is a certain strange kind of monster with four heads, that are all of them perpetually biting, tearing, and devouring one another."

Cudworth having thus made every thing plain and certain, proceeds

to canvass and overthrow the arguments of his opponents. It would be impossible to give within our limits any outline of his reasoning, which occupies nearly four-fifths of a huge folio volume, and as impossible to convey any idea of the gigantic learning with which he illustrates every branch of his subject. The reasoning is always ingenious and decisive—oftentimes most subtle. There is not a finer specimen in any polemical writings of sound logical ratiocination, though now and then burdened with quotations, even to clumsiness. Instead of avoiding any difficult point, as a skilful tactician might have done, or of intrenching himself behind the broad bulwarks of Christianity, and there acting on the defensive, he rushes forward to attack the atheist in what he had hitherto believed to be his vantage-ground of human learning, and seldom or never fails to crush him beneath the weight of his ponderous erudition. It is almost amusing to witness the calmness with which he states the arguments of the adversary in their very strongest light, neither adding nor subtracting a particle from their force—not even making a single comment which can in any way depreciate their value; and then, when it appears as if he had unwittingly raised up against himself an edifice which he would ultimately find too strong to be overthrown, the cruel coolness with which he gives notice that he is about to make the attack, and the regularity with which he advances, until finally he brings his heavy artillery to bear full on his opponents, and batters down every wall and buttress, with as much ease and as effectually as the roc in the Arabian tale demolished the bark of our ancient friend, Sinbad the sailor. His own apology for stating the atheistic arguments so clearly, is well worthy of quotation. "We are much," says he, "of this opinion, that a plain and naked representation of its (atheism's) dark mysteries and profundities will be a great part of its confutation; at least we doubt not but it will be made to appear that though this monster, big-swoln with a puffy show of wisdom, strutt and talk so gigantically, and march with such a kind of stately philosophic grandeur, yet it is indeed but like the giant Orgoglio in our English poet, a mere empty bladder blown up with vain conceit; an empusa, phantasm, or spectre, the offspring of night and darkness, nonsense and contradiction."

The most interesting part of Cudworth's answer to the atheists, is his elaborate dissertation on the pagan polytheism, which he enters into in reply to the argument brought against the oneness of the Deity, from the almost universal belief of the ancients in a multiplicity of gods. It does not, however, appear to have been the creed of the enlightened pagans at least, that there had existed from eternity, more than one independent, uncreated, and necessarily existent being. It is, too, well worthy of notice, that even the most illiterate pagans believed in the generation of gods, and in nearly all the ancient theogonies we may trace the derivation of their deities from one great original. The fact is, that all ancient religions had their exoteric and esoteric articles of faith, and in various instances we can trace almost as marked a difference between the exoteric creed, that of the vulgar, and the esoteric, that of the initiated, as exists between the brutal faith of the Tartars and the Christian religion. The latter was much more pure and intellectual;—in all probability its grand principle was the recognition of one supreme being. Thus while the Persians were worship-

ping, as gods, the sun and the hosts of heaven, with an adoration which had more in it of the sublime than commonly appertains to unrevealed religions, Zoroaster and the Magi looked upon these gods of the vulgar only as the types and images of the 'hidden God,' the unseen Mithras—father and maker of all things. Over the whole field of inquiry opened up by this interesting question, Cudworth proceeds with unabated learning. The reader will find the most curious and valuable information levied from every possible source, and will often be struck with the ingenuity and powerful mind displayed in disentangling the thread of sophistry, or in explaining those mysterious allegories which seemed rather the visions of the poet than religious traditions. The glowing fictions of the Grecian mythology,—the shadowy outlines of ancient religions so dimly seen through the obscurity of ages, that they almost seem to be the relics of a pre-Adamite race,—the Chaldaic oracles, and the Orphic Cabala, are all made the subjects of his piercing investigation.

Perhaps the only fault in the True Intellectual System is the heedless and mischievous introduction of a plastic nature. This plastic nature was a sort of inferior and subordinate instrument which executed that part of God's providence which relates to the regular and orderly motion of matter. It was an inward principle, a vital and incorporeal energy resident in matter, yet not having the power of acting electively, or with discretion. Bayle, in his 'Continuation des pensées diverses sur les Comètes,' observes, that "the atheists are very much perplexed how to account for the formation of animals, which they ascribed to a cause which was not conscious of what it did, and yet followed a regular order without knowing according to what laws it went to work. But Dr Cudworth's plastic nature and Dr Grew's vital energy are exactly in the same case, and thus they took away the whole of their objection against atheism." Bayle's reasoning is obvious: if God could create such a plastic power, then it might exist; and if it might exist, why not necessarily and of itself? Le Clerc, who had already given, in his 'Bibliotheque Choisie,' large extracts from Cudworth, replied to Bayle, and endeavoured to show that his reasoning was fallacious, because this plastic nature was only an instrumental cause in the hands of God, and required an intelligent cause to create it or to set it in motion. To this Bayle answered, that if a plastic nature can produce plants and animals without having the least idea of what it is doing, then, in the same way, the plastic power itself might have been produced by a cause, not having any idea of what it was doing. To this he added, that if it were asserted that God created nature with this faculty, then it might be objected that it was just as easy for a being to perform a scheme of which no one has any notion at all, as it is for a being to perform a scheme of which it has itself no idea, though some other being has.[4] Le Clerc replied, that the plastic nature of Cudworth was not a mere passive instrument, and that the atheists could not retort the argument, because God is the author

[4] This reasoning evidently settled the question against Dr Cudworth's plastic nature; for if excellent works can be produced, showing every symptom of order and method, without any idea or knowledge of doing so, then assuredly it is possible that the world may have been so produced,—the very thing which the atheists were desirous of establishing.

of the order and regularity with which the plastic natures act. This controversy was carried on to a much greater length, but Bayle continued throughout to maintain that decided superiority which he possesses in the short abstract we have given.

We have spent so much time in giving an account of the Intellectual System, as to have left us little or none for his remaining works; we must not, however, omit to recommend most earnestly, to the attention of the reader, his sermon in 1647 before the house of commons. Those who have heard of his great work only as a collection of the dry bones of forgotten tongues, will be surprised to find in this sermon a complete absence of all erudition,—a plainness, and simplicity, and fervour, and a vein of poetical imagery not unlike the glorious effusions of Jeremy Taylor.

In addition to the works before enumerated, there was published, after his death, 'A Treatise on Eternal and Immutable Morality' from his pen. Its object was to disprove the opinion, that right and wrong were not real, but imaginary and arbitrary. Though probably intended only as an introduction to an ethical treatise, it is very valuable as a complete and masterly refutation of this ancient dogma of Protagoras, which had been revived by Hobbes in modern times with considerable applause. The British museum contains many, and it is said, very valuable manuscripts in Cudworth's writing, which have never yet seen the light.

The 'Intellectual System' was published in one volume, folio, at London, 1678, and in 2 vols. 4to, in 1743, with the majority of his smaller works, and a life by Dr Birch. It was also translated into Latin by Mosheim, and published at Jena, in 2 vols. folio, 1733, and reprinted at Leyden in 1773, 2 vols. 4to.—'The Eternal and Immutable Morality' was published by Chandler, bishop of Durham, in 1733, 8vo. His sermons and some of his smaller tracts have been several times reprinted. The best of them—that preached before the house of commons—was printed in 1647, 4to; in 1814, 8vo; and in a neat little pocket volume in 1831, by T. Hodgson, Liverpool.

III.—LITERARY SERIES.

Sir Thomas Bodley.

DIED A. D. 1612.

THIS gentleman, who has endeared his name to posterity, by founding the noble library at Oxford, called after him, 'The Bodleian library,' was the son of an eminent merchant at Exeter, who having early embraced the reformed religion, and being menaced with persecution on that account, fled with his son to Geneva, and remained there during the turbulent reign of Queen Mary.

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, they returned home with the other protestant exiles; and young Bodley, having made consider-

able progress at Geneva in divinity and the learned languages, was sent by his father to Magdalen college, Oxford. In 1563, he took his degree of master of arts; in 1563, he obtained a fellowship in Merton college; in 1569, he was elected one of the proctors of the university; and, for a considerable time during a vacancy, he supplied the place of university-orator. His friends now having in view some preferment for him about the court, in 1576, he went abroad to make the tour of Europe, and perfect himself in the modern languages. He continued about four years on the continent, and, upon his return he applied himself to the study of history and politics to qualify himself for public employment.

He was very soon called upon to exert his talents in stations of great dignity and importance. From gentleman-usher to Queen Elizabeth, he rose to be her majesty's ambassador to the courts of France and Denmark; and her representative in the council of state of the United Provinces, in 1588. He managed the queen's affairs so much to the satisfaction of the ministry at home, that he was continued in this high office till 1597, when all the public negotiations with the states being successfully terminated, he was recalled. But, instead of meeting with that reward for his eminent services which he had a right to expect, he found his own interest declining with that of his patron, the earl of Essex, and, in a fit of disgust, retired from court, and all public business; and, though afterwards much solicited, he never would accept of any new office under government, but King James, on his accession, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

To this retirement from the bustle of public life, the university of Oxford most probably stands indebted for the Bodleian library, justly esteemed one of the noblest in the world. The first step Sir Thomas Bodley took in this affair, was to write a letter to Dr Ravis, the vice-chancellor of the university, offering to rebuild the decayed fabric of the public library, to improve and augment the scanty collection of books contained in it, and to vest an annual income in the hands of the heads of the university, for the purchasing of books, and for the salaries of such officers as they should think it necessary to appoint. A suitable answer being returned, and this generous offer gratefully accepted, Sir Thomas immediately ordered the old building to be pulled down, and a new one erected at his own expense, which was completed in about two years. He then added to the old a new collection of the most valuable books then extant, which he ordered to be purchased in foreign countries; and having thus set the example, the nobility, the bishops, and several private gentlemen, made such considerable benefactions in books, that the room was not large enough to contain them. Upon which Sir Thomas offered to make considerable additions to the building. On the 19th of July 1610, he laid the first stone of a new foundation, being accompanied by the vice-chancellor, doctors, masters of arts, &c. Sir Thomas Bodley did not live to see this building completed; but he had the satisfaction to know that it was intended as soon as that was finished to enlarge the plan of the whole edifice, and in the end to form a regular quadrangle; and as he knew his own fortune was inadequate to this great work, he made use of his interest with several persons of rank and fortune, and engaged them to make large presents to the university to forward this undertaking, to which

he bequeathed his whole estate. He likewise drew up some excellent statutes for the regulation of the library, which seems to have been the last act of his life. He died on the 28th of January, 1612, and was buried in the chapel of Merton college, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory; his statue was likewise put in the library, at the expense of the earl of Dorset, when chancellor of the university.

Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher.

FLOR. A. D. 1612.

THESE bright ornaments of our dramatic literature were so indissolubly united during life, in a fellowship dear to every lover of the muses, and their immortal strains have so intertwined their names in the remembrance of posterity, that it would be a violation of good taste and good feeling were we to separate them. Very little is known concerning them, and very few memorials of them have been handed down, save those matchless dramas which have made their literary partnership more celebrated, and far more valuable to mankind, than the martial friendships of the Theseus and Pirithous, and Castor and Pollux, of antiquity.

Francis Beaumont was descended from an ancient and respectable family of that name in Leicestershire. His grandfather, John Beaumont, had been master of the rolls, and his father, Francis, one of the judges of the court of common pleas. He was born in the year 1585, and having completed his education at Cambridge, was entered a student of the Inner Temple. It does not appear that he made any great progress in his legal studies, nor indeed is it possible that he could have done so, since it was here that he met with Fletcher, and the two embryo lawyers, being both possessed of a competency already, flung aside all anticipations of wigs and silk gowns for the more agreeable pastime of enlivening the town with their exquisite dramas, and of engaging at the Mermaid in those celebrated 'wit combats' which called forth, in addition to the wit and fancy of our two authors, all the learning of Selden, the quaint conceits of Donne, the rich humour of Ben Jonson, and the genius of Shakspeare. In a poetical epistle to Ben Jonson, Beaumont writes,

> "What things have we seen
> Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
> So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,
> As if that every one from whence they came
> Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
> And had resolved to live a fool the rest
> Of his dull life."

He died on the 15th of March, 1615, in the 30th year of his age, leaving behind him one daughter, who, it is said, was living in Leicestershire in the year 1700.

John Fletcher was the son of Dr Fletcher, bishop of Bristol, and afterwards bishop of London, and was born in the year 1577. After studying at Cambridge, where he made great proficiency, and was

esteemed an excellent scholar, he was entered of the Inner Temple, being destined by his parents for the bar. Their wishes do not appear to have been accomplished, since the young poet found it difficult to bend his attention to musty parchments and tedious precedents, and meeting an associate of the same disposition in Beaumont, the two committed the deadly sin of writing poetry, which, of course, incapacitated them for the legal profession. A pleasant story is told of their having been once at a tavern together, where they were concerting the rough draft of a tragedy, and assigning to each the different parts he was to write: "I'll undertake to kill the king," said Fletcher. These treasonable words were overheard by the waiter, who immediately caused them to be apprehended, but, of course, on their giving an explanation, the affair ended in a jest. Fletcher was carried off by the plague which ravaged London in the year 1625, being then in the 49th year of his age.

It is almost impossible to enter into any just criticisms of the writings of these illustrious men within the limits allotted to us. They have left behind them upwards of fifty dramas of such unequal merit that almost every one would demand a separate examination; and so little are they known to modern readers, that we should seem to be guilty of extravagance were we to bestow on their productions any adequate commendations, unless we produced very ample extracts to justify our praise. We cannot now apportion out to each his share in the different plays which they wrote in conjunction, nor indeed have we any account on which reliance can be placed of the different qualities of mind by which each was distinguished. The general opinion seems to be that Beaumont was the deeper scholar and more acute critic, while Fletcher had the more brilliant wit and loftier genius. "He," (Fletcher) says old Fuller, in his quaint and amusing style, "and F. Beaumont, Esq. like Castor and Pollux, most happy when in conjunction, raised the English stage to equal the Athenian and Roman theatre; Beaumont bringing the ballast of judgment, and Fletcher the sail of phantasie; both compounding a poet to admiration." Langbaine bears the same testimony. "Beaumont was master of a good wit and a better judgment; he so admirably well understood the art of the stage, that even Jonson himself thought it no disparagement to submit his writings to his correction." "Mr Fletcher's wit was equal to Mr Beaumont's judgment, and was so luxurious, that, like superfluous branches, it was frequently pruned by his judicious partner." This statement, though true in the main, must be received with some limitations, since, on the one hand, The Maid's Tragedy, Philaster, and the King and No King, in which Beaumont is generally allowed to have had the chief hand, exhibit more fancy, more of the qualities by which Fletcher was distinguished, than the majority of the other plays which they are known to have written in conjunction; while, on the other hand, those written by Fletcher alone, are, on the whole, equal in point of taste and judgment to most of those in which Beaumont assisted him. It is nevertheless to be noticed, that in the Maid's Tragedy, King and No King, and Philaster, the characters are more justly conceived and more consistent, the plot is less defective, the inequalities not so marked, and the general impression left on the mind more permanent, than in any other of their plays; and that the most light, airy, and fancy-teeming

of their dramas, the Faithful Shepherdess, was the production of Fletcher alone. It is time, however, that we should leave this topic, on which, after all, it is not likely that we shall attain to any absolute certainty, and point out those peculiar features in the writings of our authors which have attracted the admiration of so many ages.

The plays written before Beaumont's death are more regular in their construction, and more obedient to the laws of the drama, than those of Shakspeare, or any other of the dramatists of the day, with the exception of 'rare Ben Jonson's.' To this regularity of plot, they added great skill in painting to the life the manners of gentlemen in those times. Enabled as they were by birth and fortune to associate with young men of rank and fashion, they have succeeded admirably in hitting off the wild reckless spirit, the debauched manners, the fantastic humours, and the quickness of repartee, which distinguished the dissipated gallants of Elizabeth's reign. Their dialogue in comedy is always spirited, and often witty; their scenes bustling and amusing; and their characters, on the whole, well supported, though occasionally, especially in Fletcher's plays, they undergo strange metamorphoses. Thus, for instance, in the Scornful Lady, Morecraft, a miser, all on a sudden becomes a prodigal, for the not very intelligible reason of his having been cheated by a young fellow who had borrowed money from him. There are many, however, of a different stamp, though it is observable that they excel much more in painting women than men. Shakspeare has few portraits so exquisitely beautiful as those of Aspasia and Bellario, and not many more comic than those of Bessus and the little French Lawyer. Their grand excellencies are not so much the depicting of character, as a rich vein of wit—a native elegance of thought and expression, and a wandering romantic fancy, delightful even in its wildest moods. They do not possess the profound knowledge of human nature which alone would have made Shakspeare immortal. They cannot paint with the brush of a master the gradual progress of a mind from confidence to suspicion,—from suspicion to jealousy,—and from jealousy to madness; or the fearful workings of a soul racked between the ardent desire of an object which seems almost within the grasp, and the dread and abhorrence of the path of crime by which that object must be attained. Their characters are not so much beings of lofty intellect as of deep passion; and these passions are portrayed not in their rise and gradual progress, but in their highest mood. To this defect must be added their great inequality. The very richest gems of their wit and fancy are not unfrequently set in caskets so vile, that the very clumsiest artist might have been ashamed to own himself the maker of them. Instead of writing with care and pains, as those who were anxious to please their auditors or readers, and "to do something such that after ages should not willingly let it die," they seem to have followed the whim of the moment, and to have dashed forward with a wild recklessness, which spurned alike the laws of the drama, the example of the best models, and the approbation of their hearers. Nor is it unnatural that such should be the character of compositions written, not for profit, but for pleasure, by young men of ample fortune and in the very heyday of youth, to whom the occupation of a playwright might seem rather a degradation than an honour; when Ben Jonson the bricklayer was their competitor, and the unedu-

eated Will Shakspeare their undoubted superior. There is, however, a sterling wit in their dialogues—a vigorous and lusty manhood in their portraits—a stirring warmth and action in their scenes—and a strength and beauty in the buoyant pinions on which they soar aloft into the realms of fancy, which will bear them up in spite of these defects, and will insure them through all ages two of the most sacred niches in the temple of English poetry. The following brief passage is addressed by one of Philaster's friends to the king, who is threatening to have Philaster beheaded. It is not nearly so beautiful as many which might have been selected, but its length is convenient:—

"King, you may be deceived yet:
The head you aim at cost more setting on
Than to be lost so lightly: if it must off,
Like a wild overflow that swoops before him
A golden stack, and with it shakes down bridges,
Cracks the strong hearts of pines, whose cable roots
Hold out a thousand storms, a thousand thunders,
And, so made mightier, takes whole villages
Upon his back, and in that heat of pride
Charges strong towns, towers, castles, palaces,
And lays them desolate; so shall thy head, (*to Philaster*)
Thy noble head, bring the lives of thousands
That must bleed with thee, like a sacrifice
In thy red ruins."

Philaster, Act V. Scene 1.

There are two plays included in the common editions of Beaumont and Fletcher, which, from their great merit, demand a separate notice; we mean The Faithful Shepherdess and The Two Noble Kinsmen. The former, which was the production of Fletcher alone, is a pastoral drama, of which it may safely be said, that we have nothing in the language at once so purely pastoral and so exquisitely poetical. The Comus was undoubtedly copied from it, and although Milton may have surpassed the original in stately and majestic poetry, it is beyond a question, that Fletcher, besides the merit of priority, is more redolent of life and nature. Were it not defiled by indelicacy, The Faithful Shepherdess would be faultless. With a taste not less execrable than that which Dryden exhibited when he profaned the fairy-land of Miranda with his gross obscenities, Fletcher has polluted the primeval simplicity and virgin innocence of the Eden he had created, by the disgusting debaucheries of the sullen Shepherd and the wanton Cloe. With this exception, nothing can be more faultless, or more abundant in beauty.

The other drama which we mentioned, The Two Noble Kinsmen, was formerly said to be the joint production of Fletcher and Shakspeare, but the prevalent opinion in modern times seems to be that Shakspeare had no connection with it. We see not, for our own parts, on what this disbelief is grounded. It is certain that Fletcher had some ally, who could not be Beaumont, for the play was written after Beaumont's death; and since the title page of the first edition of the play calls Shakspeare and Fletcher the authors—since the truth of this statement was never questioned until modern times, although many of Shakspeare's friends were living when the play was published—since all the old critics mention Shakspeare as one of the writers of it—and more than

all, since the internal evidence fully bears out the tradition, we think the genuineness of it can scarcely be questioned.[1] If Shakspeare did not assist Fletcher, who then did? None of the plays which Fletcher alone wrote are composed in the same style, or exhibit the same lofty imagination, and if there were any other dramatist save Shakspeare, who could attain to such a height of excellence, he has certainly handed down none of his compositions to posterity. If Shakspeare did not write part of it, all we can say is, that his imitators went very near to rival himself. Our readers will excuse us for extracting the following simile:—

Emilia. Of all flowers
Methinks a rose is best.
Servant. Why, gentle madam?
Emilia. It is the very emblem of a maid:
For when the west wind courts her gently,
How modestly she blows, and paints the sun
With her chaste blushes! when the north comes near her,
Rude and impatient, then, like chastity,
She locks her beauties in her bud again,
And leaves him to base briars.

In conclusion, we can only say, that he who has not perused Beaumont and Fletcher, can have no complete idea of the riches of English poetry; and that they are the only English dramatists whose distance from Shakspeare, in his more peculiar excellencies, is not so immense as to make the descent painful.

Their works were printed in 10 vols. 8vo. in 1751, with the notes of Seward and others; in 10 vols. 8vo. 1778, edited by Colman; in 10 vols. 8vo. London, 1780, edited by Theobald; and at Edinburgh, in 12 vols. 8vo. in 1812, edited by Weber.

The following plays were undoubtedly the joint composition of Beaumont and Fletcher. Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy, The King and No King, The Knight of the Burning Pestle, Cupid's Revenge, The Coxcomb, The Captain, The Honest Man's Fortune, and The Scornful Lady.

Shakspeare.

BORN A. D. 1564.—DIED A. D. 1616.

We are informed by the most recent biographer of our mighty dramatist, that a family variously named Shaxper, Shakespeare, Shakspere, and Shakspeare, was spread over the woodland part of Warwickshire in the 16th century. They were chiefly devoted to trade and agriculture, and had little or no connexion with the upper ranks of society. The immediate ancestor of him whose name has filled the earth far beyond that of any titled or untitled contemporary, was John Shakspeare, originally a glover, subsequently a butcher, and finally a

[1] It is worthy of notice, that Langbaine says decidedly that Shakspeare was one of the authors. The inquiry is a very interesting one, but our limits prevent us from pursuing it at length.

dealer in wool in the town of Stratford,[1] where he attained the supreme honours of the borough by being elected to the office of high-bailiff in 1568. It would appear, however, that whatever respectability the corporation of Stratford possessed in their own eyes and that of their fellow-burgesses, their claims to erudition were very humble: for out of nineteen members of that body whose signatures are attached to a document bearing date 1564, only seven could write their names, and among the twelve who affixed their mark only, was John Shakspeare.[2] The original position of the bard of Avon was little favourable certainly to the developement of mental powers. In 1574 his father's affairs began to fall into decay, and in 1585-6 a distress having been issued against his goods, it was returned unexecuted with this notification, "Joh'es Shackspere nihil habet unde distr. potest levari." The ex-bailiff of Stratford died in 1601. He had married Mary, the youngest daughter of Robert Arden of Wilmecote in Warwickshire, by whom he had eight children: Jone, Margaret, William, Gilbert, Jone, Ann, Richard, and Edmund. Of this family some died in infancy; Edmund embraced the calling of an actor, and died in 1607; Jone, the second daughter of that name, married William Hart, a hatter in Stratford, whose descendants still exist in that town.

William Shakspeare was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, on the 23d of April, 1564,—"a fact," says Skottowe, "which comprises the whole of the poet's history till he is found, 'for some time,' at the free grammar-school of his native town, where he doubtless acquired the Latin, 'the small Latin,' that his friend Ben Jonson assures us he was master of." Gildon, Sewell, Upton, and others, have strenuously contended for young Shakspeare's scholarship and erudition; there is little evidence, however, that he ever enjoyed much of school-discipline; what learning he possessed was won for himself by his own strong and active understanding. The narrowness of his father's circumstances sufficiently account for his neglected education; but, after all, what occasion is there afforded us, while perusing his immortal pages, to regret his scantiness of school-learning? At the youthful age of eighteen, our poet entered into the connubial state. The wife he selected for himself was some eight years older than her husband; and the attachment —if any such ever existed—appears to have had little influence either on his mind or his fortunes. Shortly after the birth of his youngest child, Shakspeare quitted Stratford, and came up to the metropolis: his motive for taking this step is involved in obscurity. Rowe says that it was in consequence of his having got into a poaching scrape, and incurred the bitter resentment of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, by his ungracious behaviour during the legal proceedings which were instituted against him; but Malone throws discredit on the whole story, and contends that Shakspeare was induced to visit London by some actors who persuaded him to engage in the profession of a player. He was at this time about twenty-two years of age, and the first office which he filled on the stage was one of the lowest class. He soon rose, however, to a more elevated station among his Thespian brethren, although he does not appear ever to have sustained a leading part on the stage. The ghost in his own Hamlet was one of his best efforts; and

[1] Rowe. [2] Skottowe.

he is known to have been the representative of Adam in 'As You Like It.' If the names of the actors prefixed to 'Every Man in his Humour,' were arranged in the same order as the persons of the drama, he must have performed the part of 'Old Knowell' in that comedy. Whatever Shakspeare may have been in the practical part of his art, the speech which he has put into Hamlet's mouth, in his directions to the players, affords sufficient evidence that he understood the theory of the histrionic art perfectly well.

It is now impossible to fix the date of Shakspeare's first appearance as a dramatic writer. When he appeared in this character he had many illustrious cotemporaries, but no rival; at one bound he placed himself foremost and alone in the race of fame. "The cotemporaries of Shakspeare were great and remarkable men. They had winged imaginations, and made lofty flights. They saw above, below, or around; but they had not the taste or discrimination which he possessed, nor the same extensive vision. They drew correctly and vividly for particular aspects, while he towered above his subject, and surveyed it on all sides, from 'top to toe.' If some saw farther than others, they were dazzled at the riches before them, and grasped hastily, and with little care. They were perplexed with that variety which he made subservient to the general effect. They painted a portrait, or two, or three only, as though afraid of confusion. He, on the other hand, managed and marshalled all. His characters lie, like strata of earth, one under another; or, to use his own expression, 'matched in mouth like bells, each under each.' We need only look at the plays of Falstaff, where there are wits, and rogues, and simpletons, of a dozen shades,—Falstaff, Hal, Poins, Bardolph, Nym, Pistol, Hostess, Shallow, Silence, Slender,—to say nothing of those rich recruits, equal only to a civil war. Now, no one else has done this, and it must be presumed that none have been able to do it; Marlow, Marston, Webster, Decker, Jonson, Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher,—a strong phalanx, yet none have proved themselves competent to so difficult a task."

Besides his thirty-six plays, commencing with the first part of Henry VI. and ending with the Tempest, all of which were certainly produced betwixt the years 1589 and 1613, Shakspeare wrote some poetical pieces which were published separately: viz. Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece, The Passionate Pilgrim, A Lover's Complaint, and a volume of Sonnets. These pieces have indeed been entirely eclipsed by the unrivalled splendour of dramas from the same pen, but they are noble compositions nevertheless, and worthy in all respects of the golden age of our literature. The Venus and Adonis, and the Rape of Lucrece, appeared in 1593-4, and were both dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton. That young nobleman proved a munificent patron. Rowe relates, that on one occasion he presented the poet with a thousand pounds, a sum equivalent to at least five thousand pounds in our own day. The earls of Pembroke and Montgomery also vied with each other, and with Southampton, in the patronage of the rising dramatist, who was also soon still more highly flattered by the special notice and favour of Queen Elizabeth, at whose desire he is said to have composed his 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' with the view of exhibiting Falstaff in the character of a lover. How well Shakspeare knew to compliment royal vanity, the following lines in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' testify:

> "That very time I saw (but thou could'st not)
> Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
> Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took
> At a fair vestal throned by the west;
> And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
> As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts:
> But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
> Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon;
> And the imperial vot'ress passed on,
> In maiden meditation, fancy free."

With such patronage, and such skill to avail himself of it, it is not matter of surprise that our poet, unlike too many of his gifted contemporaries, should have quickly improved his finances and risen in the world. So early as the year 1596, he possessed a share in the Blackfriar's theatre, and the next year he purchased one of the best houses in his native town, to which, in 1602, he added a small estate of one hundred and seven acres of land in the neighbourhood. Nor did this flow of worldly prosperity interrupt his friendly connexions with his less fortunate and probably less prudent brethren, although one at least of the gifted circle had been exalted by the public voice into the place of a rival. Much has been written about the secret enmity which is supposed to have existed between Jonson and Shakspeare, but the story has been amply disproved by Mr Gifford, who expresses his fixed persuasion that the two great dramatists were friends and associates till one of them finally retired from public notice; that no feud, no jealousy, ever disturbed their connexion; that Shakspeare was pleased with Jonson, and that Jonson loved and admired Shakspeare.

The profession of a player was certainly not congenial to our poet's inclinations. That he regarded himself as dishonoured by it appears from his CX. and CXI. sonnets, in which he expresses regret that he had

> "Made himself a motley to the view;"

and bids his friend upbraid Fortune

> "That did not better for his life provide
> Than public means, which public manners breed."

He seems to have finally quitted the metropolis and retired to his beloved Stratford about the year 1613. Henceforward even tradition is silent regarding him. We only know that he died on the 23d of April 1616, the anniversary of his birth, and the same day on which expired, in Spain, his great contemporary Cervantes. On the 25th of April, his body was interred on the north side of the chancel of the parish church, where a monument was subsequently erected to his memory. In the year 1741, a very noble and beautiful monument was raised to him in Westminster abbey. His wife survived him eight years. He left two daughters who were both married, and from one of whom sprung Lady Barnard, our poet's last lineal descendant, who died in 1670.

The powers of language have been exhausted in dissertations upon the genius, and criticisms on the dramas of Shakspeare. The following masterly and eloquent encomium on our great dramatist, as coming

from the pen of a foreign critic, ought to be impartial at least: "The distinguishing property," says Schlegel, "of the dramatic poet is the capability of transporting himself so completely into every situation, even the most unusual, that he is enabled, as plenipotentiary of the whole human race, without particular instructions for each separate case, to act and speak in the name of every individual. It is the power of endowing the creatures of his imagination with such self-existent energy, that they afterwards act in each conjuncture according to general laws of nature: the poet institutes, as it were, experiments, which are received with as much authority as if they had been made on real objects. Never, perhaps, was there so comprehensive a talent for the delineation of character as Shakspeare's. It not only grasps the diversities of rank, sex, and age, down to the dawnings of infancy; not only do the king and the beggar, the hero and the pickpocket, the sage and the idiot, speak and act with equal truth; not only does he transport himself to distant ages and foreign nations, and portray in the most accurate manner, with only a few apparent violations of costume, the spirit of the ancient Romans, of the French in their wars with the English, of the English themselves during a great part of their history, of the Southern Europeans (in the serious part of many comedies), the cultivated society of that time, and the former rude and barbarous state of the North; his human characters have not only such depth and precision that they cannot be arranged under classes, and are inexhaustible, even in conception:—no—this Prometheus not merely forms men, he opens the gates of the magical world of spirits; calls up the midnight ghost; exhibits before us his witches amidst their unhallowed mysteries; peoples the air with sportive fairies and sylphs:—and, these beings existing only in imagination, possess such truth and consistency, that, even when deformed monsters like Caliban, he extorts the conviction, that if there should be such beings, they would so conduct themselves. In a word, as he carried with him the most fruitful and daring fancy into the kingdom of nature,—on the other hand, he carries nature into the regions of fancy, lying beyond the confines of reality. We are lost in astonishment at seeing the extraordinary, the wonderful, and the unheard of, in such intimate nearness.

"If Shakspeare deserves our admiration for his characters, he is equally deserving it for his exhibition of passion, taking this word in its widest signification, as including every mental condition, every tone from indifference or familiar mirth to the wildest rage and despair. He gives us the history of minds; he lays open to us, in a single word, a whole series of preceding conditions. His passions do not at first stand displayed to us in all their height, as is the case with so many tragic poets, who, in the language of Lessing, are thorough masters of the legal style of love. He paints in a most inimitable manner, the gradual progress from the first origin. 'He gives,' as Lessing says, 'a living picture of all the most minute and secret artifices by which a feeling steals into our souls; of all the imperceptible advantages which it there gains; of all the stratagems by which every other passion is made subservient to it, till it becomes the sole tyrant of our desires and our aversions.' Of all poets, perhaps, he alone has portrayed the mental diseases, melancholy, delirium, lunacy, with such inexpressible, and, in every respect, definite truth, that the physician may enrich his observations from them in the same manner as from real cases.

"And yet Johnson has objected to Shakspeare, that his pathos is not always natural and free from affectation. There are, it is true, passages, though, comparatively speaking, very few, where his poetry exceeds the bounds of true dialogue, where a too soaring imagination, a too luxuriant wit, rendered the complete dramatic forgetfulness of himself impossible. With this exception, the censure originates only in a fanciless way of thinking, to which every thing appears unnatural that does not suit its own tame insipidity. Hence, an idea has been formed of simple and natural pathos, which consists in exclamations destitute of imagery, and nowise elevated above every-day life. But energetical passions electrify the whole of the mental powers, and will, consequently, in highly favoured natures, express themselves in an ingenious and figurative manner. It has been often remarked, that indignation gives wit; and, as despair occasionally breaks out into laughter, it may sometimes also give vent to itself in antithetical comparisons.

"Besides, the rights of the poetical form have not been duly weighed. Shakspeare, who was always sure of his object, to move in a sufficiently powerful manner when he wished to do so, has occasionally, by indulging in a freer play, purposely moderated the impressions when too painful, and immediately introduced a musical alleviation of our sympathy. He had not those rude ideas of his art which many moderns seem to have, as if the poet, like the clown in the proverb, must strike twice on the same place. An ancient rhetorician delivered a caution against dwelling too long on the excitation of pity; for nothing, he said, dries so soon as tears; and Shakspeare acted conformably to this ingenious maxim, without knowing it.

"The objection, that Shakspeare wounds our feelings by the open display of the most disgusting moral odiousness, harrows up the mind unmercifully, and tortures even our minds by the exhibition of the most insupportable and hateful spectacles, is one of much greater importance He has never, in fact, varnished over wild and blood-thirsty passions with a pleasing exterior,—never clothed crime and want of principle with a false show of greatness of soul; and in that respect he is every way deserving of praise. Twice he has portrayed downright villains; and the masterly way in which he has contrived to elude impressions of too painful a nature, may be seen in Iago and Richard the Third. The constant reference to a petty and puny race must cripple the boldness of the poet. Fortunately for his art, Shakspeare lived in an age extremely susceptible of noble and tender impressions, but which had still enough of the firmness inherited from a vigorous olden time, not to shrink back with dismay from every strong and violent picture. We have lived to see tragedies of which the catastrophe consists in the swoon of an enamoured princess. If Shakspeare falls occasionally into the opposite extreme, it is a noble error, originating in the fulness of a gigantic strength: and yet this tragical Titan, who storms the heavens, and threatens to tear the world from off its hinges; who, more fruitful than Æschylus, makes our hair stand on end, and congeals our blood with horror, possessed, at the same time, the insinuating loveliness of the sweetest poetry. He plays with love like a child; and his songs are breathed out like melting sighs. He unites in his genius the utmost elevation and the utmost depth; and the most foreign, and even apparently irreconcileable properties, subsist in him peaceably together. The world of spirits and nature have laid all their treasures at his feet.

In strength a demi-god, in profundity of view a prophet, in all-seeing wisdom a protecting spirit of a higher order, he lowers himself to mortals, as if unconscious of his superiority; and is as open and unassuming as a child."[1]

John Bull.

BORN CIRC. A. D. 1563.—DIED A. D. 1622.

THIS celebrated composer of music was born in Somersetshire, about the year 1563. Hawkins affirms that he was allied to the noble family of Somerset. He was educated under Blytheman, an organist highly celebrated in his day, but of whose compositions none are known to be now extant. In 1591, on the death of Blytheman, Bull was appointed organist and composer to the Queen's chapel; and, in 1592, he was created Doctor of Music by the university of Cambridge. On the foundation of the Gresham professorship of music, Dr Bull was first appointed to that chair, at the request of his royal mistress; but it appears that his scholarship, at least, was inadequate to the duties of this office, and that he required a special dispensation in his favour from the fundamental law of the institution, which directed the lectures to be read in Latin as well as in English. In the year 1601, Dr Bull went abroad for the benefit of his health, and travelled for some time incognito through France and Germany. On this occasion he is said to have astonished certain foreign musicians by his skill and facility in musical composition; and to have received various flattering invitations from foreign princes to fix himself at their courts. On Queen Elizabeth's death, he was appointed first organist to James I.; and, on the 16th of July, 1607, he had the honour to entertain his majesty and Prince Henry, who that day dined with the company at Merchant Tailors' Hall, "with excellent melodie upon a small payre of organs placed there for that purpose onlie." It would appear, from the investigations of Mr Clarke, that it was on this occasion that our national anthem of 'God save the King'—now ascertained to be the undoubted composition of Bull—was first performed in public, in celebration of the king's happy escape from the machinations of Guy Fawkes and his band of conspirators. In 1613, Dr Bull threw up all his situations in his native country, and went to reside in the Netherlands, where he was admitted into the service of the Archduke. He is supposed to have died abroad, about the year 1622; Wood says that he died at Hamburg, but some of his contemporaries have mentioned Lubeck as the place of his death.—Of Dr Bull's compositions, a long list is given by Ward in his lives of the Gresham professors. The only works of his in print, are lessons for the organ and virginals, in the collection called 'Parthenia,'—the anthem above-mentioned,—and one entitled 'Deliver me, O God!' in Barnard's collection of church-music. Dr Pepusch placed his lessons in a very high rank, not only for the harmony and contrivance, but for the air and modulation; from some of them we are led to form a high idea of the composer's powers of execution.

[1] Lectures on the Drama, vol. II.

William Camden.

BORN A. D. 1551.—DIED A. D. 1623.

This eminent historian and antiquary, who has been styled by foreigners 'the British Pausanias,' was the son of Sampson Camden of Litchfield, who afterwards settled in London as a house-painter, where William was born on the 2d of May 1551. He received the rudiments of education in Christ's hospital, whence he was removed to St Paul's school. In his 15th year he was sent to Oxford, and admitted a servitor in Magdalen college, but being disappointed of a demy's place in this college, he removed to Broadgate hall, now Pembroke college. Here he attracted the attention of Dr Thornton, afterwards canon of Christ church; but although he continued to gain numerous friends within the university, he failed as a candidate for a fellowship in All Souls college, and in 1570 was refused the degree of A.B. for reasons which have not been assigned. It was about this period that he formed an acquaintanceship with Richard and George Carew, two gentlemen of family in Devonshire, whose example first incited him to antiquarian pursuits. In 1571, he appears to have removed to London, where he remained for some time; but, in 1573, we find him again at Oxford, and finally successful in his application for the degree of A.B. In 1575 he was appointed second master of Westminster school, through the interest of his friend Dr Goodman, dean of Westminster. In this situation he gave much satisfaction as a teacher of youth, and enlarged and strengthened his connections in life. His leisure hours he devoted to his favourite study of native antiquities, and to amassing materials for his great work the 'Britannia,' the scheme of which he had already sketched out in his mind. His daily increasing reputation as an antiquary procured him the friendship and correspondence of many eminent men of letters both at home and abroad. Among the latter were Justus Lipsius of Brussels, Jacobus Dousa of the Hague, and Gruter of Antwerp, and Ortelius the geographer, and Brisson of Paris. Among the most accomplished and munificent of his English friends was Sir Philip Sydney, who furnished him with some valuable materials for his projected work, besides making him many considerable presents. In 1582, he undertook a tour throughout a considerable portion of England for the purpose of collecting materials for the illustrations of its antiquities upon the spot; he likewise purchased several valuable MSS., and made most laborious researches in the various offices of record. At length, after ten years of indefatigable industry, the first edition of the 'Britannia' was published in 1586, in one volume 8vo. This elaborate work was written in Latin, and dedicated to Lord-treasurer Burleigh. Its title in English was, "Britain, or a chorographical description of the flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent islands, from the most remote antiquity." In 1594, a fourth edition of the Britannia, with numerous enlargements, the fruit of fresh researches and personal inquiries, was published in one volume 4to. In 1589, he was presented to a prebend in the cathedral of Salisbury, which he enjoyed during his life

without residence, or entrance into orders, and in 1592, on the death of Dr Grant, succeeded to the head-mastership of Westminster school.

Camden's next performance was a Greek grammar for the use of his scholars, which was very favourably received, and maintained its reputation as a school-book for upwards of a century after his death. The interest of Sir Fulke Greville obtained for him the office of Clarencieux, second king-at-arms, in 1597, and thus enabled him more fully to devote himself to his favourite studies than was compatible with the arduous and fatiguing duties of the mastership of Westminster. In 1600, Camden accomplished a personal tour in the north of England, in company with Sir Robert Cotton, the founder of the Cottonian library. The same year he published a description of the monuments in Westminster abbey. It had long been Camden's intention to write a civil history of England, but he appears to have relinquished this design soon after the death of Queen Elizabeth. The collection, however, of ancient British historians which he had made with a view to this work were printed in a uniform edition at Frankfort, under his superintendance. In 1605, he published "Remains of a greater work concerning Britain," &c. being a collection of fragments illustrative of the habits, manners, and customs of the ancient Britons and Saxons. In 1606, Camden drew up in Latin, by the desire of James I., an account of the Gunpowder plot; and in the same year the 6th and last edition of his "Britannia," in folio, passed through the press. It was from this edition that Philemon Holland prepared his English translation.

In 1612, Camden, having gone to Oxford to attend the funeral of his friend Sir Thomas Bodley, was offered the degree of A.M. which he declined, as he also did the honour of knighthood proffered him by the king. In 1615, he published "Annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the year 1589." It was written in Latin, and had been begun in 1597 at the desire of Lord Burleigh, who contributed some materials for it. His continuation of the Annals in which he brought them down to the death of Elizabeth, was first published at Leyden, in 1625, in 8vo.; and the first edition of the Annals, complete, at London, in 1627, in folio. Another edition of the Annals was published by Hearne at Oxford, in 1717, in 3 vols. 8vo. Both Moulin and Maitland assert that King James made Camden alter various passages, and insert others, relating to the queen, his mother, in the Annals; but this is stoutly denied by Dr Smith. In 1622, Camden founded a professorship of history at Oxford, with a salary of £140 per annum. He died at his house at Chislehurst in Kent, on the 9th of November 1623, and was buried with great pomp in Westminster abbey. Besides the works already mentioned, a collection of his Latin letters with some small tracts was published by Dr Smith, in 1691. Another translation of the Britannia was published in folio, in 1695, by Edmund Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, which was reprinted with additions, in 2 vols. folio, in 1722 and 1773. But the best edition is that edited by Gough, and published in 1789, in 3 vols. folio.—Several portraits of Camden exist. The best is that by Basire in Gough's edition of the Britannia. There is an original portrait of him in Painters' Hall.[1]

[1] Biog. Brit.—Life by Gibson.—Vita Camdeni aut. T. Smith.—Bayle.

Francis Bacon.

BORN A. D. 1561.—DIED A. D. 1626.

THIS illustrious person, the chief ornament of the age in which he flourished, and one of the most eminent examples of intellectual greatness which his nation or his species has ever produced, was the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper of the great seal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and of Anne, one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, tutor to King Edward VI. another of whom was married to the celebrated Burleigh. He was born at York-house, in the Strand, London, on the 22d of January, 1561. Important as were the external advantages under which he came into the world, it soon became manifest that nature had endowed him still more bountifully with the nobler gift of genius. While yet a child, the vivacity and force of his remarks made him be regarded as a little wonder; and Queen Elizabeth, who delighted to converse with him, is said to have been wont playfully to distinguish him by the title of her young lord-keeper. In 1573, being only in the thirteenth year of his age, he was entered of Trinity college, Cambridge—and here he remained till he was sixteen, having, by the ardour and success with which he prosecuted his studies, fulfilled the fondest hopes which had been formed of him, and given new promise of a brilliant manhood. It is even asserted that he had already at this early age laid the foundation of that fabric of philosophy which has immortalized his name. On leaving college, he was sent by his father to visit France in the train of Sir Amias Powlet, the English ambassador at that court; and this gentleman was soon led to entertain so high an opinion of his ability and discretion, that having a message of importance to transmit to his sovereign, he selected Bacon, young as he was, to be its bearer. Having satisfactorily acquitted himself of this commission, he immediately returned to Paris. During the remainder of his stay in France, he did not confine himself to the capital, but visited various parts of the country. He was yet abroad, when in the spring of 1579, he was recalled home by the news of the sudden death of his father. On his arrival in England, he found himself deprived of the greater part of the provision which he had expected, in consequence of his father not having had time before he expired to complete his intended disposition in his favour. The sequel of Bacon's history warrants us in considering this accident as an unfortunate event for his happiness and his fame. His father's purpose probably had been to bequeath him such a competency as would have raised him above the necessity of giving himself up to a profession, and left him at liberty to dedicate his time and his powers to literature and philosophy. In many, perhaps it may be said in most cases, the exchange of such a destination for the duties of what is called active life, would deserve to be regarded rather as an escape than as a calamity. But there was no danger that Bacon would in any circumstances have spent his days in idleness and insignificance. His full and producing mind, the overflow of which in all highest speculation could not be repressed by all the burthens of business and of ambition, would have given forth of its

riches at least as plentifully, we may be well assured, had it not been bound and weighed down by these entanglements. As it was, he was obliged to select a field of exertion, in which he might be the worker of his own fortunes. He chose the law, his father's profession, and that also in which it seemed probable that his court connections would prove most available in assisting his rise. Having entered himself, accordingly, of Gray's inn, he sat down for some years to a life of sedulous study; but, determined, as it would seem, not to divorce himself from his old pursuits, to which his disposition most naturally inclined him, while cultivating that new learning by which he was to win his bread, his hours of application were divided between law and philosophy.

There is evidence that while thus employed, he had not only completed the idea of his inductive system in his own mind, but had sketched at least its general outline in a little work which he called *Temporis Partus Maximus*, The Greatest Birth of Time. He was far however from neglecting his legal studies—and when he was in due course called to the bar, his knowledge and talents soon procured him a respectable practice. In 1588, he discharged with applause the office of reader of his inn; and immediately after he was appointed by the queen her counsel learned in the law extraordinary—an honour for which he was probably indebted to the good offices of his powerful relation, Lord Burleigh. But, as throughout the whole of Bacon's legal and political career, there is much that is unsatisfactory to the admirers of his genius, and much also that is not to be very easily explained upon any hypothesis of his character and motives that may be proposed, so the course which he took at its very commencement is far from being the most intelligible part of it. Nearly connected as he was with the Cecils, he chose to attach himself to the party of their great opponent, the earl of Essex; and there is too much reason to believe from his subsequent conduct, that he was induced to form this alliance not so much from any distinterested admiration of the high qualities of that able and generous but unfortunate nobleman, as with the view of thereby the more effectually promoting his own advancement. He seems to have calculated that he would secure for himself a double chance of favour by thus having hold, as it were, of the leaders of both the rival parties that divided the court. As generally happens however with such over-refined schemes of policy, this project of Bacon's, if he did entertain it, seems to have failed. Essex, zealously as he endeavoured to further the interests of his new partizan, was never able to procure him any thing from the ministry or his sovereign; nay, his patronage, as might indeed be supposed, proved actually injurious to its object. His relations, the Cecils, had bestowed upon him the reversion of the office of register of the star-chamber; upon the enjoyment of the income of which, however, he did not enter till twenty years afterwards. He used to say that "it was like another man's ground buttalling upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but did not fill his barn." In 1594, he first appeared decidedly as a candidate for political honours, by making application for the office of solicitor-general. On this occasion he pursued his suit with extraordinary earnestness, and called to his aid all the influence of his friends. Essex in particular exerted himself in his behalf with his characteristic ardour. All

however was in vain; the place was given to another; but so strongly did Essex feel that his advocacy, instead of assisting, had in fact hurt the cause of his friend, that he insisted upon remedying the mischief which he conceived had resulted from his interference by making over to Bacon a peace of land, which the latter afterwards sold for £1800. "I know," said he, in bestowing upon him this gift, "you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill, because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance." It is melancholy to have to relate how Bacon requited this generosity. A few years after this time, (namely in 1601) Essex, as is well known, was brought to the block. Without attempting to extenuate the legal guilt, and certainly without denying the extreme imprudence and rashness of the misguided nobleman, we shall not be thought to speak of him with undue charity, when we say that at least he did not deserve that Bacon should be found among those who assisted in bringing him to a bloody death. Yet so it was; his former friend, whose fortunes he had done every thing in his power to advance, and who had shared in his profuse liberality, not only appeared as the crown lawyer to plead against him on his trial, and to urge his condemnation, but after his execution, when the law, it might have been thought, had had its full revenge upon its victim, was persuaded to lend the aid of his eloquent pen, to blazon forth the treasons of his ancient benefactor, and to employ all the arts of the skilful advocate to hand down his name with infamy to posterity. This conduct, as it well deserved, brought down upon Bacon a storm of public odium, which long continued to pursue him. Many years afterwards, he attempted in a letter addressed to the earl of Devonshire, to vindicate the motives from which he had acted, on the pretence that his duty to his sovereign who had commanded his services, was a higher obligation than that by which he was bound to his friend; but it can hardly be supposed that he did much to set himself right in public estimation by so paltry an apology. The atrocity of an act of ingratitude so revolting to the natural feelings of man was not to be quibbled away. Bacon, however, it is worth remarking, seems to have entertained, or at least to have professed, both upon this and upon other subjects, what perhaps we may call a more subtle morality than that commonly received. There can be little doubt, indeed, we think, that he sometimes suffered himself to be imposed upon by the sophistries of his very ingenious and refining intellect, in regard to points of principle as to which a man of plainer judgment would not have been so likely to go astray. Some parts of his future political conduct furnish still more striking evidence of this. Meanwhile, however, he was far from giving up "what was meant for mankind," wholly to the struggles of political ambition.

About the year 1596, he had completed his 'Maxims of the law,' forming the first part of his treatise, entitled 'The Elements of the Common Law of England,' which however was not printed till after his death. In 1597, appeared the first part of his celebrated 'Essays, or Counsels'—a work which has been since reprinted innumerable times, and continues to hold its place as one of the most favourite popular manuals of instruction and entertainment in the language. These essays—which were much altered and enlarged in subsequent impressions—were flatteringly received by the public from the first,

and were always esteemed by the author himself as among the happiest of his performances. In 1598, he composed a 'History of the Alienation Office,' which is held to be in the highest degree creditable to his legal learning, but which remained in manuscript till published in Mallet's edition of his collected works about the middle of last century. In 1600, he was elected to the office of double reader by the society of Gray's inn, the duties of which he discharged with great applause. Having soon after this, also, made his *amende honorable* to the dominant party in the court by his more than abandonment, as just related, of his early patron Essex, we find him pursuing the new path upon which he had entered with a manifest determination to make the most of the advantages he had received. In the house of commons—of which he had been for some years a member, having been first chosen to represent the county of Middlesex in 1592—he distinguished himself as an able and eloquent debater on the side of the crown. During the short remainder of the queen's life, however, he remained without any further preferment, but immediately on her death, he hastened to pay his court to the new sovereign, into whose favour he sought to ingratiate himself by every means which it was in his power to employ. He seems to have considered that he had now arrived at a crisis in the progress of his life, which called upon him to bring up all his resources to the occasion if he would play the game of his ambition with success. Nor were the pains he took without the expected effect.

On the arrival of James in London, (in July 1603) Bacon was introduced to him at Whitehall, and received the honour of knighthood. The following year he was named king's counsel, with a fee of forty pounds a year: another pension of £60 being granted him at the same time, for special services performed by himself and his brother Anthony Bacon. This appointment, and the known favour in which he stood with his sovereign, no doubt materially advanced his professional reputation and gains; and he soon after still farther augmented his fortune by marrying a rich city-heiress, Alice, the daughter of Benedict Barnham Esq. alderman. In 1607, he at last by renewed solicitation obtained the object for which he had applied thirteen years before, and was made solicitor-general. From this time, his importance both in Westminster-hall and in the house of commons greatly increased; and he was entitled to consider himself in the direct way to the highest honours which the crown could bestow. This prosperity, however, brought its annoyances and vexations as well as its golden visions along with it. His shining talents and growing influence exposed him in particular to the jealousy of his celebrated rival in the race of court-favour and professional distinction, Sir Edward Coke, who, quite as ambitious and unscrupulous as Bacon, was besides almost necessarily thrown by the character both of his acquirements and of his temper into a position, as it were, of antipathy and conflict with reference to his calm and philosophic contemporary. A great lawyer, as he most unquestionably was, and well knew himself to be, Coke naturally felt indignant that a man like Bacon, of very inferior attainments in the learning of their common profession, should yet be not only so far favoured as to be allowed to tread close upon his heels in the road of advancement, but should even be deemed to have some claim and some chance to step before him, or to mount to a station of more dignity and splendour than he himself

could count upon achieving. Being a great lawyer merely, Coke was utterly unfitted to comprehend the noble intellectual endowments of Bacon, and probably regarded both his philosophy and his eloquence with contempt, after the manner in which arrogant ignorance is accustomed to despise whatever it does not understand. Bacon, on the other hand, with less fierceness of hostility, was not perhaps very likely to take a more lofty measure of the pretensions by which he was opposed —and possibly did not perceive any thing so very love-inspiring in a mere walking dictionary of decisions as to terrify him to fall down and worship it as either god or oracle. These considerations sufficiently account for the repugnance and occasionally active hostility which divided the two luminaries so long as they continued to move in each other's neighbourhood. Neither the irritation, however, of these quarrels and mutual jealousies, nor the weight of his various public duties withdrew the mind of Bacon from its higher and proper sphere.

In 1605, he came forward as the unfolder of a new method of philosophy by the publication of his noble treatise on the advancement of learning, the first part of his great work which he entitled the *Instauratio Magna* or *Instauration* of the sciences. The continuation of this undertaking appears to have formed the business of his more serious studies during many of the succeeding years of his life. In 1610, appeared his ingenious treatise on the Wisdom of the Ancients, in which he endeavours, certainly with great felicity of fancy, if not always with demonstrative effect, to penetrate what he conceived to be the hidden meaning of the mythology of antiquity. The next preferment which he obtained was the office of judge of the court of Marshalsea, conjointly with the then knight-marshal, Sir Thomas Vavasour. Reckoning his wife's fortune, an estate which he possessed in Hertfortshire, and another which had belonged to his father, and which he had now inherited by the death of his elder brother Anthony, together with his place of register to the court of star-chamber, of which he had, after waiting long, at length come to the enjoyment, and his professional emoluments, it is conjectured that his income at this time could not be less than five thousand pounds. In 1613, by dint of persevering application in person to the king, and after having been already once disappointed of his object by the unexpected recovery from a dangerous illness of the individual whom he hoped to succeed, he obtained the office of attorney-general; and thereby no doubt still farther improved his revenues. Indeed we find him a few years after this declaring that the attorney-generalship alone was worth to him full six thousand a year. In this office it is not to be concealed that Bacon showed himself as subservient a doer of all work as the crown could have desired, supporting the prerogative with his best zeal and ability in all its arbitrary exactions, and encroachments on the liberty of the subject. It was about the era of Bacon's appointment as attorney-general, that the fall of James's first minion, the infamous Somerset, made way for the introduction and rapid rise at court of his successor George Villiers, afterwards created duke of Buckingham. Bacon seized the opportunity of fortifying the position he had gained by forming an intimate association with the new favourite, who is considered indeed to have been in no small degree indebted to the sagacious attorney-general for the counsels by which he hastened his elevation, and maintained and ex-

tended his ascendancy over the mind of his royal master. There is extant among Bacon's works an elaborate discourse addressed to Villiers for his guidance, and which bears to have been compiled at the favourite's request on entering upon his delicate office. The connection between the two parties subsisted during the life of Bacon, whose subsequent rise there can be little doubt it materially facilitated. In 1616, the attorney-general was sworn a member of the privy council—and he seems at this time to have been also chancellor to the prince.

The grand object of his ambition, however, now seemed to be coming within his grasp, and the opportunity to be presented, if he could but command the requisite dexterity of striking at the prize and making it his own. The aged Lord-Chancellor Egerton, was attacked by an illness from which he was not expected to recover. Bacon immediately exerted every engine within his reach in order to persuade the king to bestow upon him the seals, in case of the expected vacancy. At his instigation, the favourite in particular plied the royal ear with whatever arguments or solicitations were most likely to produce the desired effect. The eager candidate even addressed his majesty himself in an earnest petition for the coveted dignity, in which he set forth his qualifications in terms so anxious that they deserve to be quoted as a sample of the manner in which these negociations, which now seem so strange, were wont to be managed. "Now I beseech your majesty," says he, "let me put you the present case truly. If you take my Lord Coke, this will follow, first, your majesty shall put an over-ruling nature into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; next, you shall blunt his industry in matter of finances, which seemeth to aim at another place; and, lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hobart," (the chief-justice of the common pleas) "you shall have a judge at the upper end of your council board, and another at the lower end, whereby your majesty will find your prerogative pent; for though there should be emulation between them, yet, as Legisto, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best. * * * For myself, I can only present your majesty with *gloria in obsequio*, yet I dare promise, that, if I sit in that place, your business shall not make such short turns upon you as it doth; but when a direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed; and your majesty shall only be troubled with the true care of a king, which is, to think what you would have done in chief, and not how for the passages. I do presume also, in respect of my father's memory, and that I have been always gracious in the lower house; I have interest in the gentry of England, and shall be able to do some good effect in rectifying that body of parliament-men which is *cardo rerum;* for let me tell your majesty, that that part of the chancellor's place, which is to judge in equity between party and party, that same *regnum judiciale*, (which, since my father's time, is but too much enlarged), concerneth your majesty least, more than the acquitting of your conscience for justice; but it is the other parts of a moderator amongst your counsel, of an overseer over your judges, of a planter of fit justices and governors in the country, that importeth your affairs and these times most. I will add, also, that I hope by my care the inventive part of your council will be strengthened, who now commonly do exercise rather their judgments than their inventions, and the inventive part cometh

from projectors and private men, which cannot be so well. To conclude—if I were the man I would be, I should hope that, as your majesty hath of late won hearts by depressing, you should in this lose no hearts by advancing, for I see your people can better skill of *concretum* than *abstractum*, and that the waves of their affections flow rather after persons than things, so that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more good than twenty bills of grace." After all, however, the old chancellor got well again, and Bacon was consequently for the present disappointed. But in the course of about a year, Egerton, worn out with age and infirmities, was induced to resign, and in a few days afterwards, namely, on the 7th of March, 1617, Sir Francis Bacon received the great seal from the hands of the king, with the title of lord-keeper. His majesty, however, almost immediately after set out for Scotland, where he remained for about six months. The presidency of the council and the chief management of public affairs were left during this period in the hands of Bacon. On the 4th of January, 1618, he was made ' ' ' ' ' ' " and on the 11th of July, the same year, ennobled . on of Verulam. A grant of the farming of the alienation office, from which he derived a considerable revenue, was the next favour he obtained from the king. York-house, in which he had been born, was also bestowed upon him for a residence—and here, in the beginning of the year 1620, he celebrated his birth-day with great magnificence, an event which Ben Jonson has commemorated in a set of verses, in which he speaks of the exalted subject of his muse as one

> "Whose even thread the fates spin round and full,
> Out of their choicest and their whitest wool."

This was indeed the bright noon of Bacon's prosperity, when every thing seemed to conspire to lift him to as great a height of glory as a private man could well attain to. To crown all; in October, this same year, he gave to the public the second part of his *Instauratio Magna*, his immortal *Novum Organum*, the greatest of all his works, and the central pile of that edifice of philosophy on which the world has bestowed his name. The *Novum Organum* was received with the unbounded applause of the learned, both in his own and foreign nations, and placed the fame of its author at once above that of every other living writer.

On the 27th of January, 1621, he received an additional mark of his majesty's favour, by being raised to the dignity of Viscount St Albans. But this was the last step of his rise; and he was now on the very brink of a precipice, over which he was to be hurled the next moment from his pride of place to ruin and infamy. After King James had endeavoured for seven years to rule the State by his own authority, his necessities at last compelled him to call together a parliament. Bacon was one of the most ardent advisers of this measure, relying no doubt on the power he believed himself to possess, from his former experience of influencing and directing such popular assemblies. He himself opened the parliament with a short address to both houses from the woolsack, when they met on the 30th of January. Scarcely, however, had the commons proceeded to business, when complaints of

grievances poured in upon them from all quarters. In consequence of facts stated by some of the complainants, a committee was appointed to examine the proceedings of the different courts of law. On the 15th of March, the chairman of this committee reported that two charges of corruption had been brought against the lord-chancellor. On the 19th, some stronger facts having come out in the meantime, a conference was held with the house of lords, and the matter formally submitted to that assembly. Bacon was at this time confined to his house by illness; but in the course of the debate which ensued, his friend Villiers, now become marquess of Buckingham, presented a letter from him addressed to their lordships, in which he requested that they would look upon him as innocent till he should have an opportunity of confuting his accusers. Meanwhile, the committee of the commons having continued their investigations, were enabled, the very next day, to extend their list of instances of corruption to the number of about twenty, in which the lord-chancellor was charged with having received bribes from suitors in his court to the amount of several thousands of pounds. His lordship appears now to have felt that matters had gone too far for him to attempt to justify himself with any success. The sequel of the story is very melancholy and painful. He wrote to the king through the medium of Buckingham, imploring his majesty to interfere, if possible, to shield him. James granted him an interview, and showed himself well inclined to do what he could in his behalf—for which purpose he contrived to procure a short adjournment of the two houses, in the hope that the zeal of the accusers might abate in the interval, or the unfavourable appearances which the case presented be somewhat softened. But the tide of public feeling ran too strong to be thus diverted. After the parliament met again, Bacon, finding that the consideration of the affair must inevitably be resumed, got the prince of Wales to present a paper from him addressed to his brother-peers, in which he humbly threw himself upon their mercy. Further humiliation, however, was still in store for him. The house voted that his submission was not sufficiently specific, and called upon him to declare particularly in how far he was guilty or not in regard to each of the charges brought against him. To this demand also he found it necessary to conform; and, on the 30th, he sent in a paper, headed 'The confession and humble submission of me, the lord-chancellor,' in which he went over the several charges, amounting now to twenty-three in number, in their order, and stating, to the best of his recollection, the facts in each case, admitted the receipt of money in all of them, and in most of the full sums alleged. No comment is necessary on this sad exposure. It may however be stated, in confirmation of a remark already made, that Bacon's notions on the subject of a judge receiving money from the suitors in his court, appear to have been very singular. In the letter which he wrote to the king, he expressly intimates, that he does not think such conduct in any degree wrong, provided the money be not taken till after the sentence has been pronounced. In regard to most of the charges in his own case, accordingly, (though as to some he did not offer even that excuse), he endeavoured to make it appear that the presents of the parties had been accepted by him not as bribes to sway or buy his judgment, but merely as acknowledgments of their satisfaction, offered after he had decided in their favour. After his confession

had been read, a deputation of the lords was sent to his house to ask if he acknowledged the signature to the paper. "It is my act, my hand, my heart," he replied; "I beseech your lordships to be merciful to a broken reed." On the day following, by his majesty's command, he delivered up the great seal. On the 3d of May, the commons having appeared at the bar of the upper house, demanded, through their speaker, that judgment should be passed on the culprit by their lordships; when the lord-chief-justice, Coke, immediately pronounced the sentence of the court to be, "that the Lord Viscount St Albans, lord-chancellor of England, shall undergo fine and ransom of forty thousand pounds, that he shall be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, that he shall for ever be incapable of any office or employment in the state or commonwealth, that he shall never sit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court." These hard terms, however, were, after a short time, greatly mitigated by the indulgence of his royal master, to whom the fallen minister did not fail to address himself in a tone of supplication, the meanness of which even his misery can hardly excuse. He was very soon released from his confinement—and within six months he obtained a remission of his fine, a part of his sentence which his involved circumstances and great debts made to fall upon him with extreme weight. By the aid of Buckingham he even at last procured the abrogation of the order which excluded him from the court—after which he saw his majesty frequently, and was consulted by him on many affairs of State. Meantime, as he recovered his tranquillity of mind, he betook himself again to his studies with his old ardour, and in the spring of the following year he sent to the press his 'History of King Henry VII.' This work was quickly followed by the publication of Latin translations of his Advancement of Learning and of his Essays. In 1623, on occasion of the meeting of a new parliament, he wrote a tract, entitled, 'Considerations on a war with Spain,' in defence of the policy then pursued by the court; and for this, and other services, his majesty was soon after pleased to grant him a full pardon.

James died a few months after this act of grace, and Bacon was again summoned to the parliament which met in May, 1625, after the accession of Charles I.; but never took his seat. His health indeed was now greatly impaired—the effect probably in part of his misfortunes, and of the distressing embarrassments entailed upon his old age, by the thoughtless extravagance in which he had indulged for many years before his fall. His income, consisting of a pension from the crown, what he derived from the alienation office, and the rents of his estates, still amounted to above two thousand pounds; but he was thirty thousand pounds in debt, even after the remission of his fine. In the spring of 1626, finding himself, as he thought, in better health than he had been for some time, he proposed to make a short excursion to the country; but he was suddenly taken ill at the earl of Arundel's house at Highgate, and expired there on the 9th of April, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Such is a very rapid sketch of the principal incidents in what we cannot but call, upon the whole, the melancholy history of this great man—great among the greatest, notwithstanding all his errors. Of these, after the detail which we have given, it is unnecessary that

we should say more. Even his own contemporaries seem to have been anxious to forget them in their admiration of his noble genius. After his fall, not less than before, he continued to be the object of the respect and reverence of all who were most distinguished for their love of letters and philosophy, both in his own and foreign countries. In 1623, we find the university of Oxford addressing him as "a mighty Hercules, who had by his own hand greatly advanced those pillars in the learned world, which, by the rest of the world, were supposed immoveable." Indeed, so far was this disposition carried to throw a vail over the frailties of so great a mind, that after some time the very memory of them seems to have been very generally lost. The inquisitive Bayle, who has devoted an article to Bacon in his Dictionary, working in Holland towards the close of the same century, does not appear to have been aware that any stain whatever rested on his reputation. The common feeling of posterity has been equally generous—and in naming Bacon, the servile politician is seldom thought of amidst our veneration for the grand reformer of philosophy. The commencement of the old age of the scholastic logic may, perhaps, be dated from the period when the great fathers of the modern literature of Italy arose, and happily turned the attention of men, by their writings and their example to a better learning than that which had for so many ages exclusively usurped the name. The genius of Dante and his followers, of course, was, in a great measure, the growth of the time; for no man forms his age so much as he is formed by it, and even the most powerful genius would produce but little effect, unless its appearance were deferred till the world was in some degree ready for it. The gradual purification and settlement of the principal vernacular tongues of Europe was, even before the time of Dante, preparing the way for the birth in every country of a native literature; and he came only to perform gloriously a task which the progress of events had created for him. Had he arisen a century or two earlier, the world would neither have been sufficiently advanced for his appearing in it, nor would he have been, even in intellectual character and faculty, the man he actually proved. Poetry, which had heretofore been only the pastime of the people, takes its place from the time of Dante in the literature of Europe. From this time forward men of learning and genius began to discern that there were other sorts of intellectual occupation than that provided by the vain disquisitions and eternal disputation which made up the philosophy of the schools. Well, therefore, might this great man be called, as he has been, "Restitutor politioris humanitatis"—the restorer of whatever we have of polite literature in the modern world. We are not, however, to suppose that the mists of the scholastic philosophy dispersed all at once before this new-risen light. They were too dense, and had rested on the earth too long, to be so suddenly dissolved; and as they had taken centuries to gather, so they took also some centuries to pass away. Even the revival of classic literature, in the beginning of the fifteenth century,—the invention of printing, which fortunately so soon followed,—and the mighty earthquake of the Reformation,—although each event contributed to shake the foundations of that universal empire which Aristotle had so long maintained over the human mind, were unable by their combined force to sweep it altogether away. The several great counteracting causes which we have mentioned had

already, to be sure, given birth to a number of new intellectual pursuits, which divided men's attention with the philosophy of the schools; and even this was much. But although poetry, and classical learning, and a new theology, and a variety of other studies connected with and originating in these, had each of them now its numerous votaries, the scholastic was still the only philosophy,—the only general code of principles and rules for the investigation of either moral or natural truth, which pretended to the dignity of a system. Some of the bold spirits of the Reformation, and especially Luther, had ventured indeed to treat the authority of the Stagyrite with a contempt which the adherents of the ancient faith reckoned not the least enormous of their many heresies. Peter Ramus had even published a new scheme of dialectics, or logic, in opposition to that of Aristotle, which, from the very audacity of the attempt, created a great sensation at the time of its appearance, and excited against its author as violent an outcry of reprobation as if he had committed the most heinous sacrilege. The civil authorities in France, of which country he was a subject, even denounced him by an express edict, as a rash, arrogant, and impudent innovator,—commanded the suppression of his works, and prohibited him from ever in future teaching or writing against Aristotle, under pain of corporal punishment. His logic, however, was afterwards admitted into several of the universities; and certainly contributed, in a considerable degree, to spread abroad that dissatisfaction with the old philosophy which had by this time begun to manifest itself. But the performance of Ramus, confined as it was merely to the art of reasoning, and evidencing, even with regard to that subject, no extraordinary accuracy or enlargement of perception, although it assisted in bringing the ancient system of philosophy into discredit, did little or nothing to establish a new one in its place; and there was still wanting a genius mighty enough to stretch his view over the whole realm of mind, and to erect an edifice of truth, which should comprehend within it the grounds and methods of all knowledge. To do this was the splendid destiny of Bacon, whose *Novum Organum*, or New Instrument of the Sciences, first pointed out to men the right way of philosophy, and thus overthrew from the foundation, and for ever, that mighty structure of error which the most fortunate of his forerunners had been able only slightly and partially to shake. He showed that observation and experiment are our only trustworthy guides to the knowledge of nature, whose laws and constitution, being no where directly revealed to us, are only to be inferred from the inspection of particular facts, the bringing together and arrangement of which he called 'Induction;' and hence his philosophy, in contradistinction to that of Aristotle, is commonly called *the Inductive*. The method of observation, however, we may remark, although first logically expounded and reduced to a system by Bacon, had already been extensively acted upon by several of his distinguished predecessors and contemporaries, and had, under their management, produced splendid results in the advancement of natural science. Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and above all, Galileo, may be mentioned as among the most remarkable of those who, immediately before the *Novum Organum* appeared, had shown practically what could be done in science by observation and experiment; while Des Cartes and Gassendi may be added to the list, as having assisted in the great intellec-

tual revolution which was accomplished about this time, both by their mathematical labours, and as direct assailants of the authority of Aristotle, though they had no share in the construction of that better system by which his philosophy was finally supplanted. This was the work of Bacon alone. It is a curious fact, however, on the other hand, that the true theory of the heavens was rejected by this great philosopher, as it was also by Des Cartes, even after it had been adopted, defended, and illustrated by Kepler and Galileo. But Bacon, with all his learning and extraordinary powers, was but slightly acquainted with the mathematics, which, prophet of the sciences as he was, he never anticipated would share so largely as they have done in the triumphs of modern discovery.

Sir Robert Cotton.

BORN A. D. 1570.—DIED A. D. 1631.

SIR ROBERT COTTON—or, as he used frequently to write his name, Robert Cotton Bruce, from the circumstance of his being descended from Robert Bruce—was an eminent antiquary; one, "whose name," says Dr Johnson, "must always be mentioned with honour, and whose memory cannot fail of exciting the warmest sentiments of gratitude, whilst the smallest regard for learning subsists among us." He was descended from an ancient family, originally of Cheshire, but settled in Huntingdonshire, in which county he was born in 1570, January 22d. He was admitted a student of Trinity college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B. A. in 1585; after which he went to London, where, from his taste for antiquities, he was introduced to, and made a member of a society of gentlemen, who met at stated periods to assist each other in their pursuit of a knowledge of antiquities. This was the origin of the present society of antiquaries, and their meetings took place every Friday, when two questions were proposed, which were to be elucidated at the next meeting. Here he indulged his taste in the prosecution of that study for which he afterwards became so famous, and he soon distinguished himself as a diligent collector of records, charters, and instruments of all kinds, relative to the ancient history of the country; and as the late dissolution of the monasteries had caused many manuscripts to fall into private hands, he enjoyed peculiar advantages in forming his collection. He was intimate with the famous Camden, whom, in 1600, he accompanied in an excursion to Carlisle, for the purpose of examining the Picts' wall, and other remains of antiquity. On the accession of James the First, he received the honour of knighthood, and during the whole of that reign he was consulted by persons in office upon points relative to the constitution, and to ancient usages. He drew up memorials and discourses upon various subjects of this nature, some of real and national importance, others perhaps interesting to antiquarians only. The prodigality with which the royal revenue had been squandered, necessitated the construction of some plan by which this waste might be repaired. Sir Robert was therefore employed to examine into the "manner and means how the kings of England have, from time to time, supported and repaired their estates." Of all

the methods suggested, none proved so agreeable to the king as the creating a new order of knights, called *baronets;* by which he could easily raise a hundred thousand pounds, as each baronet was to pay, in three instalments, as much as would maintain for the space of three years, thirty foot soldiers, to serve in the province of Ulster in Ireland, at 8d. a-day, which amounted to £1095. This title was not unknown in our records, for, by 13th Edward III., it was granted to William de la Pole and his heirs; and mention is made of it in an agreement between King Richard II. and several earls, barons, and *baronets.* He was afterwards employed by King James to vindicate the conduct of Mary, Queen of Scots, from the supposed misrepresentations of Buchanan and Thuanus; and his writings on this subject are thought to be interwoven in Camden's 'Annals of Queen Elizabeth,' or subjoined to Camden's 'Epistles.' He was also, in 1616, engaged by the king to examine whether the Papists, whose numbers then made the nation uneasy, ought by the laws of the land to be put to death, or to be imprisoned. This task he performed with great learning, and produced upon that occasion twenty-four arguments, which were published afterwards in 1672, among the 'Cottoni Posthuma;' about which time, it is surmised, he composed a piece still preserved in MS., entitled, 'Considerations for the repressinge of the encrease of Priests, Jesuits, and Recusants, without drawinge of blood.' When the Spanish match for Prince Charles was in agitation, Sir Robert was desired by the house of Commons to draw up an historical proof of the bad faith of the house of Austria in all their dealings with England, and of their schemes for universal monarchy. This is printed among the 'Cottoni Posthuma,' under the title of 'A remonstrance of the treaties of amity,' &c. He also wrote in 1621, a tract, which now bears the title of 'The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments,' and, subsequently, 'A Vindication of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of England.' This was first printed in 1651. He was a member of the first parliament of Charles the First, and joined in the complaints of the grievances which the nation was said, in 1628, to groan under; but he was always the advocate of mild remedies, zealous for the honour and safety of the king, and had no views but for the nation's advantage. This disposition impelled him to oppose strenuously those gentlemen who refused to contribute to the loan raised to supply those necessities of the king to which the parliament refused to attend. He earnestly endeavoured to impress on the minds of the king and council, that the parliament was the only legitimate power through which to raise money, and that their soundest policy was to gain its good will, by removing all jealousies concerning religion and liberty. From these proofs of attachment to the constitution, he was considered as no friend to the exertions of the royal prerogative; which circumstance, together with the enmity of the bishops Laud and Neile, was probably the occasion of a singular attack upon his liberty and reputation, which embittered his latter days.

A Mr Richard James, who had lived with Sir Robert, lent to one Mr St John a tract, drawn up by Sir Robert Dudley, in 1613, whilst he was in exile at Florence, for the purpose of ingratiating himself with King James, and, by that means, to prepare the way for his return to his own country. The title of this tract was, 'A Proposition for his Majesty's service to bridle the impertinency of Parliaments.' Mr St

John showed the book, or a copy, to the earl of Bedford, who exhibited it to others; and so it passed from hand to hand, till at last it was shown to Sir Robert himself, who immediately had it transcribed by his amanuensis,—a circumstance plainly proving that Sir Robert was quite unconscious that the tract originally came out of his own library. This amanuensis, it seems, imitating the said James, secretly made a copy for himself, and from his own transcript sold several copies, till at last one of them came into the hands of the then lord-deputy of Ireland. He acquainted the lords and others of the privy-council with it. They sent for the young man, and questioned him as to whence he had taken his copy; he declared that the book was put into his hands by Sir Robert Cotton. Whereupon, in the beginning of November, in the same year, 1629, Sir Robert Cotton was examined, and others, till it was traced to Mr St John himself, who was conceived to be the author of the book, and committed to the tower. Fear, that the results of this suspicion might affect his life, induced this gentleman to avow that the book was lent to him by that disreputable Richard James. Cotton, however, was very soon sued in the star-chamber, and his library locked up from him, two or more guards keeping continual watch upon his house. This implication of his honour was so great an indignity, that it undermined Sir Robert's health, reducing him from a hale, ruddy, and well-coloured man, to one of a grim blackish paleness, nearly resembling the hue of death. The real author of the tract being sworn to by Sir David Foulis, most of the parties were released, and Sir Robert Cotton had his library restored to him again.

Sir Robert Cotton's claims to our gratitude, are founded not so much on the productions of his pen—which, nevertheless, are numerous and valuable—as on the services he has rendered to the history and antiquities of Great Britain, by the library he collected. This library was placed in his own house at Westminster, near the house of commons, and very much augmented by his son, Sir Thomas Cotton, and his grandson, Sir John. In 1700, an act was passed for the better securing and preserving this library in the name and family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public. Sir John, great-grandson of Sir Robert, having sold Cotton-house to Queen Anne in 1706, to be a repository for the royal, as well as the Cottonian library, an act was passed for the better securing her majesty's purchase of that house, and both house and library were vested in trustees. The Cottonian library was subsequently removed to different places; and once suffered considerably by fire. In 1753, it was placed in the British museum, where it now remains.

It is almost incredible how much we are indebted to this library for what we know of our own country; indeed, it is the source of information to almost every book that has since appeared, relating to the history and antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. Sir Robert's correspondents and acquaintance included all the virtuosi and learned of his own country, with many of high reputation abroad, as Gruterus, Sweertius, Duchesne, Bourdelot, Puteanus, Peiresk, and many others. The merit of Sir Robert Cotton is well depicted in the preface to the Harleian Catalogue. "Bodley's great contemporary, Sir Robert Cotton, had been equally diligent in collecting ancient manuscripts. The study of antiquities, particularly those of this kingdom, had engaged his at-

tention, though he always showed a high regard for every part of philological learning, in all which he was extremely conversant. He had observed with regret, that the history, laws, and constitution of Britain, were in general very insufficiently understood; and being fully convinced, that the preservation of such monuments of antiquity, and other documents as were conducive to render the knowledge of them and their deductions from their primary state more accurate and universal, would necessarily redound to the advantage of the public, he had, in an expensive and indefatigable labour of upwards of forty years, accumulated those numerous and inestimable treasures which compose the Cottonian library, and now remain an indisputable testimony of his benevolent disposition towards his native country. The late general dissolution of religious houses had dispersed an infinite number of curious manuscripts. Many of these were secured by the nobility and gentry; but no inconsiderable number falling into the hands of peasants, mechanics, and other persons, ignorant of their importance, and totally inattentive to their preservation, were easily to be purchased. From this source Sir Robert Cotton had supplied his library with a multitude of rare manuscripts; and to them Mr Camden, Mr Lambard, Dr Dee, and Sir Christopher Hatton, had kindly contributed their stores."

Sir Robert Cotton's wife was one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Brocas, Esq. of Thedingworth, in Leicestershire, by whom he left one only son, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart. Sir Robert died of a fever in his house at Westminster, on the 6th of May, 1631, having completed sixty years.

John Donne.

BORN A. D. 1573.—DIED A. D. 1631.

This eminent divine and poet was born in London in 1573. His father was of Welsh descent; his mother was related to Chancellor More; both were strongly attached to the church of Rome. Young Donne received the rudiments of education at home, under a private tutor; but his proficiency was so remarkable that he is said to have been sent to the university of Oxford before he had completed his twelfth year. At this time, we are told, he understood the French and Latin languages thoroughly, and had in other respects so far exceeded the usual attainments of boyhood as to be compared to Picus Mirandola, one that was "rather born, than made wise by study." Religious scruples prevented his taking any degree at Oxford. He removed to Cambridge in his fourteenth year, and prosecuted his studies at that university with great diligence and success; but the same causes which hindered his obtaining a degree at Oxford, operated here also. In his seventeenth year he repaired to London, and entered at Lincoln's inn; but his father's death having put him, about this time, in possession of a patrimony of £3,000, he gave up close study for a season, and betook himself to the easier and pleasanter task of inditing amatory verses. For a time this employment satisfied him, and his poetry, though often grossly indelicate in language and ideas, became highly popular, and introduced him to the company of the young men of fashion of the day,

with whom he launched out into such extravagance as quickly dissipated his fortune.

Donne's mind, however, was naturally of a studious and contemplative cast, and he soon recovered himself from the temporary delusion into which he had allowed himself to be betrayed. In his nineteenth year he began to study the controversy between the catholics and protestants. The religion of his family had taken a deep hold of his mind, but the result of an anxious and minute investigation was his espousing the doctrines of the reformed church. In the following rugged but emphatic lines of his third satire, he has recorded his conviction of the right and duty of private judgment in matters of faith:

> "Fool and wretch! wilt thou let thy soul be tied
> To man's laws, by which she shall not be tried
> At the last day? Or will it then boot thee
> To say, a Philip, or a Gregory,
> A Harry, or a Martin taught me this?
> Is not this excuse for mere contraries
> Equally strong? Cannot both sides say so?
> That thou mayest rightly obey power, her bounds know;
> These past, her name and nature's changed; to be
> Then humble to her is idolatry."

In 1596, Donne accompanied the earl of Essex in his expedition to Calais and his Island voyage. He did not return to England until he had travelled through Italy and Spain. Soon after his return, he was appointed secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, keeper of the seals, who became very fond of him, and marked him out for further promotion. In this honourable employment he passed five years, and would probably have risen to some more important employment in the state, but for his having clandestinely married a niece of Sir Thomas's lady. The lady's father was greatly incensed at the lovers, and made them both feel the bitter effects of his resentment. But the kindness of Sir Francis Wooley, son to Lady Ellesmere by her first husband, preserved the young couple from want, and ultimately brought about a reconciliation betwixt them and the offended parent, Sir George Moore. His friend Dr Morton, then dean of Gloucester, urged him strongly at this time to take orders; and generously offered, in the event of his doing so, to resign a valuable living to him. But Donne, after deliberately considering the dean's proposal, declined following his advice, ingenuously confessing that the clerical profession was to him unlawful, since he found in himself no higher vocation to it than the want of a maintenance. In 1612, Donne accompanied Sir Robert Drury's embassy to Paris.

Before his visit to Paris, Donne had been presented to King James, and made a very favourable impression on that monarch by his powers of conversation and his acquaintance with scholastic theology. A treatise which he published soon after, on the lawfulness of the oath of allegiance to a catholic, under the title of the 'Pseudo-martyr,' confirmed James in the opinion he had formed of Donne, and made him determine to force him into the church if it were possible. Accordingly, on his return from Paris, Donne was again urged by his majesty to take orders, and, after long and severe struggles with himself, consented. Being admitted by royal mandate to a doctor's degree at Cam-

bridge, he became one of the king's chaplains in 1614, and took his station immediately among the first preachers of the day. It is said that within the first year of his ministry, he had the offer of fourteen different livings; he declined them all, but some time after accepted the Lincoln's-inn lectureship. In 1619, he attended Lord Hay on his embassy to the king of Bohemia. Upon his return next year, the king conferred upon him the deanery of St Paul's. Several other lucrative appointments were bestowed upon him; and he now began to rise above the pressure of poverty with which he had so long struggled. He died, generally regretted, in 1631. Elegies in his honour were composed by Corbet, Carew, Jonson, and Falkland. Dryden has characterised Donne as "the greatest wit, though not the best poet of our nation." He "affects the metaphysics," he adds, "not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where Nature only should reign, and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts and entertain them with the softnesses of love." His satires are pungent and forcible, but exceedingly rugged and uncouth in their versification. Pope, borrowing Dryden's hint, who had said of them, that "when translated into numbers and English" they would be generally admired, has translated, or rather paraphrased them into his own smooth verse. His poems were printed together in one volume, 4to, in 1633, and re-edited by his son in 1635, 12mo, since which time they have undergone a variety of impressions. His prose works are numerous. Among them are three volumes of sermons in folio: the first printed in 1640, the second in 1649, the third in 1650. They abound in all kinds of learning, and contain many striking thoughts, but are exceedingly rugged in style. His most remarkable prose production is his 'Biathanatos, or Declaration of that paradox, or thesis, that Self-homicide is not so naturally sin that it may never be otherwise.' This extraordinary piece was probably written more as a trial of skill than with any serious intent. It was not published by the author himself, and probably never was intended for publication.

Michael Drayton.

BORN A. D. 1563.—DIED A. D. 1631.

THIS once popular poet was born in 1563 at Hartshill, a village in Warwickshire. Little is known of his life, but it appears from the dedication of one of his poems to Sir Henry Gordere of Polesworth, that he was indebted to that gentleman for the means of obtaining a liberal education. What progress he made in his studies at Oxford is not known; but it is probable from the nature of his subsequent productions, that he was neither idle in respect to general literature, nor famous for any great skill in logic or philosophy. On leaving the university he came to London, and appears to have trusted his chance of making a fortune to the attractions of his muse. He lived at a time when this was a far less dangerous experiment than it proved at a later period. The nation was prosperous and happy; the domestic customs of the people,—the taste of the court,—the stage at which both

the language and the literature of the country had arrived, were all favourable to poetry; and a man of even moderate genius might, without any extravagant hope, fairly look for popularity and patronage.

Drayton was very inferior to the great men whose names shed such a lustre over the reign of Elizabeth; but he was far from being unqualified to gain applause from her court. His talents had been cultivated by the study of national antiquities, and he possessed sufficient patriotism to prevent his desire of fame or profit from doing any important injury to his imagination. The taste of the sovereign and her court were, with respect to poetry, the same as that of the people. All ranks of the community loved to hear the glory of England exalted in every form that fancy could invent; and if Drayton could bear no comparison with the delicate Spencer, either in power or fertility, he was far from deficient in ingenuity, or in the knowledge of his art. The attention which the nationality of his verses was almost sure to acquire him, served as a stepping stone to popularity which at that time rarely failed. He enjoyed, therefore, during the reign of Elizabeth, a share of reputation which established him as one of the national poets, and as, consequently, entitled to address both the sovereign and the people with the assurance of an attentive hearing. But the accession of James the First changed to a considerable degree the aspect of the literary world. That learned monarch was of a less vain and frolicsome disposition than his predecessor: was fonder of philosophy than of poetry, and stood in a situation which rendered it far more difficult to please him by eulogistic addresses than it had been to delight the virgin queen. Drayton, it seems, was employed by his friend Sir Walter Aston, who had been one of the officers of the bed-chamber to King James in his youth, in several important missions from the Scottish prince to Elizabeth. When James came to the throne, the poet lost no time in endeavouring to secure his favour, and 'a congratulatory poem to King James' was the immediate offering of his muse. He proved, however, a much worse politician than his willingness to be a courtier might have made him. Disappointment and imminent peril of disgrace were the only consequences of his loyalty, and he thus mournfully relates how near he had been driven to the verge of ruin. "I have neglected my papers," says he, speaking of the Polyolbion, "sometimes two years together, finding the times since his majesty's happy coming in, so fall so heavily upon my distressed fortunes, after my zealous soul had laboured so long in that, which, with the general happiness of the kingdom, seemed not then impossible somewhat also to have advanced me. But I instantly saw all my long-nourished hopes even buried alive before my face: so uncertain in this world be the end of our dearest endeavours! And whatever is herein that tastes of a free spirit, I thankfully confess to proceed from the continual bounty of my truly noble friend Sir Walter Aston; which hath given me the best of those hours, whose leisure hath effected this which I now publish." The prize which Drayton's ambition had aimed at was either the appointment of poet-laureate, or some other office of similar honour; but whatever was the object of his wish, it was carried away by his rival, Mr Daniel, who was made laureate, and secured to himself all the advantages which the court, it seems, was willing to confer on poetical merit. Ben Jonson, between whom and Drayton there existed the most cordial intimacy, succeeded to the office of

laureate on the death of Daniel; but against this appointment friendship prevented Drayton making any complaint, and he recovered sufficient of his good humour to continue his poetical labours to the end of his days. Sir William Aston omitted no occasion of showing him respect, and with his patronage, and that of some other persons of distinction, he was enabled to pass his life in ease and respectability. From a passage in his introduction to the Polyolbion, he appears to have devoted a considerable portion of time to the study of the law, but whether it ever proved of any advantage to him is not stated. The earl of Dorset cherished for him the most affectionate esteem, and the latter years of his life were spent under the hospitable roof of that nobleman.

When the number of his productions is considered, it will be easily seen that Drayton could have spent little of his time in idleness. The complete collection of his poems forms a folio volume of four hundred and ninety closely printed pages, and embraces almost every variety of composition. His most celebrated poem is the Polyolbion,—a work exhibiting many excellencies, both of description and versification, and at the same time so replete with antiquarian lore, that Bishop Nicholson remarks, "that it afforded a much truer account of this kingdom, and the dominion of Wales, than could be expected from the pen of a poet. Selden thought so well of it in this respect, that he took the pains to write annotations to the first eighteen cantos, while other antiquaries, such as Kennet, Hearne, &c., cite him as authority in disputed points. The labour which he expended on the work may be judged from his own statement, that he justified all by the self authors cited, crediting no transcribers but when of necessity he must;" and that "his thirst compelled him always to seek the fountains, and by that, if means granted it, judge the river's nature; for that no one conversant in letters could be ignorant what error is oftimes fallen into by trusting authorities at second hand, and rash collecting, as it were, from visual beams, refracted through another's eye." A strong and somewhat prejudiced view is given in the same address of the literature of the time, but it is eloquently written, and deserves to be regarded as a chapter in the cotemporary history of James the First's reign. One of his long-drawn periods will enable the reader to judge both of his prose style, and his sentiments on the taste of his countrymen. Addressing those who were following the general fashion, and neglecting the true native muse, for foreign imitations, he says, "Then whosoever thou be, possessed with such stupidity and dulness, that rather than thou wilt take pains to search into ancient and noble things, choosest to remain in the thick fogs and mists of ignorance, as near the common lay-stall of a city, refusing to walk forth into the temple and fields of the muses; where, through most delightful groves, the angelic harmony of birds shall steal thee to the top of an easy hill; where, in artificial caves, cut out of the most natural rock, thou shalt see the ancient people of this isle delivered thee in their lively images; from whose height thou mayest behold both the old and later times, as in thy prospect, lying far under thee,—then conveying thee down by a soul-pleasing descent through delicate embroidered meadows, often veined with gentle-gliding brooks, in which thou mayest fully view the dainty nymphs in their simple naked beauties, bathing them in crystalline streams,—which shall lead thee to most

pleasant downs, where harmless shepherds are, some tuning their pipes, some singing roundelays to their gazing flocks: If, as I say, thou had'st rather (because it asks thy labour) remain where thou art, than strain thyself to walk forth with the muses, the fault proceeds from thy idleness, not from any want in my industry." The remarkable poem, of which its author thus speaks, is written throughout in the old Alexandrian metre, and contains much of that sweet variety of rural description which he promises in the above passage. Aikin, in his article on this author, professes his astonishment that two editions of his works should have been published within five years of each other, that is, in 1748 and 1753, adding, that it is highly probable that not one of their purchasers ever completely perused the collection. The same observation might be made on similar grounds in respect to editions of even Milton and Dryden; there can, however, be little doubt but that the restoration of Drayton, and other writers of the same or an earlier period, would be of the most important service to our poetical literature, and afford one of the best signs that could be given of its improvement, or, perhaps, regeneration. 'The Barrons Wars;' 'England's Heroical Epistles;' 'The Miseries of Queen Margaret;' 'Nymphidia, the Court of the Fairy;' 'The Owl;' 'The Moon-Calf;' are the titles of his smaller works. Besides these, he wrote some legendary pieces, several pastorals, and numerous little poems, to which he gave the name of Ideas, Odes, Elegies, &c. These productions exhibit various degrees of merit. In some parts they are in every respect worthy of the golden age of English literature; they are in but few destitute of some grace, or of that winning plainness of description which, while it fails to dazzle the imagination, pleases it by the distinctness with which it draws its pictures.

Drayton exercised his art during a period of forty years, and throughout that period enjoyed the friendship of the most enlightened men of the country. Had he been of a servile disposition there is little doubt but that he might have made himself acceptable to the courtiers of King James, and through them to the monarch; but it may be observed, that the names of neither Buckingham, Somerset, nor Salisbury, occur in his works, and he lived, it may be hoped, wholly free from the vices of the court and its flatterers. His death took place in 1631, and his remains were deposited in Westminster abbey.

Henry Briggs.

BORN A. D. 1556.—DIED A. D. 1630.

This eminent mathematician and calculator was born at Warley-wood, in the parish of Halifax, Yorkshire, in the year 1556. He received the rudiments of education at a school in the neighbourhood of his birthplace, and, in 1579, entered of St John's college, Cambridge. After taking both degrees in arts, he was chosen fellow of his college in 1588. Four years afterwards he was appointed examiner and lecturer in mathematics, and soon after, reader of the physical lecture founded by Linacre.

Upon the establishment of Gresham college in London, he was chosen the first professor of geometry in that institution, in March, 1596.

should change his looks on becoming a poet, she says, "Well, we shall see your cunning; yet if you can change your hair I pray do" This ridicule of Dekker is continued through two whole scenes, and he must be a strong-minded man indeed who could see himself so depicted without feeling galled. The cure which he sought for his wounds was retaliation, and in a short time, the public had the amusement of seeing Jonson himself represented in a scarcely less ridiculous form. Dekker gave the title of 'Satiromastic, or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet,' to his parody on the 'Poetaster,' and there are portions of this production which would not have disgraced the most famous of wits. The rude taste of the times allowed great licence to writers of every description, and it is not to be expected, that a satirist could refrain from exercising the liberty given him; there is, consequently, a strong tinge of coarseness in many of the jests employed by our author in his attacks; but where they are not really offensive to delicacy, their broadness often provokes a laugh at the expense of the veteran bard. The following will give some notion of the nature of these sarcasms. Jonson had assumed the name of Horace, and Dekker, remembering the ridicule cast on his own person, thus alludes to the circumstance: "You staring Leviathan! look on the sweet visage of Horace: look, parboiled face: look—he has not his face puncht full of eylet-holes, like the cover of a warming pan!" To the reader of the present day, however, the best strokes of satire which occur in this curious production, will give much less pleasure than the lines in which Dekker, with a magnanimity that speaks volumes for his character, pauses in the attack to pay a tribute of honour to his enemy's genius, and lament that he had not rather striven to gain men's love, which they would have willingly given him, than provoke their resentment by ungenerous satires.

The success of this piece was considerable, and its author thenceforth enjoyed sufficient popularity to reward him for the pain he endured under Jonson's castigation. He was acquainted with all the literary characters of the day; wrote several plays in conjunction with the most reputed wits about town; and published pamphlets on the chief topics of cotemporary interest, which are regarded as furnishing some of the most useful materials in being for the literary history of his age.

Thomas Middleton.

FLOR. CIR. A. D. 1624.

OF Thomas Middleton, the sole author of about sixteen or eighteen regular dramas, besides being concerned in different plays jointly with Rowley, Dekker, Webster, Massinger, Fletcher, and Jonson, nothing more is known than that he lived in intimacy with all his great contemporary dramatists, and was regarded by them with admiration and respect. "It is difficult," says a writer in the 'Retrospective Review,' "to assign Middleton any precise station among the remarkable men who were his contemporaries. Indeed, nothing is more unsafe than to guage the comparative merits of authors by the depth of one's own personal admiration; especially where, as in dramatic writing, the in-

dividual claims to excellence are so various, as to make it almost impossible to institute any very close comparison among them. Besides, one critic may prefer tragedy, another comedy, another pastoral; a fourth may value only the truth of character; while a fifth may be careless of it, and esteem little else beyond the vigour of the diction, or the melodious flow of the verse. Dekker, Webster, Middleton, Ford, were all men of excelling talent. The first had the best idea of character; the second was the most profound; the third had most imagination; and the last equalled the others in pathos, and surpassed them in the delineation of the passion of love. Yet these particular points were not all by which these writers caught the attention of critics, and retained the admiration of their readers. They had other qualities, differing in shade and varying in colour, which it would be difficult to contrast with any useful effect. Dekker was sometimes as profound as Webster, and Middleton as passionate as Ford. Again, the verse of Ford is, generally speaking, musical; while that of Webster is often harsh, but it is more pregnant with meaning, shadowy, spectral, and fuller of a dark and earthy imagination. So it is that Middleton, although he has drawn no sketches, perhaps, so good as Matheo or Friscobaldo, lets fall nevertheless, occasionally, shrewd observations, and displays a wealth of language, which would illuminate and do honour to the better drawn characters of Dekker. In short, one was often rich in qualities, of which another possessed little or nothing; while he, on his part, could retort upon his rival a claim to other excellencies, to which the first did not affect to have even a pretension. It seems, therefore, almost idle to determine the rank and 'classes' to which these old writers should respectively belong. We can no more accomplish this, than we can determine upon the positive beauty of colours, or fix the standard of metals, whose durability or scarcity is utterly unknown. Independently of all these reasons, it is invidious, and not very grateful in us, who profess ourselves idolaters, to anatomize the remains of our gods, or to impale the reputations of these old fathers of poetry (sacrificing them face to face with each other), upon the hard and unrelenting spikes of modern criticism. They had faults which we have not—and excellencies which we do not possess. They were a fresh, shrewd, vigorous people—full of fire, and imagination, and deep feeling. They were not swathed and swaddled in the bands by which we cramp the thoughts, and paralyze the efforts of *our* infant poets; but they were rioters in their fancy,—bold, unfettered writers, whom no critics, monthly or quarterly, watched over for the benefit of the time to come. Accordingly, they dared to think,—they wrote what they thought,—and their thoughts were generally strenuous, and often soaring, and sometimes even rich in wisdom."

George Chapman.

BORN A. D. 1557.—DIED A. D. 1634.

George Chapman was born in Kent in the year 1557. At the age of seventeen he entered of Trinity college, Oxford, and applied himself principally to the study of the Greek and Latin languages, in

which he made a rapid and successful progress. He is said to have had so strong a predilection for these studies as to have neglected the higher pursuits of logic and philosophy. It is probable that his early propensity to the drama and to poetry, induced him to think that an acquaintance with the high standards of classic composition was the best preparation, if not the only one, essential to the cultivation of his own talent, and the attainment of his own object. But this was manifestly an egregious error, and involved a palpable oversight of that process by which the masters of song have attained their honourable pre-eminence.—Quitting the university after he had attained what he conceived a competent knowledge of the classic tongues, he went to London, where he sought and enjoyed the friendship of the most distinguished poets and wits of the age. Shakspeare, Jonson, Dryden, Spenser, Sidney, Marlow, Daniel, and others, constituted the society in which he moved, and the men with whom he conversed. He early obtained the sanction and patronage of Sir Thomas Walsingham; and after the death of the father, had the good fortune to be warmly patronized by his son, Thomas Walsingham, Esq. In that age it was essential to the success of a poet that he should enjoy the patronage of some rich or powerful Mecænas to bring him into notice, and to give him a graceful entrance into that literary aristocracy which then determined the fates of authors and their productions. Chapman enjoyed still higher patronage than that of Walsingham, being favoured by the young Prince Henry, who was cut off in youth, and also by the earl of Somerset, who, unhappily for our poet, lost his influence at court, and fell into disgrace, for the part he had taken in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. The first publication of Chapman's appeared in 1595, entitled 'Ovid's Banquet of Sauce.' The year after, appeared his translation of the seven first books of Homer's Iliad. He proceeded rapidly with his translation, having published the whole of the remaining books in the next five years. This work is worthy of special notice as the first attempt ever made to present Homer in the garb of an English dress. As a curiosity of literature it will continue to excite attention, although, on its own account, it is not entitled to any special notice. During the progress of this work it may be supposed that he beguiled the weary task by the occasional production of a comedy. In 1598 he brought out 'The Blind Beggar of Alexandria,' and attracted some notice at court; but he was subsequently concerned with Jonson and Marston in writing the comedy of 'Eastward Hoe,' which contained some severe ridicule of the Scotch, and gave unpardonable offence to the royal Solomon. The poets who had engaged in this piece were of course rendered offensive at court, and were no longer acceptable there. The favour of royalty in those days had greater influence than at present, and the disfavour into which these poets fell seriously impeded their success. In 1614 appeared his version of the Odyssey, and soon after, the minor pieces of Homer. Succeeding years produced various other works, original and translated, many of them of a light and amorous kind, and mostly adapted for masks or scenic representation. His tragedies and comedies are too numerous to be separately recounted here. Several dramatic pieces, with some translations from Petrarch, appear to have been published long after his death, which took place in 1634, at the age of 77.

In his own day Chapman enjoyed a highly respectable rank among poets and scholars, but his fame never reached the height of some of his contemporaries, and is now known only to the curious bookworm. There is an interest which will always attach to the name of the first translator of Homer into English, notwithstanding the glaring defects that attend it. The measure into which it is rendered is insupportably heavy and unsuitable to an epic, being fourteen syllables. Besides, the author does not appear to have possessed a very accurate acquaintance with the original. He fails to convey to the English reader any conception of the more refined and exquisite beauties of the original. Still it must be admitted, that there is frequently great spirit and vigour in his version, and that he has occasionally caught the fire of Homer, and embodied it in a vital diction. Considerable allowance must be made in criticising this work, for the total absence of helps and the entire novelty of the undertaking. Skilled as Chapman may have been deemed by his friends in the Greek tongue, it is but too evident from many passages of his translation, as well as from his critical additions, that he would rank in the present day considerably below a first-rate Grecian, and that he must have been vastly inferior to many in his own time.

Wood says that he was a man of reverend aspect and graceful manner, religious and temperate; qualities which seldom meet in a poet. He adds, moreover, that he was so highly esteemed by the clergy, that some of them have said, as Musæus, who wrote the loves of Hero and Leander, had two excellent scholars, Thumarus and Hercules, so had he in England, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, two excellent imitators in the same argument and subject, namely, Christopher Marlow and George Chapman.

The celebrated Inigo Jones of architectural fame, was Chapman's intimate and endeared friend. As Jones was the survivor, he erected at his own expense an elegant Grecian monument to his memory in the church of St Giles in the Fields, which of course was lost when that church was destroyed.

Ben Jonson.

BORN A. D. 1574.—DIED A. D. 1637.

Benjamin, or, as he termed himself, and has been termed by posterity, Ben Jonson, was born in London in 1574. Having acquired the rudiments of knowledge at Westminster school under the learned Camden, he went to study at Cambridge, but was compelled by poverty to quit the university soon after entering it, and to work for his daily bread as a bricklayer. It was not to be expected that the drudgery of such an employment would long be endured by one who had already drank deep draughts of inspiration from the fountains of ancient lore, and accordingly we find that Jonson, soon after leaving Cambridge, entered as a volunteer the army sent into Flanders, where he distinguished himself by conquering one of the enemy in single combat. On his return he obtained some employment about the theatres, either as an actor or author. In whichever character he figured his career was

soon cut short, for having had the misfortune to kill his antagonist in a duel, he was thrown into prison on a charge of murder, and there detained for some time in imminent danger of his life. When once more free, he was engaged as a regular writer for the stage in conjunction with Marston, Dekker, and some others, after the fashion of those times. The first play of which he was the sole author, was 'Every Man in his Humour,' which appeared in 1596. The high merits of this performance secured for it great and immediate popularity, though in the prologue, he addressed the audience in a tone of manly and sarcastic independence, which must have sounded harshly in the ears of those who were accustomed to the cringing deference of some of his contemporaries. Jonson's fame was still more widely extended by the production in the ensuing year of 'Every Man out of his Humour,' which had the honour of being acted before the queen. His next known performance was Cynthia's Revels, which was acted in 1600 by the "children of the Queen's chapel." In the epilogue to this play, Jonson was unwise enough to address the spectators in a tone of lofty dictatorial arrogance, which, it cannot be denied, afforded a fair mark for the ridicule of Marston and Dekker.

Though there can be no doubt that his success contributed to excite the contentions in which he was enveloped at this and at subsequent periods of his life, yet we must also throw into the scale the arrogance and assumption of superiority with which he was unquestionably chargeable —faults arising in part from the hardships and military habits of his youth, and in part from the consciousness he must have felt of his vast superiority in point of learning to his rivals. In justice to Jonson, it ought to be remembered that the man who is proud of his learning is much more excusable than the man who is proud of his genius, since not only is the former the result of indefatigable toil, while the latter is the free gift of nature, but it is also much more easy to compare our learning with that of others, than our genius. Provoked by the incessant attacks of his satirists, Jonson brought out in 1601, his 'Poetaster,' in which Dekker especially, though under a Roman garb, was lashed with a heartiness and good-will which might have taught him not to beard the lion in his den henceforth. Dekker nevertheless replied in his 'Satiromastic,' a play which contains some powerful writing, and is often very bitter. Jonson now paid his addresses to the tragic muse, and in 1603, brought out at the Globe play-house his 'Sejanus,' in writing which he received some assistance, though from whom is uncertain. On its first appearance it was so greatly opposed, that it was found necessary to withdraw it; but being remodelled some time afterwards by Jonson, and those parts being omitted which were furnished by his coadjutor, it became a general favourite. Jonson had now assumed a rank among the dramatists of the day, second only to Shakspeare, and his reputation, together with his fine conversational powers and convivial habits, had long ago introduced him to the society of the most eminent men in the kingdom. At a celebrated club, founded by Sir W. Raleigh, which held its meetings at the famous Mermaid tavern, he met with Shakspeare, Selden, Beaumont, Fletcher, Donne, and a host of others, who conjointly formed a paradise of learning and genius, such as the world never saw before, and has never seen since. What would pos-

terity not give for a faithful transcript of the erudition, philosophy, eloquence and wit, which must have flashed forth in a single evening among such associates?

The ascent of James to the throne at this period gave a brighter aspect to Jonson's fortunes than they had hitherto worn. James, with all his pedantry, had some taste in poetry, and was so much pleased with some of Jonson's masques which were exhibited before him, that he took the poet under his especial patronage, and employed him to write entertainments for the court on all festival occasions. In 1605, he wrote the 'Masque of Blackness,' at the special injunction of the queen, who, with the first nobles of the land, took part in its performance. In the same year appeared his 'Volpone, or the Fox,' a comedy, which was published in the ensuing year with a splendidly written dedication to the two English universities prefixed. Nor was the play unworthy of the dedication. A competent judge has pronounced it to be the most perfect drama in our language; and without assenting altogether to this verdict, we may safely say that if there be one more faultless, none but the author of Volpone can have written it. Jonson at this period enjoyed such immense popularity as a writer of masques, and received such munificent rewards for his labour, that he seems to have written nothing else until 1609, when his 'Epicæne, or the Silent Woman,' appeared, which was followed in 1610, by 'The Alchemist.' These two plays and his Volpone are decidedly the happiest efforts of Jonson's genius, and were we asked to point out the three most perfect dramas in the English language, we should at once turn to these. They seem to have been written in the fullest bloom of his imagination—in the primest manhood of his taste and wit.[1] The quantity of abstruse and unusual learning displayed in the Alchemist is so overwhelming, that we should believe Jonson to have spent his life in penetrating the mysteries of astrology and magic, were it not that he was the "wonder of a learned age," for his profound erudition as a classical scholar. Nor is the rich humour and powerful writing it contains less astonishing. If any distinction can be made, where there is so little difference, the Fox is the more perfect drama, but the Alchemist is the nobler work of genius.

His next production was Catiline, a tragedy, which appeared in 1611. This is the only one of Jonson's productions in which his learning wears the stiff garb of pedantry. A great part of the play consists of translations from Cicero and Sallust, which, though admirable in themselves, are much too long and too exact for an original drama. Malone, with the blundering malignity which he always displays in speaking of Jonson, has asserted that Catiline was damned: but had he been a little more acute or less malicious, he would have known that it kept its place on the stage until the closing of the theatres at the Revolution. In 1614, appeared 'Bartholomew Fair,' the object of which was to hold up to ridicule the fanatics and low impostors of the day. Though by no means one of his best performances, and in some parts disgusting from the excessive faithfulness of the representation, Bartholomew Fair is invaluable as a spirited and accurate picture of low life in those times.

[1] Every one knows the doggrel lines,

The Fox, the Alchemist, and Silent Woman,
Done by Ben Jonson and outdone by no man

In 1616, he wrote 'The Devil's an Ass,' and edited the folio edition of his plays and poems. From this period ten years elapsed before Jonson again appeared on the stage, and these ten years were probably the happiest part of his life. He was in affluent circumstances, and had no other call on his time than the occasional production of a masque to enliven a court-festival. Among his friends he could enumerate all who were eminent for learning, talent, or high descent, and the proudest nobles in the land thought it an honour to be among Ben Jonson's friends. His time was spent principally in visiting his friends,[2]—in enlarging and consolidating his stupendous erudition,—and in making additions to his splendid library, which contained a magnificent collection of the best editions of the classics. The prospect was overcast by the death of James in 1625. His successor Charles, naturally saturnine in his disposition and stinted in his liberality, gave little encouragement to literature, and Jonson's occupation as a writer of masques being gone, he was compelled to betake himself again to the stage. But disease had now laid its heavy hands upon him, and want followed in its train. His dramas from this period, though exhibiting the grand characteristics of his vigorous mind, bear, with one solitary exception, the marks of decaying powers. Still it is the old age of Jonson. In 1630, he wrote his 'Staple of News,' which was driven from the stage with a brutality as unfeeling as it was uncalled for by the merits of the performance. The spirit that on life's rough sea had hitherto borne up so stoutly against adverse winds and swelling waves, was now broken and flagging, and Jonson condescended to write to the king, and to some of the nobility for relief. It is some consolation to know that his application was answered, and that the horrors of absolute want did not blacken the evening of his days. In 1632, he produced 'The Magnetic Lady,' and in the following year 'The Tale of a Tub,' which was the last work he submitted to the stage. After this he wrote several slight entertainments for his munificent patron, the earl of Newcastle, and an exquisite fragment of a pastoral drama, entitled 'The Sad Shepherd.' This seems to have been his latest performance, and it is one well worthy to gild the decline of his glorious life. He died on the 6th of August 1637, and was buried on the 9th in Westminster abbey. A common flagstone was laid over his remains, on which one of his friends engraved the simple but expressive epitaph, "O rare Ben Jonson!" A subscription was entered into, for the purpose of raising a monument beneath which all of him that was earthly might find a worthy sepulture; but the convulsion into which the nation was soon afterwards thrown by the breaking out of the civil war, prevented the execution of the design.

In order that Jonson's merits may be duly appreciated, it will be necessary to say a few words on the state of the drama when he appeared. Although the drama, and indeed English literature in general, was almost at the lowest ebb before the reign of Elizabeth, yet no sooner had her wise policy calmed faction, and inspired her people with a feeling of security, than the mind of the nation awoke from its sleep of ages,

[2] It was at this happy period of his life that he visited Scotland, and gave Drummond of Hawthornden, the opportunity of maligning his fame. Drummond seized it, but his malice has recoiled on his own head.

sprang forth, and walked abroad with a power and majesty which seemed as if through the dreary waste of preceding centuries it had been silently collecting its energies for one gigantic effort. In this miraculous luxuriance of genius, the drama flourished more than any other branch of literature. Yet bright as was the array of authors, there were none who strictly followed in the construction of their plays the rules of arts laid down by the precepts and practice of Greece and Rome. The drama had but just emerged from the rude profanity of the mysteries, and still retained so much of its original, that the plot and characters were generally borrowed from the chronicles of the country, or from the Spanish and Italian novelists. The natural consequence was, that the unities were altogether disregarded. Events the most distant, and places the most remote, were jumbled together in hopeless confusion. Infants grew to manhood in half an hour; and the heroes of the piece passed over hundreds of miles while the scenes were shifting. Nor were other points better attended to. The "hook-nosed fellow of Rome" talked of Billingsgate and the purlieus of London with as much familiarity as any town-wit; and Nell, Timothy, &c. were deemed appropriate names for young Greeks of the times of Theseus and Pirithous! A profound classical scholar like Johnson could not but perceive these defects, and that, in this respect, an untried field was left open for the display of his powers. With all the energies of his vigorous mind, he made the attempt, and success crowned his exertions. The plays he has left us are the very models of the legitimate drama. The plot is contrived with the utmost nicety, and the events are dove-tailed into one another with such curious felicity, that we can scarcely be persuaded the story is unreal. The action of the piece is always uniform, probable, and interesting; the reader's taste is never shocked by unnatural changes, improbable catastrophes, unnecessary scenes, premature denouements, or other limping expedients to gloss over a defective plot. The keeping and distinction of the characters are admirably sustained. No two of them, in the same play, can possibly be confounded, so strong and massive is the colouring; and each has a distinct part assigned, necessary to the action of the piece. In fact, Jonson carried this almost to excess. The meanest of his characters is laboured with as much care as the highest, just as in a Dutch painting, the most insignificant object occupies the artist's attention equally with the most prominent. In the subject, too, as well as in the plan of his plays, he follows the precisest rules of art. All of them observe the precept laid down by Aristotle in the Poetics, that deep crime is the legitimate subject of tragedy, and the τα γελοια, the foibles and follies of men, that of comedy.

Another feature which especially distinguishes Jonson's comedies from those of his contemporaries is, that they are all the creations of his own fancy or observation. Instead of resorting for his plot to ancient chronicles, or to the Italian novelists, and for his characters to the same source, or to the deep well-head of nature, he weaved the former from his own brain, and for the latter he looked abroad on the manners of the age, and embodied its follies. He made it his object to satirize the whims and extravagances he saw around him, for he believed the true object of comedy to be the reformation of the follies and minor vices of the day; and, as folly is ever changing her garb, this circumstance has

caused his characters to appear strange and unnatural in our times, just as many of the questions discussed in Plato appear to moderns puerile and merely verbal. In both cases, however, we must take into consideration the customs, fashions, and opinions of the periods in which these writers lived. To feel Ben Jonson's beauties we must perambulate London with him in the early part of the seventeenth century. Along with Sogliardo, we must take a lesson from Shift, in "the most gentlemanlike use of tobacco, as also in the rare corollary and practice of the Cuban ebolition, euripus, and whiff, which we shall receive or take in here at London, and evaporate at Uxbridge or farther;"—we must see Master Matthew receiving instructions from Bobadil in the trick or two by which he may kill a man at pleasure;—we must pay a visit to Lady Haughty and her "ladies collegiates"—call on Subtle "to buy a lucky sign for a shop," or to witness the process of projection—take a drink from Captain Otter's "bull, bear, and horse"—"enact very strange vapours" in the worshipful company of Dan Knockem, Val Cutting, and Captain Whet at Bartholomew fair—and finally saunter through the middle aisle of St Paul's, among the pimps, bullies, and imposters, who resorted thither. In short, other dramatists ridiculed folly in the grand characteristics which it wears in all ages—Ben Jonson in the particular apparel which it assumed in his time.

In addition to faultlessness of construction, and astonishing spirit in delineation of character, Jonson's plays exhibit a never-failing fund of rich humour, and a masculine force of expression, which alone would entitle him to no undistinguished rank. His humour is sometimes coarse, but it is always genuine and mirth-moving. In power of framing ludicrous situations, and painting ludicrous characters, he has no superior, and scarcely a rival. We doubt whether, even in Shakspeare, any thing of the same nature surpasses the grave, matter-of-fact, unimpassioned swagger of Captain Bobadil, or the exposure of his cowardice just when his vaunting has reached its climax. While, however, Jonson stands almost alone in these particulars, there are others in which he sank beneath many of his contemporaries. He wants the "fine madness" of Marlowe—the stately poetry of Chapman—the wandering but exquisite fancy of Fletcher—the measured genius of Beaumont—the impetuous fire of Dekker—the calm beauty and pure style of Massinger, and the exquisite melody and pathos of Ford:[3] though in profound learning, in rich humour, in excellence of plot and general dramatic correctness, he surpasses them all. Jonson, in short, was either unequal to, or he chose not to attempt the expression of intense passion, and he very seldom sought to rise into the higher regions of imagination. Not that we mean to assert with some modern sciolists that he had no soul for poetry—we rather incline to think that the rigorous laws he had laid down for the regulation of his plays, too often curbed his genius. In proof of this, we need only refer to many passages in his masques—to his description of Catiline's last battle, and to the following exquisite defence of poetry with which we close our criticism on his plays:—

> Indeed, if you will look on Poesy,
> As she appears in many, poor and lame,

[3] We do not mention Shakspeare, for he combines all excellencies.

Patched up in remnants and old worn-out rags,
Half-starved for want of her peculiar food,
Sacred Invention: then, I must confirm
Both your conceit and censure of her merits.
But view her in her glorious ornaments,
Attired in all the majesty of art,
Set high in spirit with the precious taste
Of sweet philosophy, and, which is most,
Crowned with the rich traditions of a soul,
That hates to have her dignity profaned
With any relish of an earthly thought,
Oh then, how proud a presence does she bear!
Then is she like herself, fit to be seen
Of none but grave and consecrated eyes!

We have already mentioned that Jonson's pen was frequently employed in the production of masques for the entertainment of the court and nobility. The masques were a species of allegorical drama, which had their origin in the moralities, and differed principally from the regular drama in their shortness,—in their want of plot,—in the gorgeous pageantry with which they were entrapped,—and in their representing abstract existences, or the beings of classical mythology, rather than real characters. They embodied and set visibly before the spectator

"The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
The fair humanities of old religion,
The Power, the Beauty, and the Majesty,
That had their haunts in dale or piny mountain,
Or forest, by slow stream, or pebbly spring,
Or chasms and watery depths."

Many of Jonson's masques are exquisitely beautiful. His boundless learning enabled him to summon up, and to represent with the aptest propriety, the sublime shadows of heathen mythology, and to bring forth from the wild regions of classic fable their richest treasures. He seems, too, to have allowed his fancy a more unrestrained play in the masques than in any other of his writings; though it were perhaps to be wished that he had spent on the legitimate drama much of the time employed on these elegant trifles.

Jonson's character has been attacked so repeatedly by some of the commentators on Shakspeare, that it would require far more space than we possess fully to vindicate him, although the attacks have been signalized by a compassionable stupidity and atrocious folly which make confutation easy. He was no doubt a man of arrogant disposition and warm overbearing temper; but these faults were more than counterbalanced by a warmth of heart, an almost child-like tenderness of affection, and an eagerness to acknowledge excellence wherever he saw it, which his detractors could neither appreciate nor understand. No man of his day had more warm or more frequent tributes of affection paid to him both living and dead, and no man returned them, while he had the power, with more zeal or readiness. His bearing might be rugged, but it could not hide the warm heart—the unflinching energy of purpose—the love of truth—the profound veneration for virtue and contempt for vice—and in a word, the true nobility of soul which procured for him the reverence of Clarendon and adoration of Falkland.

Jonson's plays have been frequently reprinted. The best edition of his whole works is that published at London, in 1816, by G. and W. Nicol, &c., and edited by Gifford, in nine vols. 8vo.

John Ford.

BORN A.D. 1586.—DIED CIR. A.D. 1639.

JOHN FORD, like the great majority of the dramatists of the Elizabethan age, has left behind him no record of his character, or of the events of his life, save the scanty allusions to self which are to be found in the prologues and dedications to his plays. He was descended from a family of high respectability, and was born in Devonshire in the year 1586. Where he received his education is uncertain, but it is improbable that he entered either of the universities, since in 1602, he became a member of the Middle Temple. He began at an early age to relieve the tedium of his law-studies by paying devotion at the shrine of the muses, since in 1606, he published his 'Fame's Memorial,' a long elegiac poem on the death of the earl of Devonshire, which certainly bears every mark of having been a very juvenile performance. From this period little more is known concerning him, until the year 1629, when he published his 'Lover's Melancholy.' The interval was spent in the discharge of his legal duties,—in writing for the stage in conjunction with Dekker and others,—and probably, in composing the four plays, of which, through the carelessness of Warburton's servant, or rather of Warburton himself, we have only the titles remaining. The next record we have of his life relates to the year 1633, in which his genius seems to have been extraordinarily prolific, since in the course of it he gave to the world three of his best plays: 'Tis pity she's a Whore,' 'The Broken Heart,' 'Love's Sacrifice.' In the following year he published a historical drama, founded on the story of Perkin Warbeck; in 1638, the 'Fancies Chaste and Noble;' and in 1639, 'The Lady's Trial.' The publication of this play is the last trace we have of his existence. Whether he died shortly after, or whether, withdrawing from literary publicity to the shades of retirement, his life was protracted to a late period, is alike unknown. At this point he drops suddenly into the fathomless ocean of the past, leaving us to imagine how and when he was gathered to his fathers. In addition to the plays we have mentioned, there are two commonly printed with his works, entitled, 'The Sun's Darling,' and 'The Witch of Edmonton,' which he wrote in conjunction with Dekker and Rowley.

Unsatisfactory as this sketch must necessarily be, yet the subject of it has left behind him writings bearing marks of such pre-eminent excellence as to entitle him to no mean rank among those choice master-spirits, whose learning and genius have made the dramatic annals of the Elizabethan age more illustrious than those of any similar period in the history of any nation. We do not mean to deny that his plays are guilty of many faults—that he very seldom attends to the unities—that his plots are often ill-constructed, and the denouements frequently placed in the fourth act, while the fifth is left to drag its slow length along as best it may—that his characters are often in bad keeping, and often uninteresting or disgusting—that unnatural crime is a favourite subject of his pen—or that his comic scenes are the most deplorable abortions conceivable, sometimes nauseating from their obscenity, and always wearisome from

their stupidity. None of these faults do we mean to deny, though we are quite aware that the numerous class of readers whose taste has been vitiated by the refinements and artifices which have been engrafted on our native English style of thought and writing—those who believe Addison to be the greatest of English prose-writers, and Pope, of English poets—will find it difficult to comprehend the co-existence of any excellencies with such palpable defects. Those, however, who have soul enough to prefer the flowers of native genius to the exotics of artificial culture, and who therefore worship our old writers with that enthusiastic reverence which they so richly merit, will discover beauties in Ford, far more delightful than the tame monotony of mere correctness. He is not distinguished by the fire and impetuosity which characterized his predecessor Marlowe, and his associate Dekker; nor by the high and stately beauty of Chapman, and Massinger; nor the romantic fancy of Beaumont and Fletcher; least of all by the versatility and transcendant imagination of Shakspeare: his excellency consists in the music-breathing flow of his verse,—in the powerful working up of some of his scenes,—in a vein of the most tender and exquisite pathos,—and in a certain indescribable air of placid melancholy which pervades all his more serious passages, producing an effect on the mind of the reader not unlike that occasioned by the closing twilight of a summer's evening. He very seldom reaches the sublime, but he has an almost unrivalled command over the delicately pathetic and beautiful. It has indeed been thought by some that his forte lies in the dreadful and appalling, but a very slight examination of his plays will suffice to show that, in Ford, the horrible is produced by stage-directions to put half-a-dozen of his characters to death, or by entrapping in a chair and bloodily murdering one of the heroes—not as in Shakspeare, by the mere descriptions and images of the poet operating on the imagination of the reader. Ford is unequal to the production of that higher and more intellectual species of the horrible which is exemplified in Clarence's dream, though quite capable of that grosser species which would have consisted in putting Clarence into the water in reality. Touching pathos and inimitable melody of versification are his grand excellencies, and in these no dramatic writer, save Shakspeare, can be styled his equal. Our limits prevent us from extracting a whole scene, but the following brief passage will give the reader who is unacquainted with Ford, some idea of the treasures laid up for him:

——— Glories
Of human greatness are but pleasing dreams,
And shadows soon decaying; on the stage
Of my mortality, my youth has acted
Some scenes of vanity, drawn out at length
By varied pleasures, sweeten'd in the mixture,
But tragical in issue; beauty, pomp,
With every sensuality our giddiness
Doth frame an idol, are unconstant friends
When any troubled passion makes assault
On the unguarded castle of the mind.

The Broken Heart, Act III. Scene 3.

Ford's works have been several times reprinted. Incomparably the best edition is that published in London in 2 vols. 8vo. 1827, edited by Gifford.

Philip Massinger.

BORN A. D. 1584.—DIED A. D. 1640.

THE genius of this writer entitles him to be ranked among those to whom the English drama is chiefly indebted for the place it holds in the national literature. He was born in 1584, at Salisbury, and probably, it has been suggested, in the mansion of the earl of Pembroke, to whose establishment his father was attached in some capacity which enabled him to obtain the confidence and friendship of that enlightened nobleman. Our poet, it is supposed, passed all the earlier part of his youth in the earl's house at Wilton; but he had only attained the age of sixteen when the beneficent patron of both himself and his father died, and they were left to the protection of his son, a nobleman not less generous, or less inclined to patronize merit, but having claims upon his munificence which drew his attention from those of the younger Massinger. It is not known what situation his father held in the earl's household, but there is reason to believe that he was enabled to send his son to college without the assistance of his patron. Philip, who was entered as a commoner at Saint Alban's hall, continued there a space of about four years, when he was obliged to leave the university for want of funds. Of the manner in which he spent his time, while at college, two very opposite accounts are given; but it is easy to see that their apparent contradictions result from the different manner in which the writers of them viewed the same object. While Langbaine describes him as a diligent and talented student, Wood contemptuously announces that he knew neither logic nor philosophy, and that the whole of his time was wasted in idling over poetry and romance. But had he not been more than ordinarily careful in the pursuit of those studies which suited his taste, he would never have drawn down upon himself this severe rebuke; and Langbaine, who was far less devoted to scholastic learning than the historian, considered that he might with great fairness allow the poet credit for industry, and the acquisition of knowledge, though he had no ambition to seek honour in the schools.

Various reasons are alleged to account for his leaving Oxford without a degree, or rather for his not being able to raise a sufficient income for his support while he completed his residence. The death of his father is the most obvious cause of his misfortune; but it is considered strange that the earl of Pembroke should have neglected a young man whose talents were sufficiently manifest to give him a claim on his liberality. To explain this mystery, it is alleged, that there is evidence to prove that he had become a convert to catholicism, and that his being obliged to leave the university was, in various ways, the consequence of his conversion.

Without either a profession or a patron,—as destitute of interest as of money,—he hastened to London, and immediately sought the theatres as affording the best prospect of furnishing him with employment. In what way he commenced his labours is not precisely known, but he appears to have formed a connexion with some of the wits about town, and to have earned his livelihood by assisting them in the composition

of their works, the produce of which, when successful, they were thereby bound to share with him. The principal reason on which this supposition is founded is, that he wrote no piece in his own name for sixteen years after his arrival in London, while he is known, during that time, to have had no means of support but his pen. It appears from the interesting researches of Mr Gifford on this subject, that he was connected at this period with the best-known dramatists of the day. He was the associate, and, as it seems, the assistant of Beaumont and Fletcher, in the composition of several of whose plays he is supposed to have had an important share. These were not the only authors of reputation to whom he lent the aid of his genius; but the income he earned was insufficient for his wants, and both he and his friends were sometimes plunged into the deepest distress. A note is still in existence, in which three of them earnestly implore the assistance of a manager to advance them five pounds out of ten which they were shortly to receive, as the only means of saving them from arrest and ruin.

The 'Virgin Martyr' was the first play which Massinger ventured to print, and the earliest mention of his name in the office-book of the master of the revels, is under the date of December 3d, 1623, when his 'Bondman' was performed. He printed this work the following year, with a dedication to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, second son of the late earl of Pembroke, in which he speaks with good sense, but mournfully, of his situation and struggles. The relationship between the earl and his former patron, appears to have induced him to seek his patronage, while the manner in which he forbears making any allusion to his early connexion with the Pembroke family increases the difficulty of accounting for the neglect with which he had been treated. Happily for him, however, the earl of Montgomery proved a kind and liberal friend, and the assistance he rendered him contributed perhaps, in some degree, to improve his circumstances and his prospects. Some signal favours must have been conferred, or at least expected, to induce the poet to write the following lines. His obligations, he says, were more

> "Than they could owe, who since, or heretofore,
> Have laboured, with exalted lines, to raise
> Brave piles, or rather pyramids, of praise
> To Pembroke, and his family."

It appears, however, from the dedications of Massinger's productions after this period, that the patronage of the earl was far from sufficient to secure him independence, and that it was not only necessary for him to continue writing, but to pay assiduous court to the great. The 'Renegado,' which was printed in 1629, was dedicated to Lord Berkeley, and the 'Roman Actor,' which appeared in the same year, to Sir Philip Knyvet and Sir Thomas Jeay. But notwithstanding his industry, the profits of his labour must have been wretchedly small. In the space of four years he produced seven plays, all of which, there is every reason to believe, proved successful; but according to the rate at which dramatic authors were then remunerated, his indigence must have been extreme, supposing he depended solely on the exertion of his talents. The highest sum paid for a play by the players was twenty pounds; and if the author preferred the chance of a benefit to taking a fixed sum, it was seldom, says Mr Gifford, that so good a price was obtained. With

the profits of publication, and the fee of 40 shillings, which, according to the fashion of the times, was looked for from the person to whom the play was dedicated, it is calculated that under the most favourable circumstances, Massinger might have made fifty pounds a year. "But," observes his learned editor, "nothing is better known than the precarious nature of dramatic writing. Some of his pieces might fail of success, (indeed, we are assured they actually did so,) others might experience a 'thin third day;' and a variety of circumstances, not difficult to enumerate, contribute to diminish the petty sum which we have ventured to state as the maximum of the poet's revenue."

The reputation which he enjoyed at this time, was very forcibly shown by the honourable manner in which he was treated by the members of the Inner Temple. On his dedicating to them 'The Picture,' they gave him permission to place their names individually at the head of the dedication; but he had sufficient good sense to reply, that, "he had rather enjoy the real proofs of their friendship, than, mountebank-like, boast their numbers in a catalogue." In the year following, that is, in 1631, he produced three new plays, namely, 'Believe as You List,' the 'Unfortunate Piety,' and the 'Emperor of the East.' The two former of these have perished, but the latter was published with a dedication to Lord Mohun, in 1632, and obtained for its author an assurance from that nobleman of "intended favour." 'The City Madam,' 'The Maid of Honour,' and 'New Way to pay Old Debts,' were produced in quick succession after this, as well as two other pieces which proved unsuccessful, and reduced, by their failure, the unfortunate author to a state of great distress. 'The Guardian,' however, which appeared in October 1633, was eminently popular, and the mind of Massinger speedily recovered its former elasticity. Three pieces were the result of the next twelve or fourteen months. They were followed by 'The Bashful Lover,' which was written in 1636, and three others. These conclude the list of Massinger's numerous works. 'The Anchoress of Pausilippo,' the last he wrote, was acted on the twenty-sixth of January 1640; and he died on the 17th of March in the same year. He suffered no previous illness, but having retired the previous evening in good health, was found in his bed a corpse. His remains were deposited in Saint Saviour's church-yard, in the Borough, but no stone was erected to mark the spot, and the register simply states, "March 20th, 1639-40, buried Philip Massinger, a stranger."

The life of this admirable writer was chequered with few changes, but it was one of disappointment and misfortune. His works are considered to afford sufficient evidence of the excellence of his heart, and the purity of his principles,—characteristics which ought in conjunction with his noble genius to have secured him the support as well as the respect of those who knew his merits, and had it in their power to serve him. But he was ill-adapted for playing the part of a courtier, and he lived in days when genius, unaccompanied by servility on the one side, or party-zeal on the other, had little chance of winning the favour of the great, or making its way to profitable popularity. As a dramatist, Massinger is true to nature, especially in delineations of the tenderer emotions. His language is apt and powerful, and his versification exquisitely harmonious without ever sinking into either monotony or weakness.

Edward Fairfax.

DIED A. D. 1632.

Edward Fairfax, the well-known translator of Tasso's noble epic, was the second son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton in Yorkshire. The author of the 'Lives of the Poets,' published under the name of Theophilus Cibber, has attempted to cast a stain upon Fairfax's birth, but the alleged circumstance of illegitimacy has by no means been established against our poet. Sir Thomas Fairfax received the honour of knighthood from Queen Elizabeth. The poet's elder brother—afterwards Lord Fairfax of Cameron—was also knighted before Rouen, in Normandy, for his bravery in the army sent to the assistance of Henry IV. of France. Another brother distinguished himself at the battle of Newport, and in the memorable three years' siege of Ostend. While the other members of his family were thus seeking laurels in the field, Edward devoted his time to quieter but still more glorious pursuits, and sought his happiness in the endearments of connubial love, and the assiduous cultivation of polite literature. Having married, he fixed himself at Newhall, in the neighbourhood of Lord Fairfax's estate; and in this secluded retirement he lived and died, honoured and esteemed by all who knew him, and not the least so by his titled brother, to whom he proved eminently serviceable by his advice on various occasions, and the warm interest he took in the education of his lordship's children with his own.

Fairfax's claim on the admiration of posterity is chiefly founded on his admirable translation of the 'Jerusalem Delivered' of Tasso. The work, though the first production of a young man, was received with high approbation when it first appeared. Not to mention the pleasure which royalty itself preferred to take in Fairfax's vigorous and glowing stanzas, Dryden speaks of Spenser and Fairfax in nearly the same breath, as equally worthy favourites of the muse; and Waller confesses that he owes the music of his numbers to the model furnished him in Fairfax's Tasso. The author of the 'Lives of the Poets' above quoted, says, with perfect truth, that Fairfax's diction is "so pure, elegant, and full of grace, and the turn of his lines so perfectly melodious, that one cannot read his verses without rapture, and we can scarcely imagine the original Italian has greatly the advantage in either." With equal sagacity the anonymous biographer adds: "It is not very probable that while Fairfax can be read any author will attempt a new translation of Tasso with success." New translations of Tasso have indeed been tried, and one of them at least possesses merits of no ordinary kind; but old Fairfax still keeps his ground even against the polished and graceful verses of Wiffen. Besides his translation of Tasso, Fairfax executed a metrical history of Edward the Black Prince, and several Eclogues; but we do not know that any of these pieces has yet been published, with the exception of one Eclogue, which was printed by Mrs Cooper in 'The Muses' Library,' in 1737.

Thomas Carew.

BORN A. D. 1589.—DIED A. D. 1639

THIS pleasing poetical writer was the younger brother of Sir Matthew Carew, a zealous royalist in the civil wars. Wood says he received his university education at Corpus Christi college, but that he neither matriculated nor took any degree. His elegant manners and sprightly wit recommended him to the court of Charles I., who appointed him one of his gentlemen of the bed-chamber. He died in 1639. Clarendon says of him: "He was a person of a pleasant and facetious wit, and made many poems, especially in the amorous way." It is to be regretted that his verses, which are often very graceful, should be so frequently disfigured with licentiousness,—the prevailing vice of the times. They probably owed not a little of their popularity in a dissolute age to this circumstance; but they possess many beauties, and are thickly strewed with gems of true poetry. The first edition of his collected pieces was published in 1640, in 12mo; the third, in 1651. Many of his songs were set to music by the two Lawes, and other eminent masters of the day. Headley has very elegantly and correctly estimated the merits and defects of Carew in the following observations appended to his 'Beauties of English Poetry:'—"The consummate elegance of this gentleman entitles him to very considerable attention. Sprightly, polished, and perspicuous, every part of his work displays the man of sense, gallantry, and breeding; indeed, many of his productions have a certain happy finish, and betray a dexterity both of thought and expression, much superior to any thing of his contemporaries, and, on similar subjects, rarely surpassed by his successors. Carew has the ease without the pedantry of Waller, and perhaps less conceit. He reminds us of the best manner of Lord Lyttleton. Waller is too exclusively considered as the first man who brought versification to any thing like its present standard. Carew's pretensions to the same merit are seldom sufficiently either considered or allowed. Though love had long before softened us into civility, yet it was of a formal, ostentatious, and romantic cast; and, with a very few exceptions, its effects upon composition were similar to those on manners. Something more light, unaffected, and alluring, was still wanting: in every thing but sincerity of intention it was deficient. Panegyric, declamatory and nauseous, was rated by those to whom addressed, on the principle of Rubens's taste for beauty, by its quantity, not its elegance. Satire, dealing in rancour rather than reproof, was more inclined to lash than to laugh us out of our vices; and nearly counteracted her intentions by her want of good manners. Carew and Waller jointly began to remedy those defects. In them, gallantry, for the first time, was accompanied by the graces,—the fulsomeness of panegyric forgot its gentility,—and the edge of satire rendered keener in proportion to its smoothness. Suckling says of our author, in his 'Session of the Poets,' that

> ——'the issue of his brain
> Was seldome brought with labour and pain.'

"In Lloyd's Worthies Carew is likewise called 'elaborate and accurate.' However the fact may be, the internal evidence of his poems say no such thing. Hume has properly remarked, that Waller's pieces 'aspire not to the sublime, still less to the pathetic.' Carew, in his beautiful masque, has given us instances of the former; and, in his epitaph on Lady Mary Villiers, eminently of the latter."

Sir John Suckling.

BORN A. D. 1608?—DIED A. D. 1641.

THIS spirited dramatist, and man of fashion of the 17th century, had a court birth as well as breeding; being the son of Sir John Suckling, who had been secretary of state to Charles's predecessor, and was comptroller of the household to Charles himself, when the subject of this notice was born, in 1613, as some of his biographers insist, but more probably in 1608, at Witham, in Middlesex. The accounts which have been given of the extraordinary quickness of his parts, even in childhood—such as that he spoke Latin fluently when five years old—are somewhat contradictory; but still there seems little doubt that his early acquirements in school-learning were very remarkable. They must have been so; for he does not appear to have pursued his studies later than about the age of seventeen years, and yet he was accomplished in much of the learning of his day. It is also uncertain in what schools he acquired it. Aubrey supposes that his initiation took place at Westminster, and he says Davenant told him that he was at Cambridge for three or four years, having entered that university when only eleven years of age.

At a very early age, certainly before he was twenty, Suckling had travelled over a greater portion of civilized Europe than it was usual for the youth of English nobility to visit; and, on his return he seems to have been received, by universal consent, as the very mirror of a wit, a courtier, and a fine gentleman; and this at a time when the qualities necessary to support these characters were a little better understood than they are now, and not a little better practised. Aubrey says of him: "He was incomparably readie at repartying, and his wit most sparkling when most set upon and provoked. He was the greatest gallant of his time, and the greatest gamester both for bowling and cards, so that no shop-keeper would trust him for sixpence. As to day, for instance, he might be winning, be worth £200, the next day he might not be worth half so much, or perhaps be sometimes *minus nihilo*. Sir William, who was his intimate friend, and loved him entirely, would say, that Sir John, when he was at his lowest ebb in gaming, I meane when most unfortunate, then would make himself most glorious in apparell, and sayd that it exalted his spirits, and that he had then best luck when he was most gallant, and his spirits at the highest." In 1629, while on the continent, (when Suckling was probably about twenty years of age, but according to other reckonings, when he was not more than sixteen) he became a soldier, serving a short but busy campaign, under the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus.

From the period of his return till his death, (which happened not

more than seven years after), he seems to have spent an active and busy, yet easy and careless sort of life,—now playing, loving, and writing,—now raising a troop of soldiers, to fight for the king, "all handsome young proper men, whom he clad in white doubletts and scarlet breeches," —now plotting and intriguing with the cavaliers to rescue Strafford from the hands of the covenanters,—failing,—being impeached of high treason, in conjunction with his friend and brother-poet, Davenant, for attempting to effect the escape of the earl of Strafford,—and flying to France for safety, where he died in 1641, 'a bachelor,' at the age of either 28 or 32, according as the different accounts of his birth may be correct.

Suckling's verses are easy and debonnair, often ill-formed in their structure, and still more frequently slovenly in their dress. They every where betray an artificial sensibility,—the great fault of poets of his day. These faults are almost redeemed by his constant sprightliness and good humour, and now and then by a touch of profounder thought than we are prepared to meet with in such a writer. His letters are good specimens of the epistolary style: often elegant, sometimes stiffly antithetical, always witty.[1]

George Sandys.

BORN A. D. 1577.—DIED A. D. 1643.

GEORGE SANDYS, the seventh and youngest son of Edwin, archbishop of York, was born at the archiepiscopal palace of Bishop-thorpe, in 1577. In 1588 he matriculated at St Mary's hall, Oxford; but he does not appear to have taken a degree at the university. In 1610, he visited the continent of Europe, and thence proceeded to the East, taking an extensive tour through Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. Returning to Europe, he resided some time in Rome, and afterwards in Venice, at both which places he appears to have employed himself chiefly in literary researches, and in giving the last polish to his classical acquirements which were highly respectable. In 1615, he presented the public with the result of his observations made during his travels in the East. His work was well received, and has continued a favourite in its department of literature ever since. There have been eight or ten editions of it published, and subsequent travellers have borne unanimous testimony to the accuracy and veracity of the author. Most of the plates, however, with which it was subsequently enriched, were copied from the 'Devotissimo Viaggio di Zuallardo,' Roma, 1587, 4to. In 1632, Sandys appeared as a poet. His translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, published in that year, was very favourably received, though Dryden objects to it as too close and literal. Four years afterwards he published a 'Paraphrase on the Psalms of David,' which, Wood tells us, afforded much solace to Charles I. when a prisoner in Carisbrook castle.[2] In 1640, he produced a poetical

[1] See Retrospective Review, vols. viii. ix.

[2] The edition of this work was published in 1640, with the Psalms set to music by one of the musical brothers, Lawes.

version of a posthumous drama by Grotius, entitled 'Christus patiens;' he also wrote a metrical paraphrase of the 'Song of Solomon,' and a few other religious pieces. Langbaine says of Sandys, as a poetical translator, that "he will be allowed an excellent artist in it by learned judges;" and adds somewhat quaintly, "he comes so near the sense of his author that nothing is lost; no spirits evaporate in the decanting of it into English; and if there be any sediment, it is left behind." An opinion, for which we have the higher authority of Pope, who, in his notes to the Iliad, declares that English poetry owes much of its present beauty to the model furnished by Sandys in his translations. Sandys appears to have been a man of singular integrity and much simplicity of manners. He spent the greater part of his latter years with his brother-in-law Sir Francis Wenman of Caswell, Oxfordshire, probably choosing that situation on account of its proximity to his beloved friend Lucius, Lord Viscount Falkland, who addressed some elegant poems to him, which are preserved in Nichols' 'Select Collection.' He died at the house of his nephew Sir Francis Wyat of Bexley in Kent, in 1643. He was interred in the chancel of the parish church of Bexley without any inscription; but in the parish-register is this entry: "Georgius Sandys, poetarum Anglorum sui sæculi facile princeps, sepultus fuit Martii 7. stilo Anglice, ann. Dom. 1643."[2]

William Cartwright.

BORN A. D. 1615?—DIED A. D. 1643.

This poet and divine of the 17th century has had many biographers, all of whom differ in respect to the precise time of his birth. Lloyd affirms that he was born in 1615, and was the son of Thomas Cartwright, of Burford in Oxfordshire; others suppose him to have been the son of a Mr William Cartwright,—that he was born at Northway in Gloucestershire, in 1611,—and that his father, after dissipating a large fortune, became an inn-keeper at Cirencester, at the free school of which town his son was educated. However this may be, it is certain that he was a king's scholar at Westminster, and was thence chosen student of Christ's college, Oxford, in the year 1631, where he took orders, and became—to use the language of Anthony Wood—"a most florid and seraphic preacher" in the university; he was also appointed proctor, and metaphysical lecturer, and was a poet and divine, all before the age of thirty. In 1642, he was made succentor to the church of Salisbury, and one of the council of war, or delegacy, at Oxford, for providing for the troops sent by the king to protect the colleges. For this last service he was imprisoned by the parliamentary forces, but was soon released. Lloyd asserts that he studied sixteen hours a day, relieving his severer pursuits by the cultivation of poetry. He became in his day an object of universal admiration. His praises employed the most learned pens; Fell, bishop of Oxford, said that he was "all that man could arrive at;" and Ben Jonson exclaimed, "My son Cartwright writes all like a man!" Notwithstanding all this com-

[2] Gent. Mag. vol. lii. p. 368.

mendation, his collected works form only a little thick octavo volume, containing four plays and some miscellaneous poems, prefaced by fifty-six copies of commendatory verses from his friends and fellow-collegians. These pieces, though not without merit, will certainly not sustain the contemporary eulogium appended to them. It must be remembered, however, that they were written while Cartwright's various excellencies were yet green in the memory of his contemporaries. Cartwright was also the author of some Greek and Latin poems, and a Passion sermon. His career was suddenly closed in 1643, by a malignant fever, which the war had introduced into Oxford. King Charles, who was at Oxford when Cartwright died, wore black on the day of his funeral, and the regret for him was general.[1]

Robert Burton.

BORN A. D. 1576.—DIED A.D. 1639.

We must distinguish betwixt this name as belonging to the author of one of the most curious and celebrated works in the English language, the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' and as employed by a bookseller in the 17th century on the title-page of a numerous set of popular volumes. The honest bibliopole who modestly conjectured that his own name was less likely to attract the public attention than the one he adopted on his title-pages, was one Nathaniel Crouch, or Nat Crouch as he is familiarly designated in the Bodleian catalogue; and he continued writing, or rather compiling and abridging his 'Twelve-penny books' for upwards of fifty years. His title-pages were 'a little swelling,' but they took well, and his books were long in high request among the chapmen and travelling booksellers.[2]

The true Robert Burton was the younger brother of William Burton, the author of the well-known 'History of Leicestershire,' and was born at Lindley in Leicestershire, his father's estate, on the 8th of February 1576. His early education was conducted at Sutton-Colfield; and in 1593 he was admitted of Brazen-nose college. He took the degree of B.D. in 1614; and in 1616 was presented to the vicarage of St Thomas in Oxford. He held also the rectory of Segrave in his native county. His death took place on the 25th of January 1639-40. His monument in Christ church bears the following inscription from his own pen: *Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus, hic jacet Democritus junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem Melancholia.*

Burton appears to have been a man of very peculiar humours, but an accomplished and diligent scholar. His reading was immense, and his memory enabled him to keep ready for use almost every thing he had ever read. His 'Anatomy of Melancholy' is a singularly compiled treatise on a singular subject. It is much pleasanter reading, however, than its title promises; its author was, in fact, except during those seasons when his morbid mind asserted its supremacy, a very companionable and facetious fellow, and his language is free from the vitiated

[1] Biog. Brit.—Retrospective Review, vol. x.
[2] Gough's Topography.—Dunton's Life.

mannerism of many of his contemporaries. It was highly popular when it first appeared, but had fallen into neglect when some incidental notices of it by a no less distinguished critic than Dr Johnson again brought it into fashion. Dr Ferrier of Manchester, in his 'Illustrations of Sterne,' has ingeniously traced the obligations of that sentimental writer to the author of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy.'

William and Henry Lawes.

FLOR. A. D. 1640.

ENGLISH music is under deep obligations to these two early composers. They were the sons of Thomas Lawes, a vicar-choral in Salisbury church, and both the disciples of Coperario. Henry died in 1662; William, in 1645.

It was the honour and happiness of Henry Lawes to be on terms of intimate friendship both with Waller and with Milton. The former gave him his songs to set to music; the latter wrote his exquisite masque of 'Comus' at his solicitation, it is said, and married Lawes' music to his own immortal verse. Both poets seem to have been fully satisfied with their colleague's part of the performance. Waller celebrates the musical skill of Henry Lawes in one of his poems; and Milton has not disdained to address one of his sonnets to 'Harry of tuneful and well-measured song.' Fenton, in one of his notes on Waller, says, that the best poets of the age were ambitious of having their songs set by this artist, whose style was better fitted for song-music than that of any of his contemporaries. Henry Lawes composed tunes to George Sandys' 'Paraphrases on the Psalms,' published in 1638. The music to Comus was unfortunately never printed, and nothing remains of it to tell in what manner the artist found fitting musical expression and harmony for the delicious and varied numbers of that unmatched poem.

William Lawes was in high favour with Charles I. His chief compositions were fantasies for viols, and songs and symphonies for masques. His anthem for four voices in Dr Boyce's second volume, is reckoned his masterpiece; but Burney and Hawkins agree in regarding his compositions as irregular and not always correct in harmony. William Lawes appears to have composed a good deal in conjunction with his brother Henry.

Richard Crashaw.

DIED A. D. 1650.

RICHARD CRASHAW united in himself the learning of an accomplished scholar and the imaginative fervour of a pious poet; admired and warmly eulogised by Cowley, his writings were a fountain from the waters of which Pope and Roscommon did not disdain to draw. Still his poems are but little known, nor can it be said that the neglect into which they have fallen is altogether unmerited; though scattered with flowers of exquisite beauty, which Pope thought worth transplant-

ing, the inappropriate expressions, figures, and similes which abound, and the occasional vulgar and ludicrous familiarity of language, are so offensive to the reader as nearly to destroy the pleasure derived from his beauties. He is said to have been born in London, and to have been a foundation boy in the Charter-house school, under a very excellent master of the name of Brooks. The Oxford antiquary states that he was the son of an eminent divine, and that he became a student of Pembroke-hall, and a fellow of Peter-house, in Cambridge, where, in 1637, he was distinguished for his poetical talents. In 1644, when the parliamentary army expelled those members of the university who refused to take the covenant, Crashaw, unable to contemplate with resignation or indifference the ruin of the church establishment, went over to France, where his sufferings, by their effect on his peculiarly constructed mind, prepared him to embrace Romanism. Those who have attributed the conversion of Crashaw to motives of interest, must have been utterly unacquainted with the extreme tenderness and enthusiasm of his character. So far from being impelled by worldly motives, he seems rather to have been converted by his passionate admiration of that fair canonized enthusiast, St Teresa of Spain. Her pious compositions appear to have been his favourite study; and the reader who peruses the following address to her, whatever he may think concerning the tender bigotry of the poet, will hardly suspect that his piety was not perfectly sincere.

"O thou undaunted daughter of desires,
By all thy dower of lights and fires;
By all the eagle in thee, all the dove;
By all thy lives and deaths of love;
By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
And by thy thirsts of love more large than they;
By all thy brim-fill'd bowls of fierce desire;
By thy last morning's draught of liquid fire;
By the full kingdom of that final kiss,
That seal'd thy parting soul, and made thee His;
By all the heavens thou hast in Him;
Fair sister of the seraphim;
By all of Him we have in thee,—
Leave nothing of myself in me;
Let me so read thy life that I
Unto all life of mine may die."

But were this supposition incorrect, the arts of the controversialists of that religion, together with the ardent and tender disposition of the man, render it highly unreasonable to impute his conversion to any other motives than sincere conviction. He was indeed formed to sympathise in all the rapturous and seraphic ardours which have distinguished the devotees of the Roman communion, especially those of the female sex, and these lines to St Teresa breathe a spirit of pious enthusiasm which could only be inspired by kindred feelings. That he was no immediate gainer in point of interest by the change appears by the distressed circumstances in which he was found, in 1646, by his warm admirer, and probably academical friend, Cowley. By his brother-poet he was recommended to the notice of the fugitive queen of Charles the First, Henrietta Maria, who, not having the power to do much for him herself, gave him introductory letters to her friends

in Italy. Through their means he was first entertained as secretary to a cardinal at Rome, and afterwards appointed to a canonry in the church of Loretto, where, soon after his induction, he died of a fever, about the year 1650.

Crashaw's poems were published under the titles of 'Steps to the Temple,' 'The Delights of the Muses,' and 'Carmen Deo Nostro, Sacred poems presented to the Countess of Denbigh.' His original pieces are chiefly devoted to religious topics. His translations, as poetry, are considered far superior to his original compositions. Of the translations, that which is deemed the best is a portion of Marino's poem, entitled, 'Strage degli Innocenti,' of which Crashaw unhappily translated but one book out of four. He wrote several epigrams, one of which we shall insert, because it contains a celebrated line, the credit of which is frequently not attributed to its real author.

JOAN. 2.

Aquæ in vinum versæ.

"Unde rubor vestris et non sua purpura lymphis;
Quæ rosa mirantes tam nova mutat aquas?
Numen (convivæ), præsens agnoscite numen!
Nympha pudica deum vidit et erubuit."

which may be thus translated,—

"Whence the crystal's strange impurpled dye?
Why with new and rosy redness flushed?
Remember, friends, the Deity was by;
The conscious water saw its God, and blushed."

John Bastwick.

BORN A.D. 1593.—DIED CIR. A.D. 1650.

JOHN BASTWICK, an English physician of the 17th century, has attained considerable notoriety by his tractates against the bishops, and other polemical writings. He was born at Writtle in Essex, in 1593, and must have inherited a decent property, as he was educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, whence he repaired to the university of Padua for the purpose of studying medicine. In that celebrated school he took his degree, and, returning to his native country, established himself at Colchester, where he practised with success as a physician, but was diverted from his proper province by his desire of healing the disorders which, in his opinion, afflicted the church, and which he attributed to the extravagant assumptions of the bishops, whose claims he examined in a Latin treatise, entitled, 'Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos in Curiâ Celsæ Commissionis.' In this work he attempted to prove that the authority of bishops was not derived from Divine right. Though he seems to have exempted from his animadversions those prelates who might profess to derive their power, spiritual and temporal, from the civil institutions of their country, his work was regarded as a most flagitious affair, and, at the instigation of Laud, he was arrested and brought be-

fore the court of high commission. Here he pleaded that his book was only written against the pope and the Italian bishops, and those who claimed authority over all kings, princes, and ecclesiastics, *jure divino;* but notwithstanding of this ingenious endeavour to extricate himself from his dilemma, the 'Apologeticus' was declared a scandalous libel, and its author condemned to pay a fine of £1000, besides costs, and to be imprisoned in the gate-house till he should recant his errors. Bastwick now addressed himself with dogged resolution to the task of censuring the English prelates, and published his 'Litany for the special use of our English prelates,' in 1637. For this new offence Laud caused an information to be exhibited against him in the star-chamber. This instrument was filed in that court on the 11th day of March, 1637. At the same time, proceedings of a similar nature were taken against the celebrated William Prynne, for his 'Histrio-Mastix,' and against the Rev. Dr Burton, for preaching and publishing two seditious sermons: which were carried on *pari passu,* with those against Bastwick.

Bastwick's defence proved a gross aggravation of his original offence. In it he professed to demonstrate that the prelates were invaders of the king's prerogative royal, contemners and despisers of holy scripture, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry, and profaneness. It was of enormous length, occupying five skins and a half of parchment closely written; and, in print, twenty-nine goodly pages in quarto in the smallest type. The result was, that he was condemned with the other two defendants to lose his ears, to pay a fine of £5000, and to perpetual imprisonment. He endured his corporal punishment with great fortitude, and on his way back to the Tower, amused himself with composing the following punning distich:—

"S. L. STIGMATA LAUDIS.

Stigmata maxillis referens insignia Laudis
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo."

From the Tower he was removed to Launceston castle, Cornwall, and thence to St Mary's castle in the Isle of Scilly, where he was not even permitted to see his relations. On the ascendancy of the parliament in 1640, the sentences of all these persons were reversed, and declared illegal; and the judges who passed them were ordered to make a reparation to the amount of the fines which they had inflicted on Prynne and his associates, but the confusion of the times prevented the payment of the money. Bastwick was also ordered to be restored to his place in the college of Physicians On their approach to London, multitudes of the citizens, carrying green boughs and flowers, met them some miles from the city, and they were received with the loudest acclamations of joy. Bastwick was alive in 1648, and wrote two pamphlets against the Independents, and a defence of himself against Lilburn. When and where he died is uncertain. His picture is prefixed 'Flagellum Pontificis,' published in 1633 in Holland.[1]

[1] Biog. Brit.—Retrospective Review, vol. x.

William Harvey.

BORN A. D. 1578.—DIED A. D. 1657.

This celebrated anatomist was born on the first of April 1578, at Folkeston in Kent. He was the eldest of seven children, the second of whom, Eliab, afterwards became a great Turkey merchant and amassed a considerable fortune. He was educated at the grammar school in Canterbury. At the age of 15 he went to the university of Cambridge, where he was admitted a pensioner of Gonville and Caius college. The situation of pensioner is described by his biographer, Dr Laurence, to be one in which the individual is not supported on the foundation but pays his own expenses; the word being used in a sense directly opposite to the ordinary one. After six years spent in Cambridge in the study of the philosophy of the day, he went abroad for the purpose of acquiring medical information, the university of Padua being then in high reputation. The anatomical chair was then filled by the celebrated Fabricius ab Aquapendente, of whom Harvey became an attentive follower. The chair of medicine was filled at the same time by Minadous, and that of surgery by Casserius. In this university he took the degree of doctor in medicine in the year 1602; on his diploma are the signatures of the celebrated professors above mentioned, fac similes of which will be found in the London edition of his works, published in 1766.

As usual with physicians of his day, he graduated a second time in the university of Cambridge, on his return to England in 1602. He commenced practice in London as one of the candidati of the college of physicians, of which he was elected a fellow three years afterwards. He was now appointed successor to Dr Wilkinson as physician to St Bartholomew's hospital; and this gentleman dying the year after, he entered on the duties of his office. In 1604, he married the daughter of Dr Lancelot Browne, but had no children. At the age of thirty-seven he was appointed lecturer on anatomy and surgery to the college of physicians; and in the course of the lectures delivered there, he first explained his views respecting the circulation of the blood. The manuscript copy of these lectures fell into the possession of Sir Hans Sloane, and afterwards, along with the rest of his valuable collection, became the property of the British museum in which they are now to be found. Some years ago a set of relics of equal value was presented to the college of physicians by the earl of Winchelsea, a descendant of the brother of Harvey. They consist of six tables or boards on which the blood-vessels and arteries of the body are spread out and dried; which, it is probable, were made by Harvey himself, and employed for the purpose of demonstration, in the course of his anatomical lectures. He was chosen lecturer in 1615, and it is believed that he first mentioned his discovery in 1619, though his manuscript 'De Anatomia Universa,' refers the date of his acquaintance with it to 1616. In order that we may appreciate properly the views introduced into anatomy by Harvey, it will be necessary that we take a glance at the ideas respecting the circulation of the blood which prevailed previous to his time.

The works of Galen and others, show that in ancient times there was

not the slightest suspicion of the true nature of the circulation. The blood was supposed to be formed in the liver,—to flow backwards and forwards in the veins,—to pass partly into the left side of the heart, where the air inhaled by the lungs was supposed to mingle with it and form a vital spirit, which, in the same way as the blood in the veins, was said to form a flux and reflux in the arteries. The first grand step towards the truth was made by Michael Servetus, who was born at Villa Nueva, in Arragon, in the year 1509. He discovered that the idea of the blood passing directly from the right to the left cavity of the heart was erroneous, and showed that it circulated in the vessels of the lungs. He was of opinion that in its passage through the lungs, the blood becomes vitalized and fitted for the formation of vital spirit, which was still supposed to be completed in the left ventricle of the heart. This discovery appears to have been scarcely noticed by anatomists; for several years afterwards, Columbus, professor of anatomy at Padua, announced the same as his own, having been ignorant of the views of Servetus. Perhaps this arose from the title of the work in which Servetus explained his notions; it was a treatise on the Trinity. Not long after this time, doubts were thrown upon the accuracy of the ancient notion by the observations of Carsalpinus, an Italian physician. He remarked that when pressure was applied to a vein, an accumulation of blood takes place on the side most distant from the heart, a circumstance entirely opposed to the theory of the day; for, as he says, "debuisset opposito modo contingere." He properly remarked also that the existence of valves at the origin of the arterial system was not consistent with the common idea of flux and reflux of the vital spirit. With all this information, however, the grand notion of a general circulation was not suggested to him. Fabricius ab Aquapendente, under whom Harvey studied, advanced a step farther, by establishing the doctrine of the existence of valves in the veins, which though supported by Jacobus Sylvius and Vesalius, had been almost suppressed by the opposition of Eustachius and Fallopius. "It was this discovery," says Dr Baillie in one of his introductory lectures, "which probably first led Harvey to reflect on the course of the fluid in the arteries and veins,—an inference which now appears sufficiently obvious; but it might long have remained concealed, if it had not met with an observing mind, which readily caught it, and thus unfolded the most important general action in an animal body." A very few words will suffice to explain the doctrine of Harvey and the principles on which he founded it. The contractions of the heart being known, it was evident that the blood must be sent into the vessels communicating with its cavities. It was found that at the origin of these vessels there were valves which effectually prevented the same fluid from directly returning to the heart; its motion must therefore either be at a stand, or it must pass onwards in the vessels, being impelled by a new quantity forced onwards by the renewed action of the heart. This is the case in the aorta and arterial system, which arise from the left ventricle of the heart, and in the pulmonary artery which receives the blood propelled by the action of the right ventricle. It became now a question what course the blood follows, since the valves prevent its return to the heart by the same passage through which it is expelled. That which is sent into the lungs by the right ventricle, was already known to re-

turn to the heart by the pulmonary vein, which discharges its contents into the left side of that organ; but the future course of the blood was not known. It is forced into the arterial system, but it was never suspected that it continued its course through the ramifications of that system and returned to the heart through the veins. This was the discovery of Harvey. As the blood is propelled through the arteries by the contractions of the heart, and is found to flow in an opposite direction in the veins; and as the valves of these vessels permit of motion of the fluid only in one direction, it follows that the blood circulates through the body in general in the same way as through the lungs. The principles of the modern doctrine of the circulation are therefore the following:—The heart is the centre, consisting in man of two essential parts; from the one (the right side) the blood is driven through the lungs to be purified; returning from these into the left side, from which it is distributed through the system by the arteries; having supplied the wants of the body, it returns through the veins to the right side of the heart, to be again purified by a circulation through the lungs, and fitted for re-entering the arteries. We need not here enter more minutely into a description of the apparatus of the circulation, nor into the additions which the discovery of Harvey has received from the labours of more modern physiologists.

Though there can be no doubt that Harvey had formed clear notions on this important subject so early as the year 1616, he nevertheless wisely abstained from bringing them before the world till he had by mature consideration and careful experiment convinced himself that he had avoided every source of error. It was not, therefore, till the year 1628, that he committed to the press his work on the motion of the heart and blood, which appeared, with a dedication to Charles the First, at Francfort on the Maine. The appearance of this work was the signal for the commencement of a series of attacks similar to those which almost every author of an important discovery has had to suffer. Some anatomists attempted to subvert his reasoning; others to prove that it was known before, and to give to others the honour of the original discovery. His biographer Dr Laurence says, "Sed nemo vir magnus unquam fuit, quem nulla acqualium pressit invidia." The first effect which the publication of his system produced was a decline in his practice—a circumstance which we cannot easily account for. One of his biographers says, that "he ascribed it to the opposition and jealousy of his rivals; but it is more likely, that the habits of abstract speculation, in which he now began to indulge, caused him to neglect the usual arts of gaining the confidence of the public, which if a physician ever possess, he needs not the confidence, and may boldly set at defiance the envy of his professional brethren." The first public attack made on his system was that of Primirosius, a scholar of Riolan, who "ingenii scilicet exercendi causâ," supported with much ingenuity the theory of Galen. To a work written in this spirit, "and to weapons thrown by a beardless enemy, such as Primirosius," Harvey did not condescend a reply. The next opponent was Parisanus, a physician of Venice; described by Laurence as "homo verborum longis ambagibus et loquacitate copiosa odiosus, sententiis in sententias interjectis, et rerum ordine perturbato obscurus, sermone barbarus et lutulentus." This was a feeble enemy, for he fought not by the power of reason, but

by the authority of the ancients, whose opinions were often at variance with those contained in his own work. The reply was penned by a friend of Harvey, Dr George Ent, who achieved an easy victory over his antagonist. The most powerful supporter of the ancient doctrine was the younger Riolan, a celebrated Parisian anatomist, against whom Harvey himself took the field, and, having truth on his side, came off victorious. Various attempts were now made to transfer the honour to others. It was even given to Galen, in no part of whose works can a single hint of the true nature of the circulation be found. It was afterwards given to Servetus, Columbus, and Carsalpinus, the extent of whose discoveries has been already mentioned. "Arguments and experiments," says Dr Baillie, "soon overcame the one kind of opposition; and the other was easily seen through, having arisen from those feelings of envy which will not bear even a merited superiority. But all is now hushed. Harvey is in full possession of the discovery, and the envious clamour of contemporary anatomists has ceased for ever." As an example of the way in which an accidental train of circumstances may cause a dispute respecting the honour of a discovery, we may relate, on the authority of Dr Laurence, the following account of those under which it was attributed to Paulus Sarpius. A certain Venetian ambassador had, during his residence in London, attended the lectures of Harvey, and having become interested in the subject of the circulation, received from Harvey himself a copy of his work. On his return to Venice, he lent the book to Paulus Sarpius, who was celebrated as a learned man and curious in such matters. Paul had copied such portions of the work as were most interesting, especially such as had a reference to the discovery; and he dying a few years thereafter, these papers fell with the rest of his effects into the hands of his heirs. Being mistaken for original notes, it was now given out on the strength of these papers, that the discovery of the circulation was due to Paul, and that he had communicated his opinions to Harvey. We have the authority of the celebrated Boyle, for saying that Harvey attributed the first suggestion which he had of the true nature of the circulation to the demonstrations of the valves of the veins which he heard from Fabricius ab Aquapendente.

In the year 1623, Harvey was appointed physician extraordinary to King James I. with a promise of being chosen ordinary physician so soon as a vacancy should occur. To this honour, however, he did not attain till 1632, when Charles I. appointed him to the office. From that monarch he received many personal attentions, and was not unfrequently honoured by the king's attendance on his anatomical demonstrations. In his studies on the generation of animals he received great assistance from the bounty of the king, who supplied him with many animals, and especially deer, in a pregnant state. We find that shortly after this time, Harvey travelled on the continent. One of his biographers states, that he accompanied the earl of Arundel and Surrey, on an embassy to the court of Vienna, as his physician, but as this is given on the authority of Aubrey, to whose testimony no great credit appears to be due, we may place more confidence in the account of Dr Laurence, who states that, on account of the high consideration in which he was held by the king, he was requested to attend the young duke of Lenox on his travels. Instead of depriving Harvey on this occasion, of his

office of physician to St Bartholomew's hospital, the governors of that charity permitted him to delegate his duties for the time to Dr Smyth. On his return home he resumed his functions, but his attendance at court was so frequently called for, that he often found it impossible to attend to them as before. In consequence of this, Dr Andrews was appointed his assistant; though, in gratitude for the services which Harvey had so long and so faithfully executed, and in consideration of his attendance on important occasions, the annual salary was continued to him.

When Charles I. visited Scotland in 1633, Harvey accompanied him, and he has left a description of the Bass rock, a small island at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, which may be found in his eleventh dissertation on the generation of animals. During the civil wars, he was constantly in attendance on the king, and was present at the battle of Edge-hill. During the action, he was left to take charge of the prince and the duke of York, and is said to have been so near the scene of action that a cannon-ball grazed the ground near him, whereupon he quitted so dangerous a situation. In a short time he retired to Oxford with the king, and renewed his course of experiments and study. He now felt diligence to be the more necessary, as he had sustained an almost irreparable loss in the beginning of the rebellion, when his house at Whitehall was plundered, and notes of curious experiments and observations on the anatomy and physiology of several animals were taken away or destroyed. In 1642 he was incorporated as doctor in medicine of the university of Oxford, and three years afterwards succeeded Dr Nathaniel Brent in the wardenship of Merton college. Brent had formerly professed great friendship for the English church, and had received the honour of knighthood; but being, as Dr Laurence says, a time-serving man, and perceiving the approaching ascendancy of the parliament, he left the university and his office, uniting himself to the parliamentary party and taking the covenant. By the royal command therefore, he was superseded in his office by Dr Harvey. During his residence in Oxford he made many of his experiments on generation, in which he was greatly assisted by Dr George Bathurst of Trinity college. In this gentleman's chambers they kept a hen for the purpose of sitting on eggs, which they opened and examined at different periods of incubation

While resident at Oxford, he became acquainted with Dr Scarborough, at that time a very young man, and undecided as to what course he should pursue in future life. Harvey perceived his merits, and urged him strongly to follow out the medical profession, promising whatever assistance it lay in his power to bestow. His *protegé* did not disappoint his expectations, for he rose to great eminence in his profession, read the anatomical lectures at Surgeons' hall for many years, and was knighted and appointed one of the physicians of Charles II. It was about this time, also, that Harvey wrote a reply to the objections urged against his doctrine of the circulation by Riolan.

When Oxford was surrendered to the parliament, Harvey resigned the wardenship of Merton college, which was restored to Dr Brent, and went to London, where he resided for some time with his brother Eliab. This brother was now a rich Turkey merchant, and was among the first who introduced into England the use of coffee. Harvey is said by Aubrey to have travelled into Italy with Dr Ent, in 1646, but this

is to be regarded as doubtful, on account of the uncertainty attending the testimony of the narrator. He lived much out of town, having retired from practice, and devoted himself to his studies at his country seat at Combe in Surrey. Here he is said to have indulged much in a whim of studying under ground, in caves dug for the purpose, excluding the light of day. In 1651, he finished his work on generation, which, however, his modesty might have prevented him from publishing, but for the solicitations of his friend Sir George Ent, who obtained the papers from him, and gave them to the world. It would be to no purpose were we to enter here upon a detail of the opinions described in this work. The theoretical views are entirely superseded by more modern discoveries; all that is really valuable consists in a vast number of insulated anatomical facts which his attentive observation enabled him to collect. In December, 1652. the college of physicians testified their regard for Harvey by erecting a statue to his honour, with an inscription referring to the discovery which has rendered his name immortal. Having formerly obtained the consent of the college, he erected an elegant museum and library for their use, and on the 2d of February, 1653, after a splendid entertainment given to the president and fellows, presented the house and all that it contained to them. This building does not now exist; it is said to have been very near the present situation of Stationers'-hall. Soon after this he resigned his office of lecturer on anatomy and surgery; his successor was the celebrated Glisson.

In 1654, Dr Prujean resigned the presidency of the college of physicians, and in the absence of Harvey the college appointed him to the vacant office. This being communicated to him, he came to the assembly, and, returning thanks for the honour proposed to be conferred upon him, begged to be excused from accepting it, being unable from age and infirmities to perform the duties in an adequate manner. At the same time he added, that if he might, without arrogance, presume to give advice in such a matter, he would recommend the re-election of Dr Prujean, to whose prudence and diligence the college was already much indebted. The advice was followed, and Prujean was immediately re-instated in his honourable office. It is perhaps to this that we must refer the circumstance of Harvey being painted in the robes of the president of the college. In 1656, he made over for the perpetual use of the college, his paternal estate of fifty-six pounds a-year, partly for the support of a librarian, and partly for the institution of an oration to be delivered at the annual feast of the college. This oration has frequently been spoken by the most eminent physicians of the day.

His life was prolonged scarcely two years beyond this time. He suffered frequently from the gout, which, with the infirmities of age, gradually undermined his powers. He died on the 3d of June, 1657; the disease which immediately caused his death is not mentioned by any of his biographers. His funeral was followed to a considerable distance from town by the fellows of the college. He was buried in the church at Hampstead in Essex.

Of the private character of Harvey not much is known. He is said to have been in his youth of a choleric disposition, but to have afterwards exhibited a mild temper and engaging manners. In his controversial writings he displayed great candour and lenity, even when pro-

voked by abuse and detraction. He is said to have been very well informed on general subjects, and to have had an extensive knowledge of classical authors. The style of his own writing is by no means faultless, but is plain and free from those ornaments which are often only blemishes in a scientific work. As a practitioner of medicine he was not very highly esteemed; his anatomical and physiological studies must have interfered materially with his means of acquiring medical experience. An elegant edition of his works, in quarto, was published by the college of physicians, in the year 1766; with an engraved portrait, and a life of the author by Dr Laurence.[1]

Inigo Jones.

BORN A. D. 1572.—DIED A. D. 1653.

THIS celebrated English architect was born in London, in 1572. His father was a reputable citizen, a cloth-worker by trade, and of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Webb, the nephew and pupil of our artist, says, "there is no certain account in what manner he was brought up, or who had the task of instructing him." He is said to have been at first apprenticed to a joiner, but to have early exhibited so much skill in drawing as to have attracted the notice of the earl of Pembroke, who sent him to Italy to complete his studies. Walpole says that the earl of Arundel also patronized the young artist. But Allan Cunningham sees no reason to suppose that the expenses of his foreign travel were not defrayed by his own family.[2] How long he remained in Italy is not exactly known. Webb intimates that he acquired a high reputation amongst the artists of that country, and that he was employed not unfrequently in designing architectural works for the Italian nobility. It is certain, that on the strength of the reputation he had acquired in Italy, he was invited by Christian IV. to Denmark, and received the appointment of architect to his majesty.

In 1605, we find Jones at Oxford, and employed in getting up a grand masque, with which the university had determined to welcome King James. Soon after this he was appointed architect to Queen Anne and to Prince Henry, and removed to court to aid Ben Jonson in planning and preparing those magnificent masques which were first introduced at Whitehall by the Danish princess, and which gave such lustre to the court of England. The following is the account given by Jonson of his colleague's part in one of these stately pageants:—"For the scene"—in the masque of Blackness—"was drawn a landscape consisting of small woods, and here and there a void place filled with huntings; which falling, an artificial sea was seen to shoot forth as if it flowed to the land, raised with waves which seemed to move, and in some places the billows to break, as imitating that orderly disorder which is common in nature. In front of this sea were placed six Tritons, in moving and sprightly actions; their upper parts human, save that their hairs were blue, as partaking of the sea colour—their desi-

[1] Works, 1766.—Aikin's Dict.—Murray.—Hutchinson.—Hooper's Med. Dict.—Baillie's Posthumous Works.

[2] Lives of Eminent Artists, vol. iv. p. 76.

nent parts fish, mounted above their heads, and all varied in disposition. From their backs were borne out certain light pieces of taffeta, as if carried by the wind, and their music made out of wreathed shells. Behind these a pair of sea-maids, for song, were as conspicuously seated; between which two great sea-horses, as big as the life, put forth themselves, the one mounting aloft, and writhing his head from the other; upon their backs Oceanus and Niger were advanced. Oceanus presented in a human form, the colour of his flesh blue, and shadowed with a robe of sea-green; his head grey and horned, as he is represented by the ancients, his beard of the like mixed colour; he was garlanded with sea-grass, and in his hand a trident. Niger in form and colour of an Ethiop; his hair and rare beard curled, shadowed with a blue and bright mantle; his front, neck, and wrists, adorned with pearl, and crowned with an artificial wreath of cane and paper rush. These induced the masquers, which were twelve nymphs, negroes, and the daughters of Niger, attended by so many of the Oceaniæ, which were their light-bearers. The masquers were placed in a great concave shell, like mother-of-pearl, curiously made to move on those waters, and rise with the billow; the top thereof was struck with a cheveron of lights, which indented to the proportion of the shell, struck a glorious beam upon them as they were seated one above another, so that they were all seen, but in an extravagant order. On sides of the shell did swim six huge sea-monsters, varied in their shapes and dispositions, bearing on their backs the twelve torch-bearers who were planted there in several graces, so as the backs of some were seen, some in purple or side, others in face, and all having their lights burning out of whilks or murex shells. The attire of the masquers was alike in all; the colours, azure and silver, but returned on the top with a scroll and antique dressing of feathers and jewels, interlaced with ropes of pearl. And for the front, ear, neck, and wrists, the ornament was of the most choice and orient pearl, but setting off from the black. For the light-bearers, sea-green waved about the skirts with gold and silver; their hair loose and flowing, garlanded with sea-grass, and that stuck with branches of coral. These thus presented; the scene behind seemed a vast sea, and united with this that flowed forth, from the termination or horizon of which, (being the head of the state, which was placed in the upper end of the hall,) was drawn by the lines of perspective, the whole work shooting downwards from the eye, which decorum made it more conspicuous, and caught the eye afar off with a wondering beauty, to which was added an obscure and cloudy night-piece that made the whole set off. So much for the bodily part, which was of Master Inigo Jones's design and art."

On the death of Prince Henry in 1612, Jones again visited Italy but he does not appear to have remained long abroad. On his return to London, he was made surveyor of his majesty's works. The following notices of our architect, at this period of his fortunes, are curious in themselves, and highly honourable to Jones:—"The office of his majesty's works," says his son-in-law, "of which he was supreme head, having through extraordinary occasions, in the time of his predecessor, contracted a great debt, amounting to several thousand pounds, he was sent for to the lords of the privy council, to give them his opinion what course might be taken to ease his majesty of it, the

exchequer being empty, and the workmen clamorous. When he, of his own accord, voluntarily offered not to receive one penny of his own entertainment, in what kind soever due, until the debt was fully discharged; and this was was not only performed by him, himself, but upon his persuasion the comptroller and paymaster did the like also, whereby the whole arrears were discharged.' This Roman disinterestedness, as Walpole calls it, proves that the architect had other means of subsistence than his salary as surveyor; but he was never rich; and though he is upbraided by Philip, Lord Pembroke, with having sixteen thousand a year for keeping the palaces in repair, there is no proof that the bargain was profitable, or that he gained more than the bare government pay of 8s. 4d. per day, with an allowance of £46 a year for house rent, besides a clerk, and incidental expenses. 'What greater rewards he had are not upon record,' observes Walpole, 'considering the havoc made in offices and repositories during the great civil war, we are glad at recovering the most trivial notices.' His savings could not be large from his salary, and he was too generous to profit by the liberal spirit of his master, who was the poorest king of the richest nation in Europe. Of his modesty respecting the perquisites of his place, there is a proof which no one will doubt; viz., a written testimony by King James in the British Museum. 'Whereas,' says this document, 'there is due unto Inigo Jones, esquire, surveyor of his majesty's works, the sum of thirty-eight pounds, seven shillings and sixpence, for three years arrears of his levy out of the wardrobe, as appeareth by three several debentures; these are therefore to will and require you to make payment unto the said Inigo Jones, or his assignees: and for so doing this shall be your warrant.' For three years the king was unable to pay the annual price of his surveyor's livery; and the latter had the modesty and the forbearance to wait till accident, or the tardy liberality of the Commons, replenished the exchequer with the sum of £38 7s. 6d."[3]

Hitherto we have heard nothing of Jones as an architect. He had, doubtless, designed many private mansions for the English nobility before this period, but there is much doubt about the earlier works attributed to him. James, however, was resolved to have a palace whose magnificence should be worthy of the second Solomon, and in Jones he found an artist equal to the task of designing an unrivalled structure. The original design of Whitehall, as shown in Kent's sketches, was a truly splendid one; it was utterly beyond the capacity of James's treasury to execute, and it is to be regretted that the artist's ideas still exist only in the portfolio, with the exception of one beautiful fragment, the Banquetting-house, of which the foundation was laid in 1619, and which has ever been admired for the elegance and justness of its proportions.

In 1620, Jones, in obedience to the king's request, set about examining that remarkable monument of a remote age, Stonehenge, near Wilton. His investigation was minute and laborious, but terminated in the extraordinary conclusion, that in Stonehenge we behold the remains of a Roman temple of the Tuscan order, dedicated to Cœlus!

In 1633, we find Jones actively engaged in superintending the repairing the cathedral of St Paul's. Walpole says, that in this task the

[3] Lives of Eminent Artists, vol. iv. p. 98.

architect committed two capital faults:—"He first renewed the sides with very bad Gothic, and then added a Roman portico, magnificent and beautiful indeed, but which had no affinity with the ancient parts that remained, and made his own Gothic appear ten times heavier." Cunningham does not attempt to disprove the justness of Walpole's criticism, but calls the portico, in this case, "a splendid mistake," and declares that he has seen nothing "so nobly proportioned, and so simply splendid, as this portico." In 1631, Jones built the church of Covent-Garden; soon after, he added to his works Surgeon's-hall, the square of Lincoln's-inn-fields, Coleshill in Berkshire, Cobham-hall in Kent, Shaftesbury-house, and a number of private edifices both in the town and in the country. He still continued to supply the court with scenery and inventions for the favourite masques; but it is deeply to be regretted that he should have fallen into a fierce feud with his poetical colleague, Ben Jonson, which embittered the lives of both, and exposed them to not a little ridicule and reproach.

The distractions of the civil wars put a stop to the repairs of St Paul's, and to much of Jones's private employment. "During the usurpation," says Dugdale, "the stately portico, with the beautiful Corinthian pillars, being converted into shops for seamstresses and other trades with lofts and stairs ascending thereto—the statues had been despitefully thrown down, and broken in pieces." Of this Jones was witness; but he did not live to see the unfinished cathedral with its magnificent portico wrapt in those flames which consumed so much of London. "Inigo," says Walpole, "tasted early of the misfortunes of his master. He was not only a favourite but a Roman Catholic. Grief, misfortunes and age, terminated his life. He died at Somerset-house, and was buried in the church of St Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, where a monument, erected to his memory, was destroyed in the fire of London."

"The genius of Inigo," says Allan Cunningham, "loved less the simple majesty of the Grecian school than the picturesque splendours of Palladio; and it must be confessed, that, for domestic purposes at least, the varied combinations which the revival of architecture in Italy permitted, are far more suitable to us than the severer simplicity of Athens. The columns, rank over rank, the recesses, the arcades, the multiplied entablatures, the balustrades, and tower above tower, of the modern architecture, must not be looked upon as the innovations of men who went a devious way without a purpose; these changes were in truth conceded in obedience to the calls of climate, of customs, of religion, and of society, and were Pericles raised from the dead, he could not but acknowledge that windows are useful for light, and chimneys necessary for heat in Britain, though he might demur to the domes, and towers, and balustrades of our mansions and palaces. The scrupulously classical men, who look to the exact shape rather than to the true spirit of ancient architecture, pronounce all to be barbarous or impure for which they can find no antique sanction; but this is a poor pedantry. Lord Aberdeen well observes,—'These models should be imitated, not, however, with the timid and servile hand of a copyist; their beauties should be transferred to our soil, preserving, at the same time, a due regard to the changes of customs and manners, to the difference of our climate, and to the condition of modern society. In this case it would not be so much the details of the edifice itself, however

perfect, which ought to engross the attention of the artist; but he should strive rather to possess himself of the spirit and genius by which it was originally planned and directed, and to acquire those just principles of taste which are capable of general application.' That Jones endeavoured to meet the difference of our climate, and the demands of modern society, is sufficiently visible in the works which are still in existence, but much more so in the designs which he left on paper.'

John Selden.

BORN A. D. 1584.—DIED A. D. 1654.

JOHN SELDEN, the most eminent of our antiquarian lawyers, was born on the 16th of December, 1584, at Salvington in Sussex. His father was of obscure origin; his mother was of the family of the Bakers of Kent. He received the rudiments of education in the free school of Chichester, and was afterwards admitted of Hart-hall in the university of Oxford, where he enjoyed the tutorship of Anthony Barker and John Young. At the age of 18 he removed to London, and became a member of Clifford's Inn, "it being customary," says Mr Henry Roscoe, "at that time for students-at-law to enter themselves at one of the minor inns of court before they became members of the greater societies." In May, 1604, he was admitted of the Inner Temple, and in due time was called to the bar.

His early reputation for learning soon procured for him the favourable notice of such men as Spelman, Cotton, Camden, and Usher, and their society and conversation induced him to enter on the study of national antiquities. The first fruits of his researches was a volume of collections on early English history, which was first published at Frankfort in 1615, under the title of 'Analecton Anglo-Britannicon libri duo.' Bishop Nicolson censures these Analecta as crude and incorrect, but the work was on the whole a very fair specimen of antiquarian industry, and especially creditable to the talents and industry of a youth of only twenty-two years of age. In 1610, our young antiquarian published two tracts, entitled, 'England's Epinomis,' and 'Jani Anglorum facies altera.' In the same year he gave to the world another piece, entitled the 'Duello, or Single Combat,' in which he investigates the origin and usages of the judicial combat, as that singular institution existed amongst our Norman ancestors.

These successive publications had conferred no small reputation on Selden, even before the appearance of his treatise on 'Titles of Honour,' a work of great value and practical utility, which passed through a second and much enlarged edition in 1631, and a third in 1672. Ben Jonson condescended to write an encomiastic poem on the author, after the fashion of the day. After writing and editing several other pieces on legal antiquities, in 1617, Selden appeared as a biblical scholar in his celebrated 'De Diis Syriis syntagmata duo,' in which he gives a very learned review of the different species of idol-worship mentioned in scripture, and of Syrian idolatry in general. The Elzevirs reprinted, and De Dieu and Heinsius edited this work in 1627. Beyer, a Leipsic printer, also published two different editions of the work in 1662 and 1680.

In 1618 Selden gave to the public his 'History of Tithes,' a work of great learning, extreme industry, and much ingenuity. Its object was to trace the rise and progress of that ecclesiastical impost, and to disprove the theory of those zealous churchmen who contended for the divine right of tithes. It of course drew down upon its author the wrath of the high-church party. It was attacked by Sir James Sempill in the appendix to his treatise entitled 'Sacrilege sacredly handled,' London, 1619, and by Dr Richard Tillesley, archdeacon of Rochester, in 'Animadversions upon Mr Selden's History of Tithes,' London, 1621, 4to. Selden wrote an answer to Dr Tillesley, which being dispersed in manuscript, the doctor published it with remarks in the second edition of his 'Animadversions,' London, 1621, 4to, under this title, 'Animadversions upon Mr Selden's History of Tithes, and his Review thereof. Before which (in lieu of the two first chapters purposely prætermitted) is premised a catalogue of 72 authors before the year 1215, maintaining the *Jus divinum* of Tithes, or more, to be paid to the Priesthood under the Gospel.' Selden's book was likewise answered by Dr Richard Montague in his 'Diatribe,' London, 1621, 4to; by Stephen Nettles, B. D. in his 'Answer to the Jewish part of Mr Selden's History of Tythes,' Oxford, 1625; and by William Sclater in his 'Arguments about Tithes,' London, 1623, in 4to. The Treatise on Tithes having been reprinted in 1680, 4to, with the old date put to it, Dr Thomas Comber answered it in a treatise entitled, 'An Historical Vindication of the Divine Right of Tithes,' &c. London, 1681, in 4to. King James was also pleased to deal with the offending essayist, and to point out with his own royal finger the most obnoxious passages in the 'Treatise on Tithes.' Of course Selden admitted the justness of the criticisms thus passed upon his work, and promised to attend to them in a second edition. The churchmen also contrived to obtain his subscription to the following ignominious declaration: "My good lords, I most humbly acknowledge my errour, which I have committed in publishing the 'History of Tithes,' and especially in that I have at all, by shewing any interpretation of Holy Scriptures, by meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by what else soever occurs in it, offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance 'Jure divino' of the Ministers of the Gospell; beseeching your lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgement, together with the unfeined protestation of my griefe, for that through it I have so incurred both his majestie's and your lordships' displeasure conceived against mee in behalfe of the Church of England." It is impossible wholly to acquit Selden of censure in this matter, and especially in the tameness with which he submitted to the injunctions of the royal pedant.

"But the period," says Mr Roscoe, "was now fast approaching when Selden was about to act a more noble and manly part. An important change in the state of society, and in the general condition of the people, had taken place, which at this time was beginning to render itself visible in the transactions between the crown and the parliament. In the year 1621 the commons assumed a tone, to which, however unpleasant it might sound in the royal ears, their constitutional station in the country entitled them. They complained in bold and decided terms of the grievances under which the nation laboured; and, notwithstanding the

strong expression of the royal displeasure, they persisted in exercising this their great constitutional privilege. At length the king, moved to anger by the patriotic obstinacy of the commons, ventured to threaten them in language unbecoming the sovereign of a limited monarchy, asserting, that all their privileges were derived from himself and his ancestors, and hinting that their very existence depended upon his pleasure. Indignant at this assumption of absolute power, the house immediately took measures to vindicate their rights; and, in the course of the inquiries instituted with regard to the nature and extent of their privileges, they consulted Selden, though not at that time a member of the house, who entered into a long and learned dissertation on the subject, in which he took occasion to enlarge upon some of the more prominent grievances of the times. In pursuance of the advice thus given, the house resolved to resist the aggressions of the prerogative; but such was the indignation of the court at these proceedings, that Selden, together with Sir Edward Sandys, a very active member of the country party, was committed to the custody of the sheriffs of London. His imprisonment, however, was far from being rigorous; and after a few weeks' confinement he was set at liberty. It appears that his release was procured at the intercession of Bishop Williams, who represented his case favourably to the marquess of Buckingham. About this period Selden composed, by the order of the house of lords, a tract entitled, 'The Privilege of the Baronage,' first printed in the year 1642; and about the same time he wrote the tract on 'The Judicature of Parliament;' a work of inferior reputation, and by some persons supposed to have been composed by Sir Simon D'Ewes. It was not printed until the year 1681. In the year 1623, Selden edited the historical work of 'Eadmer,' an early chronicler, and appended to it a number of learned notes. In the same year Selden entered for the first time into public life, and in the parliament which was summoned in February, 1623-4, appeared as one of the representatives for the borough of Lancaster, and in the parliament which assembled after the death of James I. he was returned for Great Bedwin. In both of these assemblies Selden ranged himself on the popular side, and conducted himself with a courage and decision which could scarcely have been expected from a man who had yielded without a struggle to the frowns of James I. But the hearts even of the weak and timid are animated into resolution and bravery by the presence of the resolute and the brave; and in the society of Coke and Hollis and Ellyot, Selden ventured to act the part of an intrepid man and a good citizen. The details of his conduct connected with the proceedings of parliament are matter of history, and do not require repetition in this place. It is sufficient to state, that in all the great constitutional debates of that stormy period he took an active and prominent part, and that he does not appear on any occasion to have shrunk from the performance of his weighty and dangerous duty. On the dissolution of the parliament in 1628, Selden reaped the fruits of his patriotic exertions, and in company with Hollis, Ellyot, Stroud, and other eminent members of the commons, was committed under warrants from the council and the king to the Tower."

On his liberation, Selden resumed his labours as a scholar and antiquary, and published his tracts 'On the Origin of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Testaments,' and 'Of the Disposition or Administration

of Intestates' goods;' also an account of the Arundel marbles and two essays on Hebrew antiquities, 'De successionibus in bona defuncti ad leges Ebræorum,' and 'De successione in pontificatum Ebræorum.' In 1635 appeared his celebrated 'Mare clausum.' "During King James's reign," says Mr Chalmers, "Selden had been ordered by his majesty to make such collections as might show the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the sea, and he had undertaken the work, but, in resentment for being imprisoned by James, declined the publication. An occasion offered now in which it might appear to advantage. In 1634, a dispute having arisen between the English and Dutch concerning the herring fishery upon the British coast, to which the Dutch laid claim, and had their claims supported by Grotius, who, in his 'Mare liberum,' contended that fishing on the seas was a matter of common right, Selden now published his celebrated treatise of 'Mare clausum,' Lond. 1635, fol. In this he effectually demonstrated, from the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired: and from the most authentic histories, that such a dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by several nations, and submitted to by others for their common benefit: that this in fact was the case of the inhabitants of this island, who, at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed such a dominion, which had been confessed by their neighbours frequently, and in the most solemn manner. This treatise, in the publication of which Selden is said to have been encouraged by Archbishop Laud, greatly recommended him to the court, and was considered as so decisive on the question, that a copy of it was placed among the records of the crown, in the exchequer, and in the court of admiralty. This work was reprinted in 1636, 8vo. An edition also appeared in Holland, 12mo, with the title of London, but was prohibited by the king because of some additions, and a preface by Boxhornius. It was translated into English by the noted Marchmont Needham, 1652, fol. with some additional evidence and discourses, by special command, and a dedication of eighteen pages, addressed to 'The supreme authoritie of the nation and parliament of the Commonwealth of England,' which is of course not prefixed to the translation by J. H. Gent. published after the restoration in 1663. Nicolson observes, that when Selden wrote this book, he was not such an inveterate enemy to the prerogative doctrine of ship money as afterwards; for he professedly asserts, that in the defence of their sovereignty at sea, our kings constantly practised the levying great sums on their subjects without the concurrence of their parliaments. The work having been attacked by Peter Baptista Burgus, Selden published in 1653, 4to, a treatise in its defence, with rather a harsh title, 'Vindiciæ secundum integritatem existimationis suæ per convitium de scriptione MARIS CLAUSI petulantissimum et mendacissimum MARIS LIBERI,' &c."

On the assembling of the long parliament, in 1640, Selden was returned one of the representatives from the university of Oxford. He seems to have attempted to steer a middle course during this troublous period, and reaped the usual reward of men of half-measures, being ranked by the popular party amongst the 'enemies of justice,' at the very same moment that he was regarded with suspicion and distrust by the high-church party. He even joined in all the proceedings prepar-

atory to Strafford's impeachment,—yet he opposed the mode of procedure against that nobleman by a bill of attainder. He ranked himself among the friends of the church of England when the question of the abolition of episcopacy came before parliament,—yet he made no serious effort to prevent its overthrow, and allowed himself to be nominated in the committee of impeachment against Laud. He strenuously denounced the commissions of array issued by the king, on the one hand, as unconstitutional and dangerous, and pronounced a like opinion against the legality of the parliamentary ordinance for the appointment of lieutenants, on the other. Yet amidst all this confusion of political affairs Selden found time to pursue his favourite literary studies. In 1640 appeared one of his most learned productions, entitled 'De jure naturali et gentium, juxta disciplinam Ebræorum, libri septem,' containing a full discourse on the civil and religious polity of the Jews. In 1642 he published a version into Latin of a tract of the patriarch Eutychius in the Arabic language, illustrating certain controverted points in ecclesiastical antiquities. This work was reprinted in 1656, under the superintendence of the learned Pocock, at the expense of Selden. In the year 1644 appeared a new work by this indefatigable scholar, 'De anno civili veteris ecclesiæ, seu reipublicæ Judaicæ dissertatio;' which, in 1646, was followed by his 'Uxor Hebraica, seu de nuptiis et divortiis, ex jure civili, id est, divino et Talmudico, veterum Ebræorum, libri tres.' In the following year he resumed the study of English antiquities, and employed himself upon an edition of 'Fleta,' to which he prefixed a learned dissertation. In 1650 he sent to the press his great work, 'De Synedris et præfecturis Juridicis veterum Hebræorum;' which, with the 'Vindiciæ Maris clausi,' published in 1653, closes the long catalogue of his literary labours.

In 1643, Selden sat as one of the lay members in the assembly of divines at Westminster, "in which," says Chalmers, "his admirers tell us, he frequently perplexed those divines with his vast learning; and, as Whitelocke relates, 'sometimes when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, 'perhaps in your little pocket bibles with gilt leaves,' which they would often pull out and read, 'the translation may be thus,' but the Greek and the Hebrew signify thus and thus; and so would totally silence them.' This anecdote, which has often been repeated to Selden's praise, may afford a proof of his wit, such as it was, but as a reflection on the divines of that assembly, it can do him no credit, many of them certainly understanding the original languages of the bible as well as himself. It was in truth, as an able critic has observed, a piece of wanton insolence." In 1644, Selden subscribed the solemn league and covenant, and had the mastership of Trinity college, Cambridge, offered him, but declined it.

He died on the 30th November, 1654. Selden was a man of prodigious learning and mighty industry. As an orientalist his only rival in Europe was Pocock. "His mind also," says Whitelocke, "was as great as his learning; he was as hospitable and generous as any man, and as good company to those he liked." Wilkins relates that he was a man of uncommon gravity and greatness of soul, averse to flattery, liberal to scholars, and charitable to the poor. Baxter remarks, that "he was a resolved serious Christian, a great adversary, particularly to

Hobbes's errors;" and that Sir Matthew Hale affirmed, "how he had seen Selden openly oppose Hobbes so earnestly, as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the room." Clarendon thus describes him: "Mr Selden was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of such stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages, as may appear from his excellent and transcendant writings, that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant among books, and had never spent an hour but in reading or writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh, and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men, but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity: but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty in making hard things easy and present to the understanding, of any man that hath been known." His lordship also used to say, that "he valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young, and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London; and he was very much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached for staying in London, and in the parliament, after they were in rebellion, and in the worst of times, which his age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the actions were which were every day done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them, but would have hindered them if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellencies in the other scale." The political part of Selden's life, is that which the majority of readers will contemplate with least pleasure; but on this it is unnecessary to dwell. The same flexibility of spirit, which made him crouch before the reprehension of James I. disfigured the rest of his life, and deprived him of that dignity and importance which would have resulted from his standing erect in any place he might have chosen. Clarendon seems to have hit the true cause of all, in that anxiety for his own safety to which, as he says, "he was always indulgent enough."

A collected edition of Selden's works was published in 1726 by Dr Wilkins, archdeacon of Suffolk, in three folio volumes, with a life of the author. Several other works of his were printed after his death, or left in manuscript. 1. 'God made man. A Tract proving the nativity of our Saviour to be on the 26th of December,' Lond. 1661. 8vo. 2. 'Discourse of the office of Lord-Chancellor of England,' Lond. 1671, in fol. printed with Dugdale's catalogue of lord-chancellors and lord-keepers of England from the Norman conquest. 3. Several treatises, viz. 'England's Epinomis;' already mentioned, published 1683, in fol. by Redman Wescot, with the English translation of Selden's 'Jani Anglorum Facies altera.' 4. 'Table talk: being the discourses or his sense of various matters of weight and high conse-

quences, relating especially to *Religion and State*,' London, 1689, 4to, published by Richard Milward, amanuensis to our author. Dr Wilkins observes, that there are many things in this book inconsistent with Selden's great learning, principles, and character. It has, however, acquired popularity, and still continues to be printed, as an amusing and edifying manual. 5. 'Letters to learned men;' among which several to Archbishop Usher are printed in the collection of letters at the end of Parr's life of that prelate; and two letters of his to Mr Thomas Greaves were first published from the originals by Thomas Birch, M.A. and F.R.S. in the life prefixed to Birch's edition of the 'Miscellaneous works of Mr John Greaves,' Lond. 1737, in two volumes, 8vo. 6. 'Speeches, Arguments, Debates, &c., in Parliament.' 7. He had a considerable hand in, and gave directions and advice towards, the edition of 'Plutarch's Lives,' printed in 1657. In 1675 there was printed at London, in 4to, 'Joannis Seldeni Angli Liber de Nummis, &c. Huic accedit Bibliotheca Nummaria.' But this superficial tract was not written by our author, but by Alexander Sardo of Ferrara, and written before Selden was born, being published at Mentz, 1575, in 4to. The 'Bibliotheca Nummaria' subjoined to it was written by father Labbe the Jesuit.

Sir Kenelm Digby.

BORN A. D. 1603.—DIED A. D. 1665.

THIS distinguished philosopher was the elder son of the unfortunate Sir Everard Digby, who suffered death as one of the chief conspirators in the gunpowder plot. According to the best accounts, he was born in June 1603, and having been removed from the charge of his mother while still a child, received his education under the care of Archbishop Laud. At Oxford, whither he was sent at the age of fifteen, he displayed an aptitude for learning which led to the most confident expectation of his future celebrity. He left the university, however, after a residence of only two or three years, and having made the tour of the continent, attached himself to the court, obtained the honour of knighthood, and not long after, was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, a governor of Trinity house, and a commissioner of the navy. These appointments were followed by another still less conformable to his character as a scholar and philosopher. A fleet having been fitted out to chastise the Algerine pirates, and settle some disputes with the Venetians, Sir Kenelm received the command, and the success of the expedition raised him considerably in the estimation of his powerful friends. Of the high opinion entertained of him by his more learned associates, a strong proof was given by his late tutor, Mr Allen of Oxford, who, at his demise, bequeathed him his splendid collection of books and manuscripts. Archbishop Laud continued also to regard him with an affection which did honour to them both, and counselled him in the most difficult passage of his life with equal kindness and gravity. A residence in France was productive of conse-

quences, which finally induced Sir Kenelm to renounce those principles of Protestantism in which he had been carefully educated. That he was led to this step chiefly from a feeling of respect for his father's name, and by the unceasing solicitations of others, may be gathered from his own confession, that though he considered the subject for two years before he came to a decision, the works he read, during that time, were nearly all on the side of Catholicism. The first person, it appears, to whom he communicated his change of religion, was the archbishop; and in the letter which the primate wrote to him on the occasion, we find that he had unfolded his views with candour and modesty. "The way you took," says the prelate, "in concealing this your resolution of returning into that communion, and the reasons which you give, why you so privately carried it here, I cannot but approve. They are full of all ingenuity, tender and civil respects, fitted to avoid discontent in your friends, and scandal that might be taken by others, or contumely that might be returned upon yourself. And as are these reasons, so is the whole frame of your letter, (setting aside that I cannot concur in judgment,) full of discretion and temper, and so like yourself, that I cannot but love even that which I dislike in it; and though I shall never be other than that I have been to the worth of Sir Kenelm Digby, yet most heartily sorry I am, that a man, whose discourse did so much content me, should thus slide away from me before I had so much as suspicion to awaken me, and suggest that he was going." After expressing his sorrow still further, that he had not informed him of the state of his mind, and stating that he should not then enter into argument with him, he says, "In your power it was not to change; in mine it is not to make you change again. Therefore, to the moderation of your own heart, under the grace of God, I must and do now leave you for matter of religion, but retaining still with me, and entirely, all the love and friendship which your worth won from me, well knowing that all differences in opinion shake not the foundations of religion." From the allusions made in the conclusion of the letter, it is evident that Sir Kenelm exposed himself to the loss of many advantages, at least in his own country, by the sacrifice he made to feeling. "Had you written this to me with a restraint of making it further known, I should have performed that trust; but since you have submitted to me, what further knowledge of it I shall think fit to give to any other person, I have, as I took myself bound, acquainted his majesty with it, who gave a great deal of very good expression concerning you, and is not a little sorry to lose the service of so able a subject. I have likewise made it known in private to Mr Secretary Cooke, who was as confident of you as myself. I could hardly believe your own letters, and he as hardly my relation. To my secretary, I must needs trust it, having not time to write it again out of my scribbled copy; but I dare trust the secrecy in which I have bound him. To others I am silent, and shall so continue till the thing open itself, and I shall do it out of reasons very like to those which you give, why yourself would not divulge it here. In the last place, you promise yourself that the condition you are in will not hinder me from continuing to be the best friend you have. To this I can say no more, than that I could never arrogate to myself to be your best friend, but a poor, yet respective friend of yours I have been, ever since I knew you:

and it is not your change that can change me, who never yet left but where I was first forsaken, and not always there."

On Sir Kenelm's return to England he became a conspicuous member of the queen's party, and was employed by her to collect contributions from the Catholics when the king was preparing for his war with Scotland. The activity with which he performed this commission rendered him highly obnoxious to the popular party, and at the commencement of the civil war he was apprehended, and committed to Winchester house. His character for learning, however, was sufficiently respected to protect him from ignominious treatment. No stop was put to his intercourse with his friends; and, in 1643, he was set at liberty. It was to the interference of the queen-dowager of France that he owed this recovery of his freedom; but before being allowed to leave the kingdom, he was obliged to sign a paper in which he solemnly declared, "upon the faith of a Christian, and the word of a gentleman," that he would "neither directly nor indirectly, negotiate, promote, consent unto, or conceal any practice or design, prejudicial to the honour or the safety of the parliament." At the same time he was examined as to his knowledge of the archbishop's proceedings, and had thereby an opportunity of expressing, in the clearest terms, his conviction of the primate's entire devotion to the Protestant system.

It was during Sir Kenelm's confinement in Winchester house, that he composed his 'Observations upon Religio Medici,' and his 'Observations on the 22d Stanza, in the ninth Canto of the second book of Spenser's Fairy Queen,'—two works excellently adapted, from their nature, to show the peculiar views of the author, and the character of his mind. On his return to Paris he was welcomed among the courtly and literary circles of that metropolis, as one of their chief ornaments. He was now also in a situation to resume his studies, and the fruit of his leisure were 'A Treatise of the Nature of Bodies;'—'A Treatise declaring the Operations and Nature of Man's Soul, out of which the Immortality of reasonable Souls is evinced;'—and 'Institutionum Peripateticarum libri quinque, cum Appendice Theologica de Origine Mundi." These works were published in Paris, and evince considerable powers of thought employed on the systems then in vogue. They were also not wanting in originality, but the amount of credit due to originality is not easily determined when science is so little established on the real laws of nature that every wild hypothesis and bold assertion passes for a discovery of the true principles of the universe. Of Sir Kenelm's character as a philosopher, some idea may be formed from the anecdote he relates of the sympathetic powder. According to his own account of this marvellous medicine, he learned the secret of its manufacture from a Carmelite, who had himself been taught it in the East; and the occasion on which he first proved its virtues was the following:—A Mr Howell, in endeavouring to part two of his acquaintances, who had drawn their swords on each other, received a severe wound in the hand. The agony he suffered was extreme, and it was feared that the hurt would produce mortification. Sir Kenelm was consulted by the gentleman as to the best mode of treating the wound, and instead of recommending him any medicaments, requested him to produce any of the bandages on which the blood was remaining. Mr Howell complied with the directions, and while he was talking with

some other person in the chamber, our philosopher steeped the bandage in a basin in which he had previously dissolved "a handful of powder of vitriol." "I observed," says he, "in the meanwhile, what Mr Howell did, who stood talking with a gentleman in a corner of my chamber, not regarding at all what I was doing; but he started suddenly, as if he had found some strange alteration in himself. I asked him what he ailed? I know not what ails me, replied he, but I find that I feel no more pain; methinks that a pleasing kind of freshness, as if a wet, cold napkin did spread over my hand, has taken away the inflammation that tormented me before. I answered, since you feel already so good an effect of my medicament, I advise you to cast away all your plasters, only keep the wound clean, and in a moderate temper between heat and cold." But the most marvellous part is yet to come. An account of the cure was immediately given to the king and the duke of Buckingham. To satisfy whose curiosity, Sir Kenelm, as he states, took the bandage after dinner "out of the water, and put it to dry before a great fire. It was scarce dry; but Mr Howell's servant came running, that his master felt as much burning as ever he had done, if not more, for the heat was such as if his hand were betwixt coals of fire. I answered, that though that had happened at present, yet he should find ease in a short time, for I knew the reason of this accident, and I would provide accordingly, for his master should be free from that inflammation, it may be before he could possibly return unto him; but in case he found no ease, I wished him to come presently back again, if not, he might forbear coming. Thereupon he went, and at the instant I did put again the garter into the water, he found his master without any pain at all."

It may be said, however, in excuse for Sir Kenelm, that in the belief he entertained respecting the virtues of the sympathetic powder he was not more extravagant than the other philosophers of the period. Descartes himself felt assured that he had the means of preserving his life to the age of the patriarchs, and there are some things in the works of the great Bacon which show how unwillingly even the acutest reasoners of the period parted with the idea of an omnipotent philosophy. We must not, therefore, refuse to Sir Kenelm the praise he merits for industry and talent. His cotemporaries considered him as worthy of a place among the most famous philosophers, and the treatises which were written against him and his systems prove that his views were regarded as in a great measure the product of his own reasoning and inquiry.

While the parliament forces were in their full career of triumph, he visited England to make some arrangement respecting his estate; but the short period he remained here was one of trouble and affliction. After losing his eldest son, who fell while fighting among the royalists, he was himself ordered to quit the kingdom, and prohibited from returning without leave of parliament, on peril of losing both his estate and life. He therefore hastened back to France, and was thence sent by the dowager-queen of England, who had made him her chancellor, into Italy. The account which the zealous historian of Oxford gives of this journey, would lead to the suspicion that Sir Kenelm was more mindful of his own interest than of the unfortunate Catholics, whose cause he pleaded. "He was," says he, "at his first coming to Rome,

highly venerated by all people, as being a person, not only of a majestic port and courage, but of extraordinary parts and learning. At length growing high, and *huffing* his holiness, he was in a manner neglected, and especially for this reason, that having made a collection of money for the afflicted Catholics in England, he was found to be no faithful steward in that matter." The doubts which were thus entertained respecting his conduct in this matter, were not diminished by the reconciliation which he soon after formed with Cromwell; and when it was said in praise of his eloquence and manners, that he would have made himself respected in any part of the world, the Jesuits were accustomed to reply, "It is true, but then he must not have staid there above six weeks." One of the proofs adduced of his intimacy with the Protector is, that the English merchants at Calais employed him as their advocate when they desired to obtain some particular favour from the government, and there appears every reason to believe, that during a stay of some time in England he was regarded with that jealousy which generally attends a suspected person. But in France he continued to enjoy the esteem and reputation he had early possessed in that country; and both at Thoulouse and Montpelier, where he resided some time for the benefit of his health, he was the centre of a numerous literary society. Before returning to England, he visited the Low Countries, where he spent the year 1658 and part of 1659. It was probably at this time that he paid the visit to Descartes, which is mentioned by his biographers as one of the most curious particulars of his life. The great philosopher had received no intimation of his coming, and Sir Kenelm keeping his name secret, the conversation was carried on for some time without his host's discovering that he was the Englishman whose works were already so widely diffused. At length some observation was made, which Descartes eagerly fixed on, and told his visitor that he must be Sir Kenelm Digby. He added that he greatly valued the philosophical productions of his pen, and treated him with an attention which confirmed his expressions of respect.

In 1661, after another year spent in Paris, he returned to England, and was sufficiently skilful as a courtier to secure a favourable reception from the restored monarch. Though not appointed to any place in the government, he was elected one of the council of the Royal Society, then in course of formation, and, notwithstanding his suspicious connexion with Cromwell, and the active part he still took in the affairs of the Catholics, the most powerful men of the time cultivated his friendship without reserve. His house in Covent-Garden, where he spent the remainder of his days, was the constant resort of the learned and ingenious. He continued to pursue his favourite studies with ardour till the spring of 1665, when his disorder, the stone, to which he had been subject for some years past, gained the better of his strength, and he expired on the 11th of June, the anniversary of his birth. He had raised an elegant monument over his late wife, who lay buried in Christ-church, Newgate, and his remains were deposited in the same vault. The reputation he enjoyed among his cotemporaries was soon eclipsed by that galaxy of scientific lights which appeared almost immediately after his decease; but he deserves the gratitude of posterity as one of the earliest of English scholars who devoted themselves with zeal to the inquisition of nature.

Abraham Cowley.

BORN A. D. 1618.—DIED A. D. 1667.

Few poets are less read in modern times than the subject of this memoir; but in his instance, at least, we may fairly dispute the correctness of popular judgment, even in matters which appeal more particularly to popular taste. He has suffered the full penalty for paying court to the prevailing fashion of his age, and his learned affectations have prevented his being read: while the many and genuine beauties of his poetry ought to have secured him, in every period of refinement, from the neglect which attends his name and productions. This excellent writer was born in the year 1618, and was the son of a grocer, who lived, it appears, in the parish of St Dunstan. The death of his father—which occurred before he entered the world—did not deprive him of all the advantages which he might have enjoyed more fully but for that event. His mother, a woman whose character merited and obtained the highest veneration both from himself and others, left no means unemployed to secure him the education necessary to his future advancement. Through the interest she made, he obtained admission into Westminster school, and, while there, began to display his genius for poetry by the composition of several pieces, which, considering his age, possessed no little merit. His attention was first drawn to poetry by the perusal of Spencer's Fairy Queen, which he found in a window of his mother's chamber. Dr Johnson, in relating this circumstance, has observed, that "the true genius is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to some particular direction." But the very importance which the doctor attributes to the power of accident, goes far towards confuting his proposition, for if those particular accidents which determine men to this or that pursuit, be properly weighed, it will be found that they are frequently of less importance in themselves than many others which occurred to them and produced no effect whatever. An accident may set the mind upon developing itself in a certain manner, but for it to do so perseveringly, the corporeal, as well as mental, constitution must, for most instances, favour such a developement,—the moral dispositions must harmonize with it,—and, in fact, there must be so many circumstances peculiar to the individual, to act in conjunction with the accident, that it is far more probable that his natural constitution has taught him to single out that circumstance, and dwell upon it with intuitive satisfaction, than that the accident itself has had the effect supposed. Cowley, however, whether born a poet, or made one by accident, gave a volume of poems to the public when he was only between fourteen and fifteen, and the principal contents of which were written two or three years before. At Cambridge, whither he was sent in 1636, he composed, during the earlier part of his residence, a great portion of the Davideis, which was followed by 'Love's Riddle' and a Latin comedy, entitled, 'Naufragium Joculare.' Nor did he confine his attention to these lighter pursuits. He was remarkable for the most persevering attention to study, and made those large acquisitions in general knowledge which, following the example of other

writers of the age, he was so proud of displaying in most of his subsequent compositions.

The breaking out of the civil war afforded him an early opportunity of displaying his loyalty, and, on being expelled the university of Cambridge by the commonwealth's men, he fled to Oxford, which remained faithful to the king, and afforded his partizans a safe and hospitable asylum. There our poet obtained the notice of several eminent men, and proved his zeal for the cause of the royalists, by writing a satire, entitled 'The Puritan and Papist.' When he was obliged, by the approach of the enemy, to leave Oxford, he hastened to Paris, where his known attachment to the king procured him the appointment of secretary to Lord Jermyn, in which capacity he was the principal agent in the correspondence carried on between his majesty and the queen. He continued to perform these responsible duties till the year 1656, when he received directions to return to England. The employment for which he was now destined, was no other than that of watching, 'under pretence of privacy and retirement,' the state of affairs, that he might give immediate information to his friends abroad. Scarcely, however, had he reached London when he was arrested, and though he was captured through having been mistaken for some other person, he was not allowed to escape without providing bail for a thousand pounds. But, notwithstanding the trouble to which he stood exposed from the political jealousy of his enemies, he published, soon after his return to England, a collection of his poems, in the preface to which he expresses his utter weariness of public life, and says, that his only wish was "to retire himself to some of the American plantations, not to seek for gold, or to enrich himself with the traffic of those parts, but to forsake this world for ever, with all the vanities and beauties of it."

The more ardent of the royalists, however, discovered in some of the passages of this preface, a diminution, as they conceived, in the poet's devotion to their cause. But there appears to have been little reason for this suspicion, and the circumstance, that he came over to watch the state of parties, may account, perhaps, for the care he took not to challenge persecution by an unnecessary display of zeal. But finding the life of a politician full of peril, he determined to employ his talents henceforth in a more tranquil occupation, and, in 1657, obtained at Oxford the degree of doctor of medicine. So earnest was he in the studies proper to his new profession, that he is named among the first and most active members of the Royal society, in Dr Birch's account of the institution. He also retired into the country for the purpose of making himself acquainted with botany, and obtained, in a short time, sufficient knowledge of that science to write several Latin poems on the virtues of plants and trees. The Restoration, however, re-awakened his hopes and his ambition, and he appears to have been enticed out of following the tranquil path on which he had entered, to mingle again with courtiers, and expose himself to care and disappointment. It is well-known how many of the restored monarch's most devoted friends were left unnoticed or unrewarded in his prosperity, and it was, therefore, little to be wondered at, that Cowley, who had laboured in no very dangerous or exalted situation, was, for some time, neglected. He however, felt keenly the supposed injustice with which he considered him-

self treated, and, in his poem, called 'The Complaint,' expresses regret that he had ever cultivated the muse, to whose deceitful wiles he attributes all his misfortunes, mingling his accusations against poetry with a flattering expression of his confidence in the king.

> "Kings have long hands, they say; and though I be
> So distant, they may reach at length to me.
> However, of all princes, thou
> Should'st not reproach rewards for being small or slow;
> Thou! who rewardest but with popular breath,
> And that too after death.

Having at length grown weary of attendance at court, and seeing himself deprived of an appointment—the mastership of the Savoy, which he had been positively promised—through the superior tact of his rivals, he once more determined to seek peace and contentment in seclusion. To this resolution he was still farther brought, by the uncourteous manner in which his comedy, 'The Cutler of Coleman street,' had been received by the public. He is said to have received the intelligence of its ill success "not with so much firmness as might have been expected from so great a man," and there is little doubt but that this circumstance contributed to augment those strong feelings of discontent with which he retired from the world. His first retreat was at Barn-Elms, whence he removed to Chertsey, in Surrey, and, shortly after his settlement there, he obtained, by the aid of his former master, Lord Jermyn, now Earl St Albans, and the duke of Buckingham, a lease of the queen's lands, on terms which rendered him independent for the future of pecuniary care. But his health was rapidly on the decline when he received this mark of attention, and he expired in the forty-ninth year of his age, at the Porch-house, in Chertsey, after having spent a life as little gratifying to himself as it was worthy of the high talents he undoubtedly possessed. Universal testimony is borne to his virtue and purity of conduct. King Charles himself is said to have declared, that he had not left behind him a better man, and though bred a courtier, he was ever, as we have seen, panting after the freedom and independence he had unwittingly forfeited in his youth. As a poet, his faults are easily detected by the superficial critic, but it requires the ingenuousness of good taste and poetic feeling to appreciate the merits which those defects tend to conceal. Learned allusions and metaphysical subtleties accord badly with the delicate creations of the fancy, or the genial inspiration of natural feeling. If imagination, however, and deep feeling, exist in the poet's mind to any great degree, neither his learning nor his affectation can prevent their developement, and thus it was with Cowley. The age of Charles the Second was unfavourable to the healthy expansion of genius. Licentiousness tempted the lighter order of minds—the pride of learning, the higher. But amid all the faults with which the poetry of that period is consequently disfigured, the productions of Cowley and a few others, present sufficient beauties to render them, at all times, attractive to those who are capable of separating the wheat from the chaff.

Sir William Davenant.

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1668.

THIS once popular writer was born at Oxford in the February of 1605, and was the son of a vintner, who kept a tavern with the sign of the Crown, but was a man of such acknowledged respectability, that notwithstanding his occupation he served in 1621 the office of mayor. It is related of him that his demeanour was singularly grave, and that no person had ever seen him laugh. The mother of the poet is said to have been as remarkable for her beauty, as his father was for gravity; but they seem to have been alike in their parental fondness for their son, who was carefully educated first in the grammar school of a Mr Edward Sylvester, and afterwards in Lincoln college, where he had for his tutor Mr Daniel Haigh, one of the fellows. He was, however, little distinguished for application to the usual branches of academical study. The acquaintance he obtained with logic and philosophy was only sufficient to preserve him from being ranked among the least worthy of his fellow-collegians; but it is added by Mr Wood, that though he had only an indifferent stock of university learning, "yet he made as high and noble flights in the poetical faculty as Fancy could advance without it."

On quitting college, he entered the service of the duchess of Richmond, to whom the brightness of his wit and other accomplishments were a recommendation little depreciated by his want of more solid merits. From the house of this lady, he passed to that of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, a nobleman distinguished for his patronage of literature, and fondness for the fine arts; and of whom it was recorded on his tomb that he had been servant to Queen Elizabeth, counsellor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sydney. Sir Fulke held the talents of our poet in the highest estimation; and he enjoyed while under the protection of this patron, not only the countenance of a man whose own taste and ability were well-fitted to aid him in his pursuits, but the society of the most celebrated wits of the time. Unfortunately for him, Lord Brooke died before he could reap from his friendship all the advantages which he might have hoped to enjoy in his service; but on his lordship's decease, which occurred in 1628, he ventured to appear in the character of an author before the public, and was so successful in his dramas as to obtain the patronage of Mr Endymion Porter, and Henry Jermyn, afterwards Earl of St Alban's. He was received at the same time into the circle formed of the most eminent men of the day, as one of themselves, and had the credit of being noticed—though with no very agreeable compliment—by Sir John Suckling, in the Session of Poets. His reputation was, by these circumstances, kept continually on the increase, and, at length, on the death of Ben Johnson, he was elected to the office of poet-laureate. In this situation he continued till the May of 1641, when he became involved in the political troubles of the country. The chief personages of the court having determined to make an effort in favour of the unfortunate Charles, while there was yet time, had entered into a combination to secure the assistance of the army against

the parliament. In this party were included Goring, Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Davenant's friend, Jermyn. From his situation and connections, the poet was almost necessarily obliged to take a deep share in their proceedings. Accordingly, when the plot was discovered to the house of commons, he was among the first who found it expedient to escape from the metropolis. He had not, however, got farther than Feversham in Kent, when he was apprehended and committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. By the interest he was able to make, he soon recovered his freedom, and in July proceeded to France. He remained, however, but a short period in that country, and on his return to England was graciously received by the marquess of Newcastle, who had then the command of a large force in the north, which he had raised in defence of the king. It does not appear that Davenant had had much opportunity of acquiring any military knowledge, but the marquess had sufficient confidence in his ability to make him lieutenant-general of the ordnance, in which capacity he served with the royalist forces when they besieged the city of Gloucester. The favour shown him by the marquess of Newcastle was confirmed by the kindness of Charles himself, who, while the army was engaged in the siege, bestowed on him the honour of knighthood.

The affairs of the king shortly after this, began every day to wear a less promising aspect. In this situation of things, Sir William Davenant either deemed it prudent himself, or was especially directed by his friends, to repair again to France, where we find that he was admitted into the confidence of Charles' queen, who was then abroad. The intercourse which he thereby kept up with her party, had the effect of still farther estranging him from that portion of his countrymen who were so soon to have possession of the sovereign authority. It was to his credit that his zeal and loyalty increased with the decline of his master's fortunes; but he appears to have been more firm in his political than in his religious opinions, and to have been more ardent and honest, than clear-sighted and reasonable. One of the first effects of his residence near the exiled queen, was his recantation of protestantism; and the well-educated student of Oxford was admitted, through the instrumentality of foreign priests, into the communion of the Church of Rome. So great was the confidence reposed in him by the unfortunate Henrietta, that she employed him as her messenger to the king, when she desired to persuade his majesty to pursue a more moderate line of conduct with his subjects than that which had by this time involved the whole country in civil war. But Sir William Davenant was, it appears, as little calculated as a person could be to perform so delicate a task. The king had never known him in any other character than that of a poet, and the favourite of courtiers. He had given no instance of political wisdom; and it was not probable that he had acquired much knowledge of this kind since his residence in France. Charles, therefore, gave little heed to the message which he brought from his consort; and on his presuming to add some arguments of his own, the king is said to have dismissed him with a degree of severity not common to the character of that monarch.

On his return to Paris, after this unsuccessful expedition, he commenced his poem of Gondibert, but being fond of adventure, and desiring to repair his fortunes—which there now seemed so little chance

of doing in his native country—he formed the bold design of carrying over a number of mechanics and weavers to the new state of Virginia. In this scheme he was assisted by the queen, who procured him the permission of the king of France to put it into execution, and he had actually set sail with his colonists, but was suddenly stopped in his career by the approach of an English man-of-war, which, in the name of the commonwealth, seized his vessel, and carried him a prisoner to the Isle of Wight. It was while awaiting his fate in Cowes castle that he finished the first part of the poem of Gondibert, in the postscript to which, dated October 22, 1650, he thus pathetically speaks of his situation. "I am here arrived at the middle of the third book, which makes an equal half of the poem; and I was now by degrees to present you, as I promised in the preface, the several keys of the main building, which should convey you through such short walks, as give an easy view of the whole frame. But it is high time to strike sail, and cast anchor, though I have run but half my course, when at the helm I am threatened with death; who, though he can visit but once, seems troublesome, and, even in the innocent, may beget such gravity as diverts the music of verse. And I beseech thee (if thou art so civil as to be pleased with what is written,) not to take it ill, that I run not on to my last gasp. For though I intended in this poem to strip nature naked, and clothe her again in the perfect shape of virtue, yet even in so worthy a design I shall ask leave to desist, when I am interrupted by so great an experiment as dying; and it is an experiment to the most experienced; for no man (though his mortifications may be much greater than mine) can say he has already died."

From Cowes castle he was removed to the Tower of London, where he was kept preparatory to his trial before the high court of justice. But, contrary to his apprehensions, he escaped the peril in which he was thus placed, and he was indebted for his delivery to no other than Milton, who was then high in authority, and who, losing all asperity of political feeling in his veneration for literary talent, successfully employed his interest for the delivery of the captive poet. Sir William was accordingly allowed to go at large, and he took advantage of his liberty to resume his labours as a dramatist. The restrictions which Cromwell and his government had put upon the stage, prevented his pursuing the regular tract of theatrical writers, and he was thus led to invent the opera which was to be performed, says Wood, "by declamations and music, and that they might be performed with all decency, seemliness, and without rudeness and profaneness, John Maynard, serjeant-at-law, and several sufficient citizens, were engagers." At the Restoration, Sir William greatly improved the plan of these operas, and under the patronage of the duke of York, opened a theatre at the Tennis court, in Little Lincoln's-inn-fields. The remainder of his somewhat adventurous life was tranquil and not unprosperous. His theatre enjoyed a considerable share of public attention, and his reputation as a poet was acknowledged at his death by his burial in Westminster abbey. Dryden has given the character of this writer with great propriety, and though his remarks breathe rather of eulogy than criticism, they show that he had carefully estimated Sir William's talents, and seen in what his merit more particularly consisted. "I found him," says he, "of so quick a fancy, that nothing was proposed to him on which he could not

suddenly produce a thought extremely pleasant and surprising; and those first thoughts of his, contrary to the old Latin proverb, were not always the least happy. And as his fancy was quick, so likewise were the products of it remote and new. He borrowed not of any other, and his imaginations were such as could not easily enter into any other man. His corrections were sober and judicious, and he corrected his own writings much more severely than those of another man, bestowing twice the time and labour in polishing which he used in invention." Dryden had ample means for judging of the ability of Davenant, and of his methods of composition. The opinion he has given of him, however, while it proves how well he was qualified to please the age in which he flourished by the liveliness of his fancy, represents him to us as yielding full obedience to the bad taste of his age—to that straining after originality, which, in nine cases out of ten, produced only misconceptions, ingenious perversions of nature, instead of the pure and beautiful offspring of free genius.

Robert Herrick.

BORN A. D. 1591.—DIED CIR. A. D. 1670.

Robert Herrick, a minor poet of considerable merit, was born in the year 1591, and lived to an advanced age, although the exact period of his death has not been ascertained. He was the fourth son of Nicholas Herrick of St Vedast. Wood assigns him a place in his 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' but it is certain that Cambridge was his Alma Mater. He was of St John's college from 1615 to 1617, and afterwards removed to Trinity. On the promotion of Dr Potter to the see of Carlisle, Herrick obtained the vicarage of Dean Prior in Devonshire. His 'Hesperides' appeared in 1648, shortly after he had been ejected from his vicarage by the parliamentarians, and had reassumed his lay title. It is a collection of beautiful lyric pieces, exquisite in their versification, and full of fancy and feeling. The following stanzas may be taken as an average specimen of the volume:—

TO DAFFODILS.

Fair Daffodils, we weep to see
You haste away so soon;
As yet the early-rising sun
Has not attain'd his noon:
Stay, stay,
Until the hast'ning day
Has run
But to the even-song;
And, having prayed together, we
Will go with you along!

We have short time to stay, as you;
We have as short a spring,
As quick a growth to meet decay,
As you, or any thing:
We die,
As your leaves do; and dry
Away
Like to the summer rain,
Or as the pearls of morning dew
Ne'er to be found again.

It is to be regretted that the productions of this pleasing writer should ever be disfigured by the indelicacy and coarseness of expression which we sometimes encounter in his works.

James Shirley.

BORN A. D. 1596.—DIED A. D. 1666.

THIS celebrated dramatic poet was descended from the Shirleys of Sussex or Warwickshire. He was born in September, 1596, in the parish of St Mary Woolchurch, London. At twelve years of age he was admitted into Merchant-tailors' school, where he displayed superior abilities. In 1612 he entered St John's college, Oxford. "At the same time," says Wood, "Dr William Laud presiding in that house, he had a very great affection for him, especially for the pregnant parts that were visible in him; but then having a broad or large mole upon his left cheek, which some esteemed a deformity, that worthy doctor would often tell him that he was an unfit person to take the sacred function upon him, and should never have his consent so to do." He seems to have quitted Oxford without taking a degree; but he afterwards repaired to Cambridge, where he graduated Master of Arts.

His earliest publication was entitled, 'Eccho, or the Infortunate Lovers,' a poem. It was printed at London in 1618, but his latest biographer, Mr Dyce, says that not a single copy of this edition of the poem is known to survive: it was probably the same, however, that was printed in 1646, under the title of 'Narcissus, or the Self-Lover.' Having finished his academical course, he took orders, and obtained a living; but only a short time elapsed between his establishment in a benefice, and his conversion to Roman Catholicism. There seems no reason to believe that Shirley's motives were not conscientious in making this change of religious profession. With it, however, he abandoned the clerical profession altogether, and became a teacher in St Alban's grammar-school; "which employment also," says Wood, "he finding uneasy to him, he retired to the metropolis, lived in Gray's inn, and set up for a play-maker."

'Love Tricks, or the School of Complement,' was the earliest dramatic production of Shirley, and it would appear from the language of the prologue to this piece, that, at the time of its publication, its author entertained no thoughts of devoting himself to the drama. Pepys tells us, in his gossipping memoranda, that he saw this piece acted in the duke of York's house, on the 5th of August, 1667, and that it proved but "a silly play." His second piece was 'The Maid's Revenge,' which was licensed in 1625. From this period up to the Restoration Shirley continued to write actively for the stage, besides producing various masques, interludes, and minor pieces. He died in 1666.

Thirty-three regular five-act pieces are printed in Gifford and Dyce's edition of that poet's dramatic works. It is remarkable that, out of all this number, there is not one which has its foundation on native British history. "Most of his plays," says Mr Dyce, "are tragi-comedies,—now sprightly and broadly humorous; now serious and solemn. The happiest efforts of his genius will perhaps be found in the tragic

portions of these variegated dramas: they contain many a scene of elegant tenderness, of deep and quiet pathos; and express the feelings of honour, love, and friendship, in their highest fervour and refinement."

Thomas Willis.

BORN A. D. 1621.—DIED A. D. 1673.

This eminent physician was born in 1621 at Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire. His elementary and classical education was superintended by Mr Silvester, a schoolmaster of considerable reputation in Oxford. In 1636, he was admitted a scholar of Christ-church college, and received the degree of Bachelor in Arts in 1639, that of Master in 1642. He was originally intended for the episcopal church, but the disturbances of those times prevented him from prosecuting this plan, and he turned his attention to medicine. He continued his studies in Oxford, and took the degree of Bachelor in Medicine there in 1646. In spite of the interdict issued against the episcopal form of worship, Willis continued attached to it, and appropriated a part of his house to the purposes of a chapel to which every one who chose was admitted. In this he was assisted by Mr John Fell, afterwards dean of Christchurch, Mr John Dolben, afterwards archbishop of York, and Mr Richard Allestree, afterwards provost of Eaton college. He was now in practice in Oxford, and had begun to distinguish himself as a man of science. He was one of the founders of a philosophical society at Oxford, from which a short time afterwards the Royal Society of London arose. In 1659, he produced his first medical work, containing dissertations on fermentation, fevers, and the urine. He was a strenuous supporter of the humoral pathology, which explains all the phenomena of disease on the principle of some deranged condition of the fluids of the body; and leads to the practical conclusion, that the object of the art of medicine is to expel from the system those morbid humours whose presence constitutes the disease. This system is now exploded, but it was supported by many physicians, and among the rest by Willis, with much learning and ingenuity. In 1660, he received the appointment to the Sedleian chair of Natural Philosophy; in consequence, it is said, of his attachment to the episcopal church, and the recommendation of Archbishop Sheldon. In 1664 he discovered and investigated the properties of the mineral well in Astrop near Brackley. The Royal Institution being founded, he was chosen one of the first members. About the same time, his work on the anatomy of the brain and nervous system appeared; a practical sequel to which was afterwards published under the title of 'Pathologia Cerebri et Nervosi Generis, in qua agitur de Morbis convulsivis et Scorbuto.' In 1666 he removed to London, and lived in St Martin's-lane, Westminster. He was chosen a fellow of the College of Physicians, and a physician in ordinary to the king. His practice rapidly increased, and the honour of knighthood was offered to him, but he declined it. He engaged in 1670 in a controversy with Highmore respecting the theory of hysteric and hypochondriac affections, in the course of which he sup-

ported with considerable ingenuity the theories of the humoral pathologists and that of animal spirits.

His wife, who was the daughter of Dean Fell, having died in 1670, he employed himself, by way of diverting his thoughts, in the composition of his work on the souls of brutes, which appeared in 1672. About the same time he married a second wife, and in 1673 began the publication of his last work, on the theory of the operations of medicine, which, however, he did not live to finish. He died of a pleurisy in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in Westminster abbey.

The private character of Willis was very good. He was charitable to the poor, and most attentive to the duties of religion. The learned author of the Athenæ Oxoniensis speaks of him in the following terms: "Though he was a plain man, a man of no carriage, little discourse, complaisance or society, yet for his deep insight, happy researches in natural and experimental philosophy, anatomy and chemistry, for his wonderful success and repute in his practice, the natural smoothness, pure elegancy, delightful unaffected neatness of Latin style, none scarce hath equalled, much less outdone him, how great soever. When at any time he is mentioned by authors, as he is very often, it is done in words expressing their highest esteem of his great worth and excellency, and placed still as first in rank among physicians." At present this praise will not apply to the works of Willis; his merit was doubtless very great, but his works consist almost entirely of theories now exploded, and speculations now regarded as puerile. Much of what is useful among his observations will be found in later authors less encumbered with theory. An elegant edition of his collected works appeared in 1681 at Leyden, wherein he is entitled 'Vir Clarissimus Thomas Willis.'[1]

James Harrington.

BORN A. D. 1611.—DIED A. D. 1677.

JAMES HARRINGTON was born in January, 1611. He was the son of Sir Sapcotes Harrington, and grandson of Sir James Harrington, of whom it is recorded, that from his children there sprang, in the course of about three generations, eight dukes, three marquesses, seventy earls, twenty-seven viscounts, and thirty-six barons, of which number sixteen were knights of the garter. James Harrington, the subject of the present article, was distinguished from his childhood by great abilities. At the age of 18 he was sent to Trinity college, Oxford, and, as a gentleman commoner, was placed under the tuition of the renowned Dr Chillingworth. His father died some time before he came of age, and this induced him, with consent of his guardians, to turn his steps to foreign countries. He went immediately to Holland, where he was seized by the desire of martial fame, and accepted a commission in Lord Craven's regiment. This introduced him to the court of the Hague, and enabled him to form the acquaintance of several noble and

[1] Vide Athenæ Oxon.—Aikin's Dict.—Hutchison, Biograph. Medica.

royal personages of those times. But his residence at the Hague is chiefly remarkable, as having inspired him with that ardent love of liberty which gave a character to his future pursuits, and has thereby entitled him to a place among the memorials of eminent men.

He proceeded from the Hague to accompany the elector-palatine on a journey to the court of Sweden. On his return with the prince, he travelled through Flanders into France, where having perfected his knowledge of the language, and made himself conversant with what seemed most deserving of his attention, he removed into Italy. Upon his return to England he accompanied King Charles, as one of his privy chamber, in his expedition into Scotland. Although professedly a republican, he grew in favour with the king, but from the commencement of the national troubles, kept himself in a great measure secluded from all public employment. But in the year 1646, he attended, from mere curiosity, the commissioners appointed to bring the king from Newcastle, nearer to London. At Holmby, he was appointed by the king one of the lords of the bed-chamber, in which situation he is said to have been much in the king's favour. By the royal command he translated into English Dr Sanderson's book concerning the obligation of oaths. Anthony Wood, however, ascribes the work to the king himself, though he admits that Harrington was consulted respecting it. After this period he was frequently about the king's person, and advocated to the parliamentary commissioners the reasonableness of the king's concessions. Once he was in custody for favouring the king's escape, or for not taking oath against favouring it, but was released through the intercession of Ireton. After the king's trial and condemnation, he found means to see him at St James's, and accompanied him to the scaffold. After this period he confined himself to his studies, and proceeded with earnestness to the accomplishment of his 'Oceana,' which was designed to exhibit a just and rational view of civil government. He endeavoured to act the part of a moderator, and wished to convince all parties of the necessity of making wise and beneficent reforms, and of the folly and mischief of misgovernment on the one hand, and of tumultuous violence on the other. His general theory was, that empire follows the balance of power, and that a good commonwealth was a government of laws, not of the sword. Before the publication of his great work, some parts of it had crept into publicity through the medium of friends who had seen it. The jealousy both of republicans and of royalists was immediately awakened against the author. As soon as it was known that his work was committed to the press, it was seized and conveyed to Whitehall. After endeavouring in vain to procure its restoration, he fell upon the following happy manœuvre. Hearing that Cromwell's favourite daughter, Claypole, was a lady of great kindness, and was often employed in interceding with her father on behalf of the unfortunate, he determined to make application through her for the suspected manuscripts. Though an absolute stranger to the lady, he proceeded to present his case to her. While waiting for an audience in the anti-chamber, a child of about three years of age came into the room, it was the daughter of Mrs Claypole. Mr Harrington entertained the child "so divertingly, that she suffered him to take her up in his arms till her mother came, whereupon he stepping towards her and setting the child down at her feet,

said, Madam, 'tis well you are come at this nick of time, or I had certainly stolen the pretty little lady. Stolen her! replied the mother, pray, what to do with her? for she is yet too young to become your mistress. Madam, said he, though her charms assure her of a more considerable conquest, yet I confess it is not love, but revenge that prompts me to commit this theft. What injury, answered the lady, have I done you that you should steal my child? None at all, replied he, but that you might be induced to prevail with your father to do me justice, by restoring *my child*, that he has stolen. But she, urging that it was impossible, because her father had children enough of his own; he told her at last, it was the issue of his brain which was misrepresented to the protector, and taken out of the press by his order. She immediately promised to procure it for him, if it contained nothing prejudicial to her father's government. The lady was so well pleased by his manner of address, that his book was speedily restored to him." Some time in 1659, Richard Baxter took in hand his Holy Commonwealth, in refutation of Harrington's Pure Republic, and of other political speculations on government. This work occasioned Baxter much trouble, and gave great offence to all parties. Harrington's book was burnt after the restoration by a decree of the university of Oxford, together with Hobbes's books, and some of Milton's. Harrington continued to defend and explain his Oceana, but took no active part, further than by his pen, in the changes that followed. It appears, however, that he was too free for the times in the communication of his views upon government; and having written a set of political aphorisms for King Charles II., he was arrested and committed to the tower on the 28th December, 1661. After remaining a close prisoner for five months, and undergoing several examinations, he was secretly removed to St Nicholas's Island off Plymouth, but by the intercession of his friends, obtained a removal to Plymouth, and was placed in the custody of the governor. Being ill of scurvy, he took large quantities of guaiacum and hellebore in coffee, which soon affected his intellect. It was generally believed, that a Dr Dunstan, who had been his medical adviser, was employed, under high sanction, effectually to prevent the appearance of any more Oceanas, and to accomplish by treachery what could not be done by the sanction of the law. However that may be, it is certain that Harrington lost his reason, and was soon after liberated and given up to the care of his friends. He was brought to London, and enjoyed all the attention that his affectionate and devoted sisters could bestow upon him. But only a partial restoration was effected. A lady who had been permitted by his sisters to be in attendance upon him, contrived to fix his affections, and though in a very infirm state of mind as well as body, yet he married her. She was a daughter of Sir Mamaduke Dorrell of Buckinghamshire. Towards his latter end he suffered much from gout, and finally became paralytic, and died Sept. 11, 1677, in the 67th year of his age.

His work is now looked upon as a political romance, and takes its place beside its renowned prototypes, the Atlantis of Plato, and the Utopia of More. It is characterized by great ingenuity, and an ardent love of liberty, but, like most theories of government, appears to have overlooked the innate tendency of human nature to deteriorate. Such theories would indeed be admirable if the world were wholly or mainly

composed of the wise and good. The well-known Mr Toland collected Harrington's works into one volume folio, and published them with a life prefixed, in 1700.

Thomas Hobbes.

BORN A. D. 1588.—DIED A. D. 1679.

Thomas Hobbes, one of the most noted writers of the seventeenth century, was born at Malmesbury in Wiltshire, on the 5th of April 1588. After studying and taking his degree at Oxford he became tutor to the son of Lord Hardwicke, afterwards earl of Devonshire, and in company with his pupil travelled through France and Italy, in 1610. On his return home he took up his abode in London, where, though unknown to the world as an author, his talents soon introduced him to the notice of some of the highest stars in that galaxy of talent which adorned the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Ben Jonson the dramatist, Lord Herbert, 'the first and purest of our English free-thinkers,' and the great Lord Bacon, honoured him with their friendship. If it be true, as his biographers affirm, that he was employed at this period to translate some of Bacon's works into Latin, we may ascribe to this circumstance no small effect in producing the spirit of bold independent thinking, and contempt for the philosophy of the schools, which characterized Hobbes through after life. In 1628 he published his first work, a translation of Thucydides into English, which his friend Ben Jonson is said to have revised. Though defective in some points, the translation is well executed, and those who can perceive and enjoy the striking analogy of its style to that of the original, will find it incomparably the best we yet have. About the same time, his patron, the earl of Devonshire, dying, Hobbes went to Paris in the capacity of tutor to a son of Sir Gervase Clinton; and there, though in his 40th year, commenced the study of mathematics, which he pursued with great ardour, until he was recalled home by the dowager-countess of Devonshire, who summoned him to take charge of the education of her son, the young earl. As the murmurs of the people at the tyranny of the court were now advancing to the very suburbs of rebellion, Hobbes republished in 1634 his translation of Thucydides, with the hope of checking the growing discontents, by setting before the nation the evils of democracy, as exemplified in the history of Athens. His next work, which appeared in 1637, was a long Latin poem celebrating the wonders of the Peak in Derbyshire, and the beauties of Chatsworth, the residence of his patrons the Cavendish family. Though often harsh and barbarous in rhythm, and exhibiting very little fancy or pleasing description, this is decidedly the best of his poetical performances.

At this period the discontent of the nation becoming daily stronger, Hobbes turned his attention to politics, and, with the hope of destroying, by the vain wisdom of a false philosophy, the young appetite for freedom which marked the age, wrote a treatise entitled 'De Cive,' in which he modestly attempted to prove, that it is essential to the well-being of a commonwealth, that the sovereign be invested with

absolutely unlimited power. Though not published at the time, this treatise was circulated pretty widely in manuscript, and was so generally known that when the Long Parliament, at its meeting in 1640, showed a determined opposition to despotism and its supporters, Hobbes, according to his own account,[1] became apprehensive for his safety and retired to Paris. Here he resumed the study of the physical sciences, and speedily attained to no small distinction in the brilliant circle of talent which at that time adorned the French capital. He was admitted into the society of a number of eminent men who were in the habit of meeting together for the purpose of philosophical discussion,[2] and by the kind offices of Father Marin Morsenne,[3] whose intimacy he had acquired in his previous visits to Paris, he was introduced to Gassendi and Des Cartes, with both of whom he corresponded on metaphysical points. Several objections of his to Des Cartes' Meditations are to be found in that philosopher's works. Some of them are acute and correct, but they do not merit much attention, though Des Cartes has affixed to them replies seriatim. Hobbes and Gassendi coincided in so many philosophical opinions, but especially in their attachment to the doctrines of Epicurus, that the two naturally entered into a warm friendship, which was terminated only by Gassendi's death. In 1642, Hobbes printed and privately circulated a few copies of his treatise 'De Cive,' and in 1647 he gave it to the world. Though the doctrines it contained were by no means new in practice, and were, we are willing to hope, generally scouted in theory, yet the originality and ingenuity displayed in enforcing them attracted great attention, and raised Hobbes very high in the estimation of the European literati. Morsenne and Gassendi passed high commendations on the treatise in letters prefixed to it, and Baillet informs us that the perusal of it gave Des Cartes a much more favourable opinion than he had hitherto entertained of its author's powers.

In 1645, Hobbes had entered into a mathematical controversy concerning the quadrature of the circle, in which he had distinguished himself so much, that in 1647 he was appointed mathematical tutor to the young prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the Second, who, on the total shipwreck of the royal cause, had sought a refuge in France. In 1650 he published two treatises, one entitled 'Human Nature,' and the other 'De Corpore Politico.' The first of these is decidedly the ablest of his writings.[4] Its object is to explain the nature

[1] Vide 'Considerations concerning the reputation &c. of T. Hobbes, written by himself by way of letter to a learned person.' This learned person was the great mathematician, Dr Wallis.

[2] It is curious that from this association sprang the far-famed French Academy. Half-a-dozen mutual friends were in the habit of meeting together once a-week at their own houses, for the sake of literary conversation. Though their meetings were as private as possible, they at length reached the ears of Cardinal Richelieu, who offered to erect the little company into a public body and establish it by letters patent. His offer was a command, and the friends unwillingly exchanged the freedom of social intercourse for the glittering slavery of a public institution, to which they gave the name of the French Academy. Vide Pelisson's History of the French Academy.

[3] Morsenne is now almost forgotten, though in his day no man held a higher rank in the philosophical world. He was the intimate friend of Des Cartes, and the centre of communication to the most distinguished literati of the age. His works are chiefly mathematical and theological, and though by no means answerable to the estimation in which he was held during life, are too much neglected in our day. He died in 1648, lamented by all Europe.

[4] Harrington, in his 'Prerogative of Popular Government,' says, "I firmly believe

of man, in order to lay a foundation for 'a true and perspicuous explication of the elements of law, natural and politic.' For this purpose he propounds a theory of the human mind, which, were it as correct as it is in many respects original and ingenious, would have been the great seamark of all future metaphysics. And although the system rests upon a false foundation,—though many, perhaps we may say all the leading doctrines are erroneous and arbitrary,—yet in the elucidation of it he displays a habit of masculine thinking, a power of discrimination, a subtlety of reasoning and an unfettered originality of mind, not unworthy of the friend and companion of Bacon. His other treatise is an explanation of the fundamental elements of law, natural and politic, and, of course, advocates the same slavish notions as that of 'De Cive.' Though a performance by no means equal to its companion, yet from its appearing just after the consummation of the English revolution had forcibly drawn the attention of Europe to the foundation of government, and made monarchs tremble in their capitals, the subject was more congenial to the temper of the time, and it consequently attracted greater attention.[5]

The public mind was still more strongly impressed by the publication in the ensuing year of his great work, the 'Leviathan, or the matter and form of a perfect Commonwealth,' on which he had been labouring for some time with great care and pains. This extraordinary work is an amplification of the three treatises we have already mentioned, and so constructed as to form a complete digest of all his opinions, religious, moral, metaphysical, and political. What these opinions were we shall specify elsewhere; it will suffice to say here, that the express object of the work was to teach the duty and advantages of implicit obedience on the part of the subject to the decrees of the civil power, whether regarding his property, his life, his freedom, or his opinions. The united ability and villany of the work excited a prodigious sensation, and, to use Warburton's words in his 'Div. Leg.,' made the philosopher of Malmesbury "the terror of that age. The press sweat with controversy, and every young churchman militant would try his arms in thundering on Hobbes's steel cap." Many charged him with having written this work in order to gain the favour of Cromwell, by teaching the duty of obedience to whosoever possessed the supreme power, and thereby to secure his own return home. Clarendon, in his 'Survey, &c. of the Leviathan,' supports this charge, but it is to be remembered, both that Hobbes had advocated these opinions years before, and that Cromwell was at that time only general of the forces—not Lord Protector. The accusation was indeed strengthened by Hobbes's returning to England soon after the publication of the Leviathan, but it does not appear that he sought for any favour from the ruling powers, although he might easily have obtained it, if what Marchmont Needham tells us in the Mercurius Politicus be true, that "his book was very favourably received on this side the water."[6] He had not been long in

that Mr Hobbes is, and will in all future ages be accounted the best writer at this day in the world. And for his treatise on Human Nature, and those on Liberty and Necessity, they are the greatest of new lights, and those which I have followed and shall follow." Cap. vii.

[5] Sorbiere, in his preface to Gassendi's works, informs us, that when Gassendi had read the 'De Corpore Politico,' he kissed it, exclaiming, "This book indeed is small, but, in my opinion, it contains the very marrow of science."

[6] If Dowell be correct in saying, in his 'Leviathan Hereticum,' that the situation of

England before he published a Letter on Liberty and Necessity, advocating the doctrine of a philosophical necessity. This was answered by Bishop Bramhall, and a long controversy ensued, in which, we apprehend, it will be generally allowed that Hobbes had the advantage over his clerical antagonist. Much about the same time, he entered, though with different auspices, into a mathematical controversy with Dr Wallis, the greatest English mathematician of the day. With the arrogance and obstinacy natural to him, Hobbes carried on this controversy almost to the end of his life, though he was repeatedly confuted by his opponent, and was at length unable to make any other answer than by coarse and disgusting personal attacks.[7]

On the Restoration, Hobbes went up to London and was very graciously received by the king, who granted him a pension. In spite of this mark of royal favour, he did not feel himself quite secure. The parliament in 1666 passed a vote of censure on his Leviathan and De Cive, which made him apprehend that he should be given up to the bishops, who would declare him a heretic, and then return him to the civil power for a writ "De Heretico Comburendo." It is certain that the bishops were greatly incensed against him on account of his teaching, that ecclesiastical as well as temporal affairs ought to be managed by the sovereign. The right reverend prelates could not endure the idea that even God's lieutenant and the defender of the faith should interfere in the administration of the church, and lest such notions should become common, prohibited the reprinting of the Leviathan.[8] The storm blew over for the time, without any farther injury, but after his death the ecclesiastics vented their rage by burning his Leviathan at Oxford, along with Baxter's Holy Commonwealth, and some of Milton's prose works.[9]

About this period, Hobbes printed at Amsterdam a beautiful edition of his works in two quarto volumes, to which was prefixed a superbly executed portrait of the author. He was now in the zenith of his fame. Though his doctrines were pretty generally scouted, yet all acknowledged his talents; and abroad he was regarded as the greatest English philosopher of the day. No foreigner came to this country without visiting one whose singular opinions and talents had made him so famous throughout Europe. Though arrived at extreme old age, he still continued to philosophize, anathematize rebels, and carry on controversy with as much ardour as ever. Anthony Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, draws a curious picture of him at this period. It seems he was in the habit of frequently visiting one Thomas White, a Roman Catholic priest and noted philosopher of his day, and the two, says Antony, "seldom parted in cool blood, for they would wrangle,

Cromwell's secretary was offered to Hobbes and declined by him, the accusation of paying court to Cromwell must fall to the ground.

[7] Wallis was not behind in hate, but he could not rival his opponent in abuse. The following is an amusing specimen of Hobbes's Billingsgate powers:—"So, go your ways," says he to Dr Wallis and Seth Ward, "you uncivil ecclesiastics, inhuman divines, de-doctors of morality, unanimous colleagues, egregious pair of Issachars, most wretched indices and vindices academiarum, and remember Vespasian's law, that it is unlawful to give ill language first, but good and lawful to return it."

[8] This we learn from Pepys's Diary, "1688. Sept. 3. To my booksellers for Hobbes's Leviathan, which is now mightily called for, and was heretofore sold for 8s. I now give 24s. at the second-hand, and is sold for 30s.; it being a book the bishops will not let be printed again."

[9] Vide, for a more particular account of this event, Toland's Life of Harrington.

squabble, and scold about philosophical matters like young sophisters, though either of them was eighty years of age: yet Hobbes being obstinate and not able to endure contradiction, (though well he might, seeing White was his senior,) those scholars who were present at their wrangling disputes, held that the palm was carried away by White."

From this period Hobbes's life is little more than a catalogue of his works. He resided almost entirely in the country with his generous patrons the Cavendishes, and ever and anon sent forth a volume to remind the world of his existence. In 1672 he published his life, in Latin verse, distinguished principally by its bad poetry and gross vanity, though in some parts spirited and amusing. He appears to have been seized at this time by a thirst for poetical, no less than philosophical fame, for in 1674 he gave to the world a translation into English verse of the four books of the Odyssey; the reception of which was so encouraging, that in the following year he published versions of the whole, both of the Iliad and the Odyssey. It is a remarkable proof either of Hobbes's popularity, or of the wretched taste of the age—probably of both—that these execrable translations, which Pope rightly termed "too mean for criticism," went through several editions. The more important of Hobbes's works written after this period, are his Controversy on Liberty and Necessity with Dr Laney—his Decameron Physiologicum, or Ten Dialogues on Natural Philosophy, to which was attached a very curious and able production, entitled, 'A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common law of England;'—and his 'Behemoth, or a History of the Civil Wars of England.' None of these works exhibit any symptoms of decaying intellect; on the contrary, the last, which ought to be styled a philosophical essay rather than a history, deserves to be ranked among the best of his performances. In the year following its publication, he was seized with a violent and painful disorder, and expired on the 4th of December, 1679, at Hardwicke, a seat of the earl of Devonshire, in the 92d year of his age. The correct opinions of few have exercised so great an influence on posterity, and been productive of such good effects, as the erroneous opinions of Hobbes. Scarcely a single work on mental or moral science has appeared since his time which does not examine his doctrines, and perhaps not one which is not largely indebted to him. It would be a curious inquiry to trace the extent of Hobbes's obligations to his predecessors, and of the obligations which succeeding philosophers owe to him, and to point out the influence which his writings have had on the speculations of the last century and half, but as this would require a volume, we must content ourselves with giving a rapid sketch of his opinions.

The theory of the human mind which Hobbes propounded, rests on the assumption that the mind is material. Its powers he divides into two classes, the cognitive and the motive. The cognitive power is that by which we form and retain our conceptions of things without us; the conception of things present being formed by the action of the object on its appropriate organ, producing a certain motion in the nerves and other internal parts, which motion being communicated to the brain, causes in some mysterious way the conception called sense: and the conception of things absent being formed by the reliques of the same motion remaining after sense. The motive power is that by which the

mind gives animal motion to the body, or in other words, is a generic name for the affections and passions. These he thinks are formed by the motion in the head termed conception being communicated to the heart, and there either helping or impeding the vital motion: if they help it, they produce the pleasurable affections—if they impede it, the painful. Perhaps the most important feature in his metaphysics is, that he ascribes the origin of all our ideas to the senses, on which he argues with great force and ingenuity, though he takes care to avoid all consideration of that numerous class of ideas which spring from what Locke denominates reflection.

From this brief analysis it will be seen that Hobbes's fame as a metaphysician cannot rest on this fantastic and arbitrary theory. It is not to his constructive metaphysics, but to his detection of the errors of others, and to his occasional remarks, that we are to look for his excellence. Imbued with a thorough contempt for the scholastic philosophy, he at once rejected the theory of visible species, audible species, &c., which had so long infested the European seats of learning. He too was one of the first who pointed out the fallacy of the doctrine of innate ideas; and although the theory which he substituted in its stead is defective in one essential particular, it was yet a great stride in advance of the metaphysical speculations of the age, and paved the way for that more accurate account of the origin of our knowledge, which has immortalized the name of Locke. Locke, indeed, stands under considerable obligations to Hobbes, though by no means so great as many have been led to suppose, and he was certainly very free from the charge of Hobbism brought against him by Shaftesbury, and some of the French philosophers.

Hobbes's moral and political opinions are so interwoven, that they cannot easily be considered apart. His system rests upon the assumption—of which he brings no manner of proof whatever—that mankind having no other motive in their actions than self-interest, are at war one with another in a state of nature. In this state the principles of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have no existence, and every man has a right to every thing, even to his neighbour's life, provided he has the power to obtain it, no matter by what fraud or violence. There are, however, in this state, certain laws of nature, *i. e.* precepts answerable to reason, of which the more important are,—that every man, in order to obtain peace, be willing to lay down this right to all things, contenting himself with such a share of liberty as other men shall agree to possess, and that men keep their covenants. Hence it is necessary that all bodies of men, when giving up their right to every thing, should appoint some one person to rule over them; and as the covenant is made not with the ruler, but with one another, it follows that subjects can never rebel against the person they have chosen, or vest the power in any other, or enter into any new covenant without his permission, because the sovereign, having entered into no covenant, can break none, and consequently the subject can have no pretence for breaking that into which he has entered. Having established his commonwealth so far, he next proceeds to show, that the person in whom the power is vested must have unlimited authority; that he alone ought to determine the question of peace or war; to appoint the laws; to decree the life or death of his subjects without even assigning a cause; to

administer their property; in short, that subjects ought to be footballs, and kings the players. And not only is the sovereign to have power over their fortunes and lives, but over their minds also. He alone is to appoint the doctrines and opinions which are to be held; to decree what is morally right and what wrong, what just and what unjust; to determine whether God shall be worshipped or not; and every man is bound to receive these orders as the will of God, and to obey them accordingly, unless God has made to him a special revelation to the contrary. The reason assigned for lodging in the hands of the king these attributes of the Divine Being, is, that peace, to obtain which is the grand object of all societies of men, can be much better preserved in this way than by allowing the subject a voice in the government.

From this brief outline, it will be seen that Hobbes is not, as those who have not read him generally suppose, an advocate of the right divine of kings. He is a utilitarian, and advocates this monstrous system, because he believes, or professes to believe, that the operation of it would be conducive to the general happiness of mankind. It would be an endless task to point out its numerous fallacies and inconsistencies,—its assumed principles and inconsequent conclusions; nor do we believe that doctrines, so palpably opposed to reason, nay, to the first principles of human nature, require any confutation. We cannot, however, refrain from stating the masterly refutation which Cudworth has given, of what is probably the leading fallacy, and without which, all the rest must certainly fall to the ground: we mean the proposition, that right and wrong do not exist previous to the formation of society, and that subsequently the only just measure of right and wrong is the command of the sovereign. This doctrine originally, we believe, propounded by Protagoras, and after him zealously adopted by Epicurus, Cudworth confutes, by the simple and undeniable proposition, that the qualities of things exist not by will but by nature; that is to say, the will can never cause the natural and essential qualities of things to change, without, at the same time, changing the things themselves. The will may create, but can never change, the essential qualities. Thus a right-angled triangle may be created, but the right angle can never be removed without changing the triangle into something else than a right-angled one. Now, nothing can exist without a certain nature, or being inherent in it; therefore, right and wrong have a certain nature; and since the mere will cannot change the nature, it cannot change the nature of right or wrong; or, in other words, the will can never make an action just or unjust, which is not so by nature. Hence, it undeniably follows, that the distinction between right and wrong is essential, universal, and absolutely unchangeable by any authority, divine or human. A fuller confutation than this can hardly be required; those who wish to see other parts of the system overthrown, may consult Clarendon's 'Survey, &c. of the Leviathan,' Cumberland's 'De Legibus Naturæ,' Cudworth's 'Eternal and Immutable Morality,' Harrington's 'Oceana,' Clarke 'on the Being and Attributes,' &c. Of Hobbes's religious opinions it will be unnecessary to say much, since their pernicious, anti-scriptural tendency has been already incidentally depicted in our outline of his political creed. His opponents have charged him with atheism, but of this we have no evidence in his writings, since he everywhere acknowledges the existence of a first great cause, who possesses

power over us as his creatures. It cannot, however, be denied, that his system inevitably leads to practical atheism. Were the doctrines he inculcates true, God would be shorn of his brightest attributes, and reduced to a dark ideal existence, almost unconnected with, and powerless over the world. Revelation would be a phantasm without any right to demand our belief, and religion a mummery, without God as its author, or salvation as its aim. He acknowledges the existence of a future state of rewards and punishments; to attain the former of which it is only necessary to obey implicitly the enactments of the civil power, and to put faith in Christ,—a faith which we are by no means required to evince by works, or even to profess, unless such works and profession be permitted by the sovereign.

The united wit of a generation could scarcely have devised more false and ruinous doctrines than these. Their metaphysics, as Mr Stewart has well remarked, "would reduce man to the level of a brute." Their politics would transform him, from a rational free-born being, to a mass of animated clay; and their religion would make him either an infidel or a hypocrite. We are not, however, to judge of Hobbes's talents from the doctrines he inculcates. His writings can be duly estimated only by thinking men. They are the product of a mind rich in natural resources, though not well-stocked with acquirements;—amazingly acute in discovering flaws in the arguments and theories of others, though by no means capable of building up a solid and lasting system itself;—so subtle and penetrating, that the reader is amazed to find the same intellect evolving fallacies and absurdities;—and possessing an extraordinary power of arranging and combining its thoughts in the *lucidus ordo*, which is one true characteristic of a great mind. His grand fault was, that in spite of his contempt for the schoolmen, he adopted their method of philosophizing in preference to the Baconian, and having laid down certain principles without attempting to establish their truth, followed these out until he got involved in a maze of error, from which even his genius failed to extricate him. His leading doctrines are, therefore, almost all erroneous, and many of them absurd, yet, in the defence of them, he exhibits such originality of mind, and acuteness of thought; lays open, at a single glance, such clear views of human nature, and scatters here and there such striking truths, as amply repay the time spent in perusing him. It may truly be said that many single sentences in his works have furnished matter for the elaborate disquisitions of less powerful minds. The reader is like the ancient chemist searching for the philosopher's stone; the grand object of his pursuit flies from before him,—instead of any great truth or well-established system on which his mind may rest, he meets with fantastic and arbitrary theories,—yet, ever and anon, he lights upon some valuable precept, or is led to the discovery of some important truth, which more than recompenses him for the labour undergone. His style is perhaps the finest model of philosophical composition. Fluent and sometimes brilliant, yet adapted to the dignity of his subject,—always powerful, and oftentimes eloquent,—concise without ruggedness, and clear without diffuseness,—it hits the happy medium between the harshness and dryness of mathematical demonstration affected by Spinoza and others, and that wearisome verbosity in which some of our modern metaphysicians delight.

Of Hobbes as a man, our estimate must be much less favourable. Vain to a ridiculous excess of his talents,—unable to endure contradiction,—contemptuous towards his opponents,—expecting all men to bow implicitly to his decisions, while he himself would listen to none,—pertinacious in adhering to his opinions, even after they had been proved by mathematical demonstration to be incorrect,—an advocate of doctrines in theory which his life denied in practice,—a deserter of his country whenever her troubles began,—a deserter of his sovereign exiled in a foreign land,—in youth, licentious,[10]—in manhood, selfish and arrogant,—in old age, morose and obstinate, he presents a lamentable instance of the insufficiency of mere talent to constitute a true philosopher.

As we have already mentioned his principal works, it will be unnecessary to repeat them here. There is no complete edition of them; but the largest collections are the one printed at Amsterdam during his life-time, and one published at London, 1758, in a folio volume, entitled the 'Moral and Political works of Thomas Hobbes.' Both are now very scarce and valuable. The 'Leviathan' has been several times reprinted, but not of late years.

John Milton.

BORN A. D. 1608.—DIED A. D. 1674.

JOHN MILTON, the champion of English liberty, and the glory of English literature, was born in London on the 9th of December, 1608. His ancestry was respectable in descent, and possessed considerable property; but the father of our poet, having displeased his father by embracing the doctrines of the reformation, had been disinherited by him, and compelled to gain his subsistence in the profession of the law, in which, however, he realised such a fortune as enabled him soon to retire from business into the country. The mother of our poet is said by Wood, on the authority of Aubrey, to have been a Bradshaw; but her own grandson, Phillips, in his life of Milton, affirms that she was a Caston, and of Welsh descent. Milton's father had enjoyed the education of a gentleman at Christ-church, Oxford; and that he continued attached to elegant literature throughout his life, is apparent from the beautiful Latin verses in which his son has addressed him. He was also a capital musician, and a voluminous composer of music. His scientific skill has been praised by Hawkins and Burney, and it would appear that he sometimes composed the words of his madrigals and songs.

Young Milton received his first instruction at the hands of a private tutor. The person selected for this charge was Thomas Young, whom Aubrey contemptuously describes as "a puritan in Essex, who cutt his haire short." That the puritan tutor so conducted himself as to win the respect and affection of his pupil, we have good evidence in the writings of the latter. From the tuition of Mr Young, Milton was re-

[10] This is very delicately hinted in the Vita Hobbesii, "Ætate adhuc intra juventutis terminos constanti (liceat rerum fateri) nec abstemius fuit nec μισογυνος."

moved to St Paul's school, then under the care of Alexander Gill This was probably about the year 1623, in which year Milton's domestic preceptor is known to have gone abroad with the view of obtaining larger freedom of conscience than he could enjoy in his native country. It was in this year also that Milton produced his first recorded poetical essays, the 'Translations of the 114th and 136th Psalms.' His ode 'On the death of a fair Infant,' written soon after, displays more evident dawnings of real genius.

In February, 1624–5, Milton was admitted of Christ's college, Cambridge, where he enjoyed the tuition of William Chappel, afterwards bishop of Cork and Ross, in Ireland. Hayley says, that he was "at first an object of partial severity, but afterwards of general admiration, in his college." Probably our young student evinced too great a leaning towards the puritanic principles which were at that time beginning to manifest themselves within the walls of his college, to the no small alarm and uneasiness of many of the university dignitaries. It appears that he also ventured to differ considerably in opinion with some of the college authorities as to the plan of studies he ought to pursue. But whatever was the cause of his cool treatment at first, he soon extorted the applause of his tutors and fellow students by the beauty and elegance of his college exercises, particularly his Latin verses. "Many of his elegies," says Dr Johnson, "appear to have been written in his eighteenth year, by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with nice discernment. I once heard Mr Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark, what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance." Aubrey has left on record [1] a gossipping story about our poet having suffered the indignity of corporal punishment while at Cambridge, but there is no evidence whatever that Milton ever underwent any severer college discipline than that of a temporary removal, or 'rustication,' from Cambridge, and that not for any immoral irregularity, but on account of some little petulance or stubbornness of temper, which on one occasion he exhibited towards Dr Bainbridge, then master of Christ's church.[2]

In 1632, having taken the degree of M.A., Milton finally quitted Cambridge, and retired to his father's country house at Horton, near Colnebrook, in Buckinghamshire. Here he spent five years, during which period he read over the Greek and Latin classics, and is believed to have written those matchless pieces, the 'Arcades,' 'Lycidas,' 'L'Allegro,' 'Il Penseroso,' and 'Comus.' There is indeed a tradition that Milton wrote most of his pastoral pieces at Forest Hill, a small village about three miles from Oxford, but the weight of evidence on this subject is in favour of Horton.

In 1637, Milton's mother died, and in the following year he proceeded to the continent, chiefly with the view of visiting Italy, to whose modern, as well as ancient literature, he was passionately attached. After staying a few days in Paris, where he made the acquaintance of Grotius, he pursued his route to Nice, where he embarked for Genoa, and thence proceeded to Pisa, Florence, Rome, and Naples. While at Florence he visited the celebrated Galileo, whose philosophical doctrines

[1] MS. *Mus. Ashm. Oxon.* [2] See Warton's observations on this point.

had been pronounced rank heresies by the papal court, and who was now suffering a species of voluntary exile at Arcetri. Rolli, in his life of Milton, suggests that the poet must have caught some ideas in the 'Paradise Lost,' approaching towards the later philosophy of Newton, from his converse with the Italian astronomer, or some of his disciples, at Florence. From Florence he passed to Rome, where he resided two months, feasting his senses on the glorious productions of ancient and modern art which that city contained, and enjoying the acquaintance and friendship of many distinguished scholars. It was originally his intention to have extended his tour to Sicily and Greece, but the rumour of civil dissensions reached his ears from his native country, and the spirit of the patriot proved too strong for the taste of the scholar, and he determined instantly to return and share the fortunes of the friends of liberty in England.

After an absence of fifteen months, Milton found himself again in London, at the moment when Charles was about to embark on his second expedition against the Scotch. Johnson affects to ridicule Milton for the mode in which he chose to exhibit his patriotism at this juncture. He would have had him to fight the battle of freedom on the field, and not from the closet. But Milton knew where his strength lay, and he brought to the assistance of his fellow-patriots at this crisis of his country's fate what was better than a host of armed men. "On his return from travelling," he tells in his 'Second Defence,' "he found all mouths open against the bishops, some complaining of their vices, and others quarrelling at the very order; and thinking, from such beginnings, a way might be opened to true liberty, he heartily engaged in the dispute, as well to rescue his fellow-citizens from slavery, as to help the puritan ministers, who were inferior to the bishops in learning." His first efforts in the field which he had thus chosen for himself as the arena on which he would fight the great battle of his country's liberty and of human freedom, was the publication of a work entitled, 'Of Reformation in England, and the causes that hitherto have hindered it.' In this work, though frequently disfigured with the bitterness and abusiveness which seems almost inseparable from polemical controversy, we meet with many noble passages, in splendour of composition as well as justness of sentiment, fully worthy of John Milton. We must make room for a single specimen. "But to dwell no longer in characterising the depravities of the church, and how they sprung, and how they took increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church,—how the bright and blissful reformation (by divine power) struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears, and the sweet odour of the returning gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it,—the schools opened,—divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues,—the princes and cities trooping apace to the new erected banner of salvation,—the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon."

Archbishop Usher and Bishop Hall replied to Milton and the other writers on the same side, the former in his 'Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy,' and the latter in 'An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament.' In the course of the same year Milton answered both. He refers to these replies, and to two other productions of his indefatigable pen, in the following passage from his 'Second Defence:' "Afterwards, when two bishops of superior distinction vindicated their privileges against some principal ministers, I thought that on those topics, to the consideration of which I was led solely by my love of truth and my reverence of Christianity, I should not probably write worse than those who were contending only for their own emoluments and usurpations. I therefore answered the one in two books, of which the first is inscribed, 'Concerning Prelatical Episcopacy,' and the other, 'Concerning the mode of Ecclesiastical Government;' and I replied to the other in some 'Animadversions,' and soon after in an 'Apology.' On this occasion it was supposed that I brought a timely succour to the ministers, who were hardly a match for the eloquence of their opponents; and from that time I was actively employed in refuting any answers that appeared." The 'Animadversions' were directed against a defence of Hall's 'Humble Remonstrance,' supposed to have been written either by the bishop's son or his nephew.

In 1643, Milton entered into the married state. His wife was Mary Powel, a young lady of good extraction, but the match, which appears to have been a hasty made up one, proved unfortunate, and the lady having obtained permission to visit her relatives very soon after her marriage, refused to return to her husband's house. Phillips says that she was instigated to this conduct by her cavalier relatives, who abhorred the political sentiments of her husband. Aubrey alleges that she found her husband's mode of life too solitary and studious for her, "who had been brought up and bred where there was a great deal of company and merriment." Whatever was the cause of her desertion of her husband, she soon saw reason to repent of her indiscretion, and flung herself upon his generosity. Her appeal was listened to, and Milton, though he had, provoked by the conduct of his wife, already laid his views on the subject of divorce before the public, and come to the conclusion that the nuptial tie was dissoluble, not less on account of hopeless incompatibility of temper than for positive adultery, not only received his penitent wife again to his bed and board, but soon after, when her family, who had countenanced her desertion, were involved in the general ruin of the royal cause, took the whole of them into his house, and exerted his influence for their protection.

At the beginning of the changes, Milton had chosen the intolerancy of the bishops for the subject of his attack, and had written with incomparable energy and eloquence against the corrupt hierarchy. As soon as he saw his opinions on this subject, and on religious toleration in general, beginning to prevail, he abandoned the posts he had thus taken and fortified to the defence of other hands, and assailed some new outworks of the great system of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. In 1644, he published an eloquent treatise on Education, in which he argued vigorously for a large and liberal course of study, eminently fitted to imbue the minds of youth with sentiments of rational liberty. In the same year he published a still nobler treatise, his 'Areopagiti-

ca, a Speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing,'—a work with which every Englishman should be familiar. Its object was to establish the freedom of the press against the sentiments of the Presbyterian party who contended for an 'Imprimatur.' Hitherto he had fought the battle of the Presbyterians against prelacy; but he no sooner discovered their hostility to liberty of thought, than he turned his mighty weapons against them. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting one passage from this sublime treatise:—"I deny not," says he, "but that it is of greatest concernment in the church and commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve, as in a phial, the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragons' teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary, therefore, what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that etheral and essence, the breath of reason itself, slays an immortality rather than a life." Of this treatise it has been truly said,—"It is the finest specimen extant of generous scorn. And very remarkable it is that Milton, who broke the ground on this great theme, has exhausted the arguments which bear upon it. He opened the subject; he closed it. And were there no other monument of his patriotism and his genius, for this alone he would deserve to be held in perpetual veneration."[3]

In 1645 was published the first collection of Milton's early poems, both English and Latin. The publisher was Humphrey Moseley, who tells the reader, in his Address, that "the author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him. Let the event guide itself which way it will, I shall deserve of the age by bringing into the light as true a birth as the muses have brought forth since our famous Spencer wrote, whose poems, in these English ones, are as rarely imitated as sweetly excelled." It is highly probable that Moseley did suggest this publication to Milton, who at this time was more desirous of arousing his countrymen to vindicate and secure their civil

[3] 'The Gallery of Portraits,' vol. i. p. 47.

and religious liberties, than of captivating them by the strains of his muse. Whether the worthy bibliopole's expectations were realized does not appear; "the dark and sullen humour of the time" was unfavourable to the enterprise, and little notice is taken of these poems in the contemporary literature of the day.

Milton has had his full share of the unreasonable abuse which has been cast upon the memory of the men by whom Charles was put to death; and it is true that that act was done by the party to whom Milton belonged, and defended by Milton himself. But no other course was left to him at this juncture, than either to abandon the cause of popular liberty at once, and allow presbyterian intrigue to prevail, or to set himself in determined opposition to the machinations of a party who laid hold of the king's execution as a plea for the most dangerous plotting against public liberty. In his 'Tenure of Kings and Magistrates' he exposed the selfishness of the clamours by which his party was at this time assailed, and most triumphantly flung back the accusations of their opponents upon themselves, who had not hesitated to levy war against the king. His accession, in the quality of Latin secretary to the administration of the Protector, has also been urged against him as inconsistent with his professions of devotion to the cause of legitimate liberty; but "that Milton chose well no man can doubt, who fairly compares the events of the protectorate with those of the thirty years which succeeded it,—the darkest and the most disgraceful in the English annals." Besides the laborious official duties which his secretaryship imposed upon him, Milton was requested to answer the famous 'Eikon Basilike, or Royal Image,' a work which appeared on the very day of the king's execution, and was evidently designed to produce a reaction on the public mind in favour of Charles's memory. It professed to be a series of pious meditations drawn up by the late king, on the leading events of the civil war, and especially in contemplation of his own approaching execution; and made exactly that impression on the public mind which its author or authors designed. Milton's reply was as good as the nature of the task—in which the order and choice of topics were all determined by the Eikon itself—allowed it to be. He gave to it the title of 'Eikonoclastes, or Image-breaker,' the surname assumed by several of the Greek emperors who had signalized their christian zeal by breaking all superstitious images in pieces.

A more favourable opportunity for the exercise of Milton's controversial ability was afforded him by the publication of Salmasius's 'Defensio Regia,' which Charles II. had employed that learned Frenchman to write as a vindication of his late father, and of monarchical principles. Charles's selection of an advocate in this case was particularly unfortunate. Salmasius, though possessed of vast erudition, had neither the taste nor the judgment requisite for such a task. Of his taste, the opening sentence of the 'Defensio Regia' affords a notable specimen:—"Englishmen!" it begins, "who toss the heads of kings as so many tennis-balls; who play with crowns as if they were bowls; who look upon sceptres as so many crooks." He reproaches Milton as being but a puny figure,—an homunculus,—a dwarf destitute of human outline,—a bloodless anatomy,—a contemptible pedagogue, fit only to flog boys. And Milton thought this senseless declamation merited a serious refutation. Salmasius's work appeared in 1649; in 1651 Mil-

ton replied to it, in a work entitled 'Defensio pro Populo Anglicano,' in which—to use D'Israeli's expression—he perfectly massacred Salmasius. The fame of this work soon rung throughout all Europe, while Salmasius's book was received with little notice. Salmasius died in 1653 at Spa, before he could accomplish a reply to Milton. He left behind him only a fragment of such a work, which was published by his son after the Restoration, and when it was no longer safe for Milton to rejoin. It is much more distinguished for the abuse it contains than for any strength of argument. "It must be observed," says D'Israeli, "when Milton first proposed to answer Salmasius, he had lost the use of one of his eyes; and his physicians declared that if he applied himself to the controversy, the other would likewise close for ever! His patriotism was not to be baffled but with life itself. Unhappily, the prediction of his physicians took place." The first reply to Milton's 'Defensio Populi' was published in the same year, under the title 'Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano.' The author of this work was unknown, and Milton directed his youngest nephew to answer it. In 1652 Sir Robert Filmer published 'Animadversions' on Milton's 'Defensio,' which was also specially noticed in Hobbes' 'Leviathan,' and Grotius's treatise, 'De Jure Belli,' both of which works appeared the same year. None of these publications drew Milton again into the field; the work which called forth his 'Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano,' was a piece by Du Moulin, the younger, whose services were afterwards rewarded with a prebendal stall in Canterbury cathedral. Du Moulin's work was entitled 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor,' and was at first represented as the work of Alexander Morus, who was known to have corrected the press, and who seemed not unwilling to receive the credit of its authorship. Milton addressed himself to his task, in the full persuasion that Morus was his proper antagonist, and seasoned every page of his rejoinder with the most pungent satire, directed against Morus, who, hearing what was in store for him, vainly endeavoured to avert the coming ridicule by disclaiming the reputed authorship, and revealing the real author. Milton, however, was deaf to his protestations, and treated Morus as the true and responsible author of the 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor.' Morus feebly replied in a tractate, entitled 'Fides Publica,' to which he afterwards added a 'Supplementum;' and Milton closed the controversy by a defence of himself, followed by a brief response to the supplement.

Milton's first wife died in 1651, after she had given him three daughters. He afterwards married Catherine, the daughter of a Captain Woodcock of Hackney. She died in child-birth, together with her child, in 1657,—an event which the bereaved poet has recorded in a very touching and beautiful sonnet. In the following year the head of the commonwealth was removed by death, and Milton found himself blind, desolate, and utterly unprotected, at the very moment when his political sagacity fully discerned the approach of changes of most ominous aspect towards his party, and more especially towards himself as one of the most obnoxious individuals of that party. Yet in this crisis, with all its attending circumstances, so fitted to discourage and overawe him, Milton shrunk not from the cause by which he had so firmly stood in better days. In 1659, he published a 'Treatise of Civil power in Ecclesiastical causes;' the object of which was to show

the unlawfulness of employing force in matters of religion, whether speculative or practical; and also 'Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church.' As the former work was directed against the principle of force, this is opposed to that of hire,—intolerance and patronage being the two pillars by which every state-religion has been supported. "The latter of these," says Milton, "is by much the more dangerous; for under force, though no thanks to the forcers, true religion ofttimes best thrives and flourishes; but the corruption of teachers, most commonly the effect of hire, is the very bane of truth in them who are so corrupted." The first of these pamphlets, addressed to the parliament convened by Richard Cromwell, asserts the entire freedom of conscience, and the consequent unlawfulness of magisterial interference in matters purely religious. The second, inscribed to the Long Parliament, on its revival by the army, argues against the divine right and expediency of tithes, maintaining that the Christian pastor should be supported by the voluntary offerings of the people. Upon the dissolution of the Long Parliament by the army, Milton wrote 'A Letter concerning the ruptures of the Commonwealth,' in the faint hope, perhaps, of at least retarding the march of events towards the restoration of the exiled family; and not long before the king's return he published 'The ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth.' These two pieces, with the addition of 'Brief Notes' upon a sermon, by one Dr Griffiths, were, notwithstanding the expression of his hope to the contrary, "the last words of expiring liberty" in the English commonwealth. Dr Johnson, blinded by the inveterate prejudices which he ever entertained towards men of sound and liberal political views, affects to regard these last efforts of Milton in the cause of freedom, as the ebullitions of mortified vanity, the struggles of impotent rage. We will not set ourselves seriously to confute such miserable misrepresentation. The course which Milton pursued from the outset to the close of his political career, was one of uniform consistency; and even Johnson himself, with all his force of prejudice, should nevertheless have been able to discern and appreciate the worth and dignity of such consistency, when maintained even to the last extremity, and after resistance was hopeless and full of peril. In the language of one who has amply vindicated the memory of Milton from the aspersions with which the weakness, and, in too many instances, the malignancy of his enemies, have sought to load it, "We envy not the man who can study either the life or the writings of the great poet and patriot, without aspiring to emulate,—not indeed the sublime works with which his genius has enriched our literature,—but the zeal with which he laboured for the public good, the fortitude with which he endured every private calamity, the lofty disdain with which he looked down on temptations and dangers, the deadly hatred which he bore to bigots and tyrants, and the faith which he so sternly kept with his country and with his fame."

On the return of Charles, Milton wisely withdrew for a time from public observation. Whether or not he was very diligently pursued does not appear; it is only certain that he successfully concealed himself until the first storm had blown over. He returned to the public eye in the winter. On the 15th of December, 1660, we find him in custody of the sergeant-at-arms, and obtaining an order for his release

from the house of commons. Milton had no doubt powerful friends both in council and parliament, whose interposition might be of service to him at this juncture; but we are inclined to think that the government did not dare to wreak all the vengeance it cherished against the author of the 'Areopagitica' and 'Defensio pro Populo Anglicano,' while yet the memory of these works was fresh in the mind of the public.

Soon after, having obtained his pardon, Milton married a third time. The lady's name was Elizabeth Minshull. He had likewise the good fortune about this time to become acquainted with Ellwood the Quaker, whose kind attentions to the blind but enthusiastic scholar and poet, proved one of Milton's chief consolations. It was to Ellwood that Milton first submitted his 'Paradise Lost.' This was in 1665. Some biographers suppose that Milton began the composition of his immortal epic soon after having brought his controversy with Salmasius to a close. Aubrey says that he began it about two years before the restoration. It was published in 1667. Originally, it was printed in ten books; in the second, and all subsequent editions, the seventh and tenth books were each divided into two. For the copyright, Milton received, in the first instance, only £5! His farther profits were to be regulated by the sale of the three first editions, each of which was to consist of 1500 copies, but the total payment thus stipulated for only amounted to the miserable sum of £15! Three thousand copies of the 'Paradise Lost' appear to have been sold within eleven years; and, small as this sale must appear to us, it is nevertheless, as Dr Johnson has remarked, "an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius," in an age when 1000 copies of Shakspeare supplied the wants of the nation from 1623 to 1664, that is, for forty-one years. "When 'Paradise Lost' appeared," says Campbell, "though it was not neglected, it attracted no crowd of imitators, and made no visible change in the poetical practice of the age. He stood alone and aloof above his times, the bard of immortal subjects, and, as far as there is perpetuity in language, of immortal fame."

In 1670, Milton published his 'History of Britain,' extending from the period of fable to the Norman conquest. In the same year he published 'Paradise Regained,' and 'Samson Agonistes.' Two years afterwards appeared his 'Artis Logicæ Plenior Institutio,' being a new scheme of logic on the method of Ramus. In 1673, the year prior to his death, he published a short treatise, 'Of True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration,' &c. It was intended to rouse protestants of all sects against the supposed design of the king to introduce papacy, and to unite them in a common opposition to the common enemy.

Milton retained the vigour and elasticity of his intellectual faculties to the last; but his bodily constitution had for a series of years been gradually giving way under the united effects of close application and gout. It was at length thoroughly undermined, and on Sunday, the 8th of November, 1674, he tranquilly breathed his last. His death was so easy that the exact moment could not be determined by the attendants of his sick chamber. He was buried with unusual marks of honour in the chancel of St Giles' at Cripplegate. It is not known whether any of Milton's direct descendants now exist.

The published lives of Milton are very numerous. Those prefixed

to the editions of his works successively published by Newton, Todd, and Symmons, are among the most copious. That by Johnson, in his 'Lives of the Poets,' though marked by transcendent ability, is wholly disfigured by prejudice and misrepresentation, and unworthy of any acceptance with the reader, wherever the political or domestic character of Milton is concerned. Mr Fletcher, the editor of a recent edition of Milton's prose works, has written a very able essay on his author's literary and political character. Dr Channing, of America, has also published an elaborate estimate of Milton; but by far the most splendid and philosophical view that has yet been taken of the genius and character of Milton, will be found in the forty-second volume of the 'Edinburgh Review,' in an article, understood to be from the pen of Mr Macauley, with an extract from which we must conclude this brief and imperfect notice.

"That from which the public character of Milton derives its great and peculiar splendour still remains to be mentioned. If he exerted himself to overthrow a forsworn king and a persecuting hierarchy, he exerted himself in conjunction with others. But the glory of the battle which he fought for that species of freedom which is the most valuable, and which was then the least understood, the freedom of the human mind, is all his own. Thousands and tens of thousands among his cotemporaries raised their voices against ship-money and the star-chamber. But there were few indeed who discerned the more fearful evils of moral and intellectual slavery, and the benefits which would result from the liberty of the press and the unfettered exercise of private judgment. These were the objects which Milton justly conceived to be the most important. He was desirous that the people should think for themselves as well as tax themselves, and be emancipated from the dominion of prejudice as well as from that of Charles. He knew that those who, with the best intentions, overlooked these schemes of reform, and contented themselves with pulling down the king, and imprisoning the malignants, acted like the heedless brothers in his own poem, who, in their eagerness to disperse the train of the sorcerer, neglected the means of liberating the captive. They thought only of conquering when they should have thought of disenchanting. To reverse the rod, to spell the charm backward, to break the ties which bound a stupified people to the seat of enchantment, was the noble aim of Milton. To this all his public conduct was directed. For this he joined the presbyterians—for this he forsook them. He fought their perilous battle; but he turned away with disdain from their insolent triumph. He saw that they, like those whom they had vanquished, were hostile to the liberty of thought. He therefore joined the Independents, and called upon Cromwell to break the secular chain, and to save free conscience from the paw of the presbyterian wolf. With a view to the same great object, he attacked the licensing system in that sublime treatise which every statesman should wear as a sign upon his hand, and as frontlets between his eyes. His attacks were, in general, directed less against particular abuses, than against those deeply seated errors on which almost all abuses are founded, the servile worship of eminent men, and the irrational dread of innovation."

Samuel Butler.

BORN A. D. 1612.—DIED A. D. 1680.

This keen satirist, who is said to have been at once "the glory and the scandal of his age," was born in the early part of the seventeenth century. His baptismal register bears date, Feb. 13th, 1612. The condition in life of his father is not clearly ascertained; but the authority of the Oxford antiquary, Wood, is perhaps most to be depended on, since he derived his information from the poet's own brother. Wood states that he was a respectable farmer, enjoying a comfortable competence, to the amount of nearly £300 a year, though most of his land was leasehold. Samuel was put under the tuition of Mr Henry Bright, master of the free school of Worcester; thence he was removed to college, but to which university, or which college, or what length of time he remained there, does not distinctly appear. Though it is averred that he passed six or seven years at Cambridge, yet, as he was not matriculated, and as no recollection or trace of his residence there can be found to support the assertion of his brother—who admitted his ignorance of the particular college—the inference is, that he might possibly stay for a time at one of the universities, but that his father's property was insufficient to support him there in a regular manner. On his return to his native place, Strensham in Worcestershire, he became clerk to Mr Jeffreys of Earl's-croom, in the same county, whose kindness as a master enabled him to devote much of his time to history, poetry, and painting; but the evidence of his skill in painting is merely presumptive, some of his pictures having been appointed to the distinguished office of substitute for a broken pane of glass. This art is made the basis of his friendship with Mr Samuel Cooper, one of the most eminent painters of his day; but it is reasonable to suppose that the qualities connected with his love of painting,—a delicate taste, perhaps, and vivid, humorous imagination, with a good store of facts, and a quick perception of the ridiculous,—might form his main recommendations to the friendship of the painter. He was afterwards received, but in what capacity is not mentioned, into the family of the countess of Kent, where he became acquainted with, and gained the esteem of the great Selden, who was steward to her ladyship, and from whom he received literary employment of various kinds. The length of his stay with the countess is unknown,—lost in the obscurity in which the greater part of his life is involved; but we subsequently find him in Bedfordshire with Sir Samuel Luke, one of Cromwell's officers, whom he is supposed to have ridiculed under the character of Hudibras. This conjecture is founded principally on the following passage from the poem:—

'Tis sung there is a valiant Mamaluke,
In foreign land yclept ————————
To whom we have been oft compared,
For person, parts, address, and beard,
Both equally reputed stout,
And in the same cause both have fought,

He oft in such attempts as these,
Came off with glory and success;
Nor will we fail i' th' execution,
For want of equal resolution.

Butler has been accused of ingratitude in thus caricaturing his benefactor, and certainly the goodness of that man's heart might be questioned, whose thanks for kindness and beneficence were dressed in the form of an elaborate galling lampoon; but, beyond the mere fact, so little is known of the connexion, its origin, nature, length of continuance, or cause of termination, that without stronger evidence than bare possibility, our poet cannot be convicted of ingratitude.

After the Restoration, Butler looked for some reward for his loyalty, but his expectations met with a not unusual fate; the only appointment, and that most probably arose from private favour, was a secretaryship to the earl of Carbury, president of Wales, who conferred on him the stewardship of Ludlow castle, when the court of the marches was revived. About this period he married Mrs Herbert, a lady possessing at that time a competent fortune, from which, however, Butler did not derive much advantage, as it was soon lost through bad securities. He is reported by Wood to have been secretary to his Grace the duke of Buckingham, when he was chancellor to the university of Cambridge; whether that be true or not, it is certain the duke regarded him with feelings of kindness, and was often a benefactor to him. But in no man did he find a more generous friend than in Charles Lord Buckhurst, afterwards earl of Dorset and Middlesex, who being himself an excellent poet, knew how to set a just value upon the ingenious performances of others, and who often privately relieved and supplied the necessities of those, whose modesty shrunk from obtruding their wants upon the notice of others. Our author was of this class, and experienced the earl's generosity. In fine, the integrity of his life, the pungency of his wit, and his agreeable ease in conversation, had rendered him most agreeable to all men; yet he prudently avoided multiplicity of acquaintance, and wisely chose such only whom his discerning judgment could distinguish, as Cowley says,—

"From the great vulgar, or the small."

His conversation is nevertheless said not to have been brilliant till his thoughts were gently excited by wine; but he was not an intemperate drinker. His convivial talents are exhibited in the following anecdote:—Before he was personally known to the earl of Dorset, that nobleman desired to spend an evening in his company as a private individual, which desire was accomplished through the instrumentality of Mr Fleetwood Shepherd, a mutual acquaintance. During the first bottle, Butler was dull and heavy, but the second had a very enlivening influence, and he became a most agreeable companion, full of fancy, learning, and wit. Thus his imagination and memory continued in active play, till the third bottle replunged him into his former silent and almost stupid dulness, which induced his lordship afterwards to compare him to "a nine-pin, little at both ends, but great in the middle."

But the assistance he received was merely that of private friendship, which, in such cases, is rarely adequate to the need of the individual

This neglect of our poet by those on whom power imposed an obligation to patronize, at a time, too, when the praises of his works were loud, and in every mouth, from the king to the counter-boy, has deservedly called forth cries of shame from subsequent writers. The first part of Hudibras was published in 1663, and was introduced to the notice of the king and court by the earl of Dorset. "When it was known," says Dr Johnson, "it was necessarily admired: the king quoted, the courtiers studied, and the whole party of the royalists applauded it. Every eye watched for the golden shower which was to fall upon the author, who certainly was not without his part in the general expectation." But all in vain: though it is said, but not ascertained, that Charles did send him a private donation of £300, which Butler immediately and entirely devoted to the payment of his debts. From some lines in 'Hudibras at court,' the suspected genuineness of which does not necessarily affect the conclusion to be drawn from them, it would seem that no reward at all was conferred upon him.

The state of poverty in which the author of Hudibras was suffered to live and die, reflects deep disgrace on Charles and all his court; though, of course, the man whom the sovereign neglected, the courtiers could not patronize, without infringement of good taste, and direct violation of decorum. Sir John Birkenhead, a contemporary, and a man remarkable more for servile obsequiousness to the heads of his party, and for the scurrile abuse in his writings, than for sound genius or genuine wit, was rewarded with a lucrative place by the very court which left Butler to pine and suffer in obscurity. All will warmly agree with Oldham, who, in his 'Satire against poetry,' speaks of the sufferings of Butler in these words:—

> "On Butler who can think without just rage,
> The glory and the scandal of his age!
>
> Of all his gains by verse he could not save
> Enough to purchase flannel and a grave.
> Reduc'd to want, he in due time fell sick,
> Was fain to die, and be interr'd on tick;
> And well might bless the fever that was sent
> To rid him hence, and his worse fate prevent."

Dryden also, in his 'Hind and Panther,' makes the Hind, or church of Rome, object to the Panther—the church of England—her hard-heartedness in neglecting a poet who had stood up in her defence.—

> "Unpitied Hudibras, your champion friend,
> Has shown how far your charities extend;
> This lasting verse shall on his tomb be read,
> He sham'd you living, and upbraids you dead."

His death occurred on the twenty-fifth of September, 1680, and the expenses of his burial were defrayed by his intimate and sincere friend Mr Longueville, who had made an unavailing attempt to raise a subscription amongst Butler's friends and admirers, to secure to him that last melancholy tribute of respect, a funeral according in accessories with his rank as a poet. No monument was bestowed upon him, till the year 1721, when Mr John Barber, an alderman of London, ge-

nerously erected one in Westminster Abbey, where he eulogises his learning, acumen, integrity, and felicitous versification, and declares him, notwithstanding his numerous imitators, to be

Scriptorum in suo genere primus et postumus—

Soon after the erection of this monument, Mr Samuel Wesley wrote the following epigram :—

While Butler, needy wretch, was yet alive,
No generous patron would a dinner give;
See him, when starv'd to death and turned to dust,
Presented with a monumental bust.
The Poet's fate is here in emblem shown,
He ask'd for bread, and he receiv'd a stone!

Mr Longueville has declared, that, notwithstanding the many disappointments Butler met with, he never was reduced to any thing like want or beggary, and that he did not die in any person's debt. He must, however, have been on the very verge of beggary, if he were compelled to be indebted to his friend for a decent interment of his body.

His chief production, Hudibras, is now more talked of than read, and judged of by report, not from examination. The general idea of the poem was derived from Don Quixote; the knight's name, and something of his character, from Spenser's Fairy Queen.

He that made love unto the eldest dame,
Was hight Sir Hudibras, a hardy man;
Yet not so good of deeds, as great of name,
Which he by many rash adventures wan,
Since errant arms to shew he first began.
B. 2. C. 1. St. 17.

The remark has already been made, that the majority of persons are more familiar with the general character and reputation of Hudibras than with its contents. It has been observed, that no book is worth reading that is not worth quoting; an opinion, the truth of which would be more widely felt and acknowledged, were not the more usual object of reading to escape from thought, not to find food for reflection. If, however, the value of a book may be measured by its quotability, too high an appreciation cannot be set upon Hudibras. "Butler," says Dr Johnson, "had watched with great diligence the operations of human nature, and traced the effect of opinion, humour, interest, and passion. From such remarks proceeded that great number of sententious distichs which have passed into conversation, and are added as proverbial axioms to the general stock of practical knowledge." Such was the use made of it in all educated circles for many years from the date of its first appearance, whilst the opinions described or derided, the scenes and characters drawn, were still in the recollection of the reader; but there are two causes in operation to prevent its being much studied in the present day: the blunt coarse vulgarisms with which it abounds, and which were enjoyed in Charles the Second's time, accord not with the present refined taste; next, the whole poem is occupied with sub-

jects of the day, and we are so remote from the time referred to, that a complete understanding of the allusions, or a just appreciation of the burlesque, cannot be possessed but as the result of an intimate acquaintance with the occurrences and opinions of the period. The reader of Hudibras should not only be familiar with the history, politics, and religion of the eventful times in which the author lived, but with its actions, feelings, follies, its science, literature, and superstitions. To enjoy it with a true relish, he should have sung catches in a tavern with a knot of jovial cavaliers,—been stifled in a conventicle of sturdy puritans,—deafened by the eloquent outpourings of Dr Burgess and Hugh Peters—he should have been bewildered in the mazes of scholastic divinity, with Aquinas and Duns Scotus,—had his fortune told by Booker or Lilly,—tried experiments with Sir Paul Neale,—cross-examined the moon with the Royal Society,—"seen countries far and near" with "Le Blanc the Traveller,"—sympathised with Sir Kenelm Digby,—yawned over the romantic tomes of Calprenede and Scuderi,—been witty upon Gondibert,—and deep in Cervantes, and Coke upon Littleton. It is a common error among "the great vulgar and the small" to look upon Hudibras as extremely *low*—in fact, as a mere burlesque. It is as much above "the common cry" of burlesque as the novels of Fielding and Sir Walter Scott are above the ephemeral trash of the Minerva press. It is a mighty and comprehensive satire,—as powerful in argument,—as pungent,—as rich in illustration, as any that united wit and learning have ever produced. All the weapons of controversial warfare, invective, irony, sarcasm, ridicule, are in it alternately and successfully wielded. The most opposite and conflicting absurdities, the excrescences of learning, and the bigotries of ignorance, time-honoured prejudices, and follies of recent growth or importation, are laid prostrate "at one fell swoop." Butler makes none but palpable hits. His sentences have the pithy briefness of a proverb, with the sting of an epigram. His subject was local and transitory—his satire boundless and eternal. His greatest fault is profusion,—he revels and runs riot in the prodigality of his imaginings,—he bewilders himself and his readers amidst "thick-coming fancies,"—his poem is o'erinformed with wit; it dazzles and overpowers with an unremitting succession of brilliant coruscations. His narrative is to its embellishments, but as "one poor half-pennyworth of bread to all this intolerable quantity of sack." The adventures are meagre and unsatisfactory: we might—

> "Make future times shake hand with latter,
> And that which was before come after,"

without impairing or confusing the story. Like Bayes, in the 'Rehearsal,' our author probably thought a plot was good for nothing but to bring in good things, and consequently troubled himself very little about its consistency or probability. His hero is a hydra of contradictions,—he is not the representative of a class, sect, or party, but of all classes, sects, and parties. With wit and learning enough, if "sawed into quantities," to fit out all the heroes of the octosyllabic epics that ever have been written, he is turned out to make us sport as a coxcomb and a driveller. With more cunning than 'Nick Machiavel,' he is

the butt and dupe of sullen spirits; and is abused, gulled, and buffetted, through eight long cantos, without mercy or measure.

The poetry of Butler has been well described by Sir Walter Scott, in his life of Dryden, as being merely the comedy of that style of composition which Donne and Cowley practised in its more serious form,—the difference between the two modes of writing being, to adopt his very felicitous illustration, just that which exists between a countenance of a peculiar cast of feature, when solemnized by deep reflection, and the same countenance when lighted up by cheerfulness, or distorted by outrageous merriment. And it is the gayer and more animated species of expression, it may be added, which is here, beyond all question, also the more graceful and appropriate. In choosing the sort of subject which he has done for the exercise of his most original genius, Butler has shown a wisdom which Donne and Cowley did not possess, and has just restored the manner of writing, which they so strangely misunderstood and abused, to its right and natural application: or rather we should say, that he was the first by whom it was ever thus correctly and happily employed for the illustration of the only sort of theme which was at all fitted to exemplify its rich although singular capabilities, and to give to it a title to be enumerated among the legitimate appurtenances of poetry. It were difficult for us to determine exactly in how far Butler may have been indebted to his two misguided predecessors for that habit of wild and fantastic combination, by which the imagery of his poetry is called into being;—that admirable sense of its true import and effect, by which he has given to it all its propriety and its power, is at least altogether and exclusively his own. And how much has he in this way made of that which, till he seized upon and appropriated it, was almost utterly valueless! If his poem is not to be accounted as belonging to the highest species of poetry, the genius that presided over its execution has at least seldom been equalled in that particular sort of power by which it achieved its wonders. The imagination of Butler does not rise, perhaps, to a very lofty altitude, but it never has been surpassed for vigour of pinion, and sustained and unflagging perseverance in that mode of flight to which it addicts itself. It neither luxuriates, it is true, in dreams and visions of transcendental glory, nor delights itself in hovering over the loveliness of earthly landscapes, nor glows or effervesces with the warmth of human passion; nor is it skilled in giving life and reality to any fiction, and making the beings of its own creation speak and move as if there were boiling blood in their veins, and beating hearts in their bosoms. But in rich, and varied, and searching wit,—in that piercing keenness of eye which no dexterity can escape, and no folding hide from,—in that exquisite sensibility to the grotesque in conduct and in character, by which he absolutely breaks open the sluices of our laughter, and brings down our exuberant merriment like a river's tide upon the hapless victims of his satire,—in ingenuity quick and subtle as the light of heaven, and universal as the realm of human knowledge and human speculation,—in one word, in nerve and elasticity of intellect, and unwearied play and brilliancy of fancy, who is he, among all that have ever written, with whom Butler is to be matched? There is more thought in one of his pages than in whole volumes of other men. The great defect of his poem, indeed, is that it fatigues the attention, not by allowing it to

languish unfed, but by surfeiting it with superfluity of sustenance,—not by dragging it over the dreariness of deserts, but by over-exciting it on its way by the throng and hurry of incessant attractions. The wit that dazzles and astonishes us by its ever-flashing radiance was never so richly mixed up as it is in him with the humour that convulses our frame by the exaggeration of its pictures, and the violence of its incongruous combinations. His wit is almost always ludicrous, and his humour almost always not more titillating than it is pungent. The worst defects of Hudibras are such as necessarily result from its very excellencies. The banquet is in truth too rich a one to be long indulged in. But if it is not a book to be begun and finished, like most others, at a sitting, there are few others which will bear to be more frequently resorted to, or which will retain so fresh a relish after many perusals. Its wit, plentiful as it is, is at the same time all of so unique a description as to seem ever new. It is not like any thing we hear in the ordinary world, or read in ordinary books. The ruling character of that teeming mind from which it sprung was its intense originality. The very literature which it loved was of that remote and peculiar description, which has been resorted to by other inquirers merely as a treat for curiosity, but in which Butler seems to have revelled till he had sucked its substance, and imbued himself all over with the very spirit that rose from it. His poem is on this account, as well as from its many allusions to the passing events of a half-forgotten age, somewhat unintelligible in certain passages to readers of the present day; but there is abundance of sterling gold in it notwithstanding, which time shall never rust, but which, deriving none of its lustre from the reflected peculiarities of any one generation, shall abide in its first beauty, while the language which enshrines it exists, for the admiration and delight of all.

The 'Remains' of Butler partake of all the characteristic excellencies of his greater work, but they are neither much read nor much known. The comparative neglect which the minor pieces of our author have experienced, is chiefly attributable to the currency obtained by a wretched compilation of contemporary ribaldry, dignified with the title of 'Butler's Posthumous works.' Out of fifty pieces which this publication contains, three only are genuine,—the Ode on Duvall, Case of Charles I., and Letters of Audland and Prynne. His 'Genuine Remains' were collected and published by Mr R. Thyer of Manchester, in the year 1759. Of the prose pieces, which form the most interesting and least known portion of this publication, the most important in number and talent are the characters, which occupy the whole of the second volume. In instinctive perception of character, in practical knowledge of the world, as well as in richness and variety of imagination, and in bold originality of thought, he far surpasses most of his rivals in this kind of composition. One short interesting sample shall serve as a specimen:—

"A BUSY MAN

Is one that seems to labour in every man's calling but his own; and, like Robin Goodfellow, does any man's drudgery that will let him. He is like an ape, that loves to do whatever he sees others do; and is al-

ways busy as a child at play. He is a great undertaker, and commonly as great an under-performer. His face is like a lawyer's buckram bag, that has always business in it; and as he trots about, his head travels as fast as his feet. He covets his neighbour's business, and his own is to meddle, not do. He is very lavish of his advice, and gives it freely, because it is worth nothing, and he knows not what to do with it himself. He is a common barreter for his pleasure, that takes no money, but pettifogs gratis. He is very inquisitive after every man's occasions, and charges himself with them like a public notary. He is a great overseer of state affairs; and can judge as well of them before he understands the reasons, as afterwards. He is excellent at preventing inconveniences, and finding out remedies when 'tis too late; for, like prophecies, they are never heard of till it is to no purpose. He is a great reformer, always contriving of expedients, and will press them with as much earnestness, as if himself, and every man he meets, had power to impose them on the nation. He is always giving aim to state affairs, and believes, by screwing of his body, he can make them shoot which way he pleases. He inquires into every man's business, and makes his own commentaries upon it, as he pleases to fancy it. He wonderfully affects to seem full of employments, and borrows men's business only to put on and appear in; and then returns it back again only a little worse. He frequents all public places, and, like a pillar in the Old Exchange, is hung with all men's business, both public and private; and his own is only to expose them. He dreads nothing so much as to be thought at leisure, though he is never otherways, for though he be always doing, he never does any thing."

Wilmot, Earl of Rochester.

BORN A. D. 1647.—DIED A. D. 1681.

THIS brilliant profligate was the son of Henry, earl of Rochester, whose steadfast adherence to Charles's cause was the chief means of the monarch's preservation after the battle of Worcester. Young Wilmot was born on the 10th of April, 1647, at Ditchley in Oxfordshire. He received the elements of education and of classical literature in the free school at Barford. In 1659 he was sent to Oxford. It thus appears that at the period of his joining the university he was only twelve years of age. From one so young, a very powerful display of intellect could not be expected, nor does it appear that he very eminently distinguished himself while at college. He displayed, indeed, that quickness of parts for which he was always distinguished; but he wanted the steadiness of a student, as well as that ripeness of judgment which comes only with more advanced years. He left college a gay and brilliant, but not deeply accomplished, youth, and immediately plunged into the gaieties and dissipation of the French metropolis. On his return from the continent he was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the king.

Wood says that the youth was at this early period a perfect Hobbist in principle. The situation in which he was now placed was little calculated to disabuse his mind of those pernicious sentiments which seem

to have been so early sown in it. Surrounded only by companions as gay in manners and dissolute in morals as himself, he became their leader in every species of vice. His qualities, or rather his splendid vices, were precisely such as fitted him to shine in a dissolute court. Promptitude of invention, a ready wit, considerable skill in the fashionable amusements of the day, a handsome person, engaging manners, and a soul set free from every restraint of conscience,—all conspired to make him a fit leader in the revels of Comus. Accordingly, Burnet declares that, for five years together, Rochester was not one single day free from the influence of liquor, and led a life of unmingled sensuality and profaneness. Sometimes, in the disguise of a porter or a beggar, he devoted weeks to the pursuit of the lowest amours, and the society of the most brutalized portion of his species; at other times he enacted the part of a strolling player or mountebank. Once he practised physic for some weeks in the character of an itinerant quack. On other occasions he would amuse himself by imposing on his acquaintance under some assumed character and disguise. "Thus," says Dr Johnson, "in a course of drunken gaiety, and gross sensuality, with intervals of study perhaps yet more criminal, with an avowed contempt of all decency and order, a total disregard of every moral, and a resolute denial of every religious obligation, he lived worthless and useless, and blazed out his youth and his health in lavish voluptuousness; till, at the age of one-and-thirty, he had exhausted the fund of life, and reduced himself to a state of weakness and decay."

In October 1679, when he was slowly recovering from a severe illness, he was visited by Dr Burnet, upon an intimation that such a visit would be very agreeable to him. The bishop has left on record some particulars of his various interviews with the dying nobleman, from which it appears that, when the world was at last receding from his view, conscience awoke, and religion and the concerns of eternity began to press themselves upon his thoughts; and that the reasonings and prayers of the worthy prelate were blessed to the conviction and conversion of his catechumen. Dr Burnet's statement has been long before the public, and is so well known, that it is unnecessary for us to quote from it. It is a simple and deeply affecting document, which, to use the language of one whose judgment will hardly be called in question, even by those who affect to sneer at the story of Rochester's conversion,—"the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety."

"The earl of Rochester," says Dr Johnson, "was eminent for the vigour of his colloqual wit, and remarkable for many wild pranks and sallies of extravagance. The glare of his general character diffused itself upon his writings; the compositions of a man whose name was heard so often, were certain of attention, and from many readers certain of applause. This blaze of reputation is not yet quite extinguished; and his poetry still retains some splendour beyond that which genius has bestowed. Wood and Burnet give us reason to believe, that much was imputed to him which he did not write. I know not by whom the original collection was made, or by what authority its genuineness was ascertained. The first edition was published in the year of his death with an air of concealment, professing in the title-page to be printed at Antwerp. Of some of the pieces, however, there is no

doubt. The Imitation of Horace's Satire,—the Verses to Lord Mulgrave,—the Satire against Man,—the verses upon Nothing, and perhaps some others, are, I believe, genuine, and perhaps most of those which the late collection exhibits. As he cannot be supposed to have found leisure for any course of continued study, his pieces are commonly short, such as one fit of resolution would produce. His songs have no particular character; they tell, like other songs, in smooth and easy language, of scorn and kindness, dismission and desertion, absence and inconstancy, with the common places of artificial courtship. They are commonly smooth and easy, but have little nature, and little sentiment. His imitation of Horace on Lucilius is not inelegant or unhappy. In the reign of Charles the Second began that adaptation, which has since been very frequent, of ancient poetry to present times, and perhaps few will be found where the parallelism is better preserved than in this. The versification is indeed sometimes careless, but it is sometimes vigorous and weighty."

Sir Thomas Browne.

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1682.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE, an eminent English physician, and the celebrated author of the '*Religio Medici*,' was born in the city of London, in the parish of St Michael, Cheapside, on the 19th of October, 1605. He was the son of a highly respectable merchant, whose family belonged to Cheshire. Young Browne began his education at Winchester, and, in 1623, was entered a gentleman-commoner of Pembroke college, Oxford. His father died during his nonage, and his mother having married again, he was left to the care of a guardian, who appears to have rather abused his trust. Having taken his Master of Arts degree, he directed his attention to medical science, and first commenced practice in Oxfordshire. Soon afterwards he accompanied his step-father, Sir Thomas Dutton, to Ireland, and from thence he proceeded to Montpellier, successively studying there and at Padua. Returning home by way of Holland, he was created Doctor of physic in the university of Leyden.

Browne returned to London about the year 1634, and amused himself the following year in sketching his most celebrated treatise, the '*Religio Medici*.' It does not appear to have been originally designed for publication, for it contains a number of particulars relating to himself, which we can hardly imagine him deliberately making the world acquainted with. He tells us therein that his life had been a miracle of thirty years, "which, to relate, were not a history, but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common ears like a fable;" that he was unmarried, and had never yet cast a true affection on a woman; that he had been a great traveller, and that he understood six languages: and in a letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, deprecating some strictures which he had been informed Sir Kenelm was about to publish on his work, he says that his book "was penned many years past, and with no intention for the press, or the least desire to oblige the faith of any man to its assertions,—that it was contrived as his private study, and

as an exercise unto himself, rather than an exercitation for any other, —and that it had passed from his hand under a broken and imperfect copy, which, by frequent transcription, had still run forward into corruption." "If," he adds, "when the true copy shall be extant, you shall esteem it worth your vacant hours to discourse thereon, you shall sufficiently honour me in the vouchsafe of your refutation, and I oblige the whole world in the occasion of your pen." The learned knight, nothing behind the young doctor in complimentary language, hastened to assure him that he had no such serious intentions of assailing his treatise, as had been by report ascribed to him; that the few strictures he had penned upon it at the suggestion of Lord Dorset, were the hasty production of a single day; that he had prohibited their publication; and that, "to encounter such a sinewy opposite, or make animadversion upon so smart a piece," he was conscious "a solid stock and exercise in school-learning" was requisite. Few works have made a greater noise in the world, or produced a greater sensation on first appearance, as we say now-a-days,—than Browne's '*Religio Medici*.' The smatterer, Guy Patin, in a letter dated from Paris, 7th April, 1645, says of it:—"The book entitled '*Religio Medici*' is in high credit here. The author has wit; there are abundance of fine things in that book; he is a humourist, whose thoughts are very agreeable, but who, in my opinion, is to seek for a master in religion—as many others are—and, in the end, perhaps, may find none. One may say of him, as Philip de Comines did of the founder of the Minimes, a hermit of Calabria, Francis de Paula, 'he is still alive, and may grow worse as well as better.'" Salmasius, too, declared that it contained "many exorbitant conceptions in religion, and would probably find but frowning entertainment." Tobias Wagner, a German critic, affirmed that the seeds of atheistical impiety were so scattered throughout Browne's book, that it could hardly be read without danger of infection,—an opinion in which he was seconded by his two countrymen, Muller and Reiser. The learned John Francis Buddæus hesitated not to enrol Browne in his list of English atheists, in conjunction with Herbert, Hobbes, and Toland, whilst Reimmannus and Heister zealously repelled the charge of irreligion brought against him. Browne himself, in this work, declares that he is a good Protestant of the English church:—"I am a born subject," he says, "and, therefore, in a double obligation, subscribe unto her articles, and endeavour to observe her constitutions; whatever is beyond, as points indifferent, I observe according to the rules of my private reason, or the humour and fashion of my devotion,—neither believing this because Luther affirmed it, or disproving that because Calvin hath disavouched it; I condemn not all things in the council of Trent, nor approve all in the synod of Dort. In brief, where the Scripture is silent, the church is my text; where that speaks, 'tis but my comment; where there is a joint silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my religion from Rome or Geneva, but the dictates of my own reason." In fact, few secular writers of Browne's age have been more solicitous to express their undoubting faith in Scriptures, or mentioned them with such unvaried reverence; at the same time it must be confessed that there is a wildness of conception, and singularity of expression, in much which Browne has written, which was calculated to excite surprise, and throw him open to cen-

sure. A single extract will afford the reader some notion of the style in which the '*Religio Medici*' is written:—"There are a bundle of curiosities not only in philosophy but in divinity, proposed and discussed by men of supposed ability, which indeed are not worthy our vacant hours, much less our serious studies. 'Tis ridiculous to put off or down the general flood of Noah in that particular inundation of Deucalion; that there was a deluge, seems not to me so great a miracle as that there is not one always. How all the kinds of creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one ark, and within the extent of 300 cubits, to a reason that rightly examines, it will appear very feasible. There is another secret, not contained in the Scripture, which is more hard to comprehend, and put the honest father (St Augustin) to the refuge of a miracle, and that is, not only how the distinct pieces of the world, and divided islands, should be first planted by men, but inhabited by tigers, panthers, and bears; how America abounded with beasts of prey and noxious animals, yet contained not in it that necessary creature a horse, is very strange." Again; "Search all the legends of times past, and the fabulous conceits of those present, and 'twill be hard to find one that deserves to carry the buckler unto Sampson; yet is all this of an easy possibility, if we conceive a Divine concourse, or an influence from the little finger of the Almighty." It is not easy to say what definite object Browne proposed to himself in this essay; whatever it was, or whether he really had any, it is a work of prodigious fancy and ponderous erudition. It has been called "the dissection of a human soul,"—"the picture of the author's mind painted by himself,"—"a hard task, viz. to make us, in some measure, acquainted with the essence as well as attributes of God, the nature of angels, the mysteries of Providence, the divinity of the Scriptures, and which is, perhaps, most difficult of all—with ourselves." It was quickly translated into Latin, French, Italian, and German. The surreptitious edition was printed in the year 1642; the genuine edition did not come out till the spring following; but, by the year 1685, it passed through eight editions.

In 1636 Dr Browne settled at Norwich, and in 1637 was created Doctor of Physic in the university of Oxford. In 1641 he married a lady of the name of Mileham, whose family belonged to the county of Norfolk, and who is described as "a lady of such symmetrical proportion to her worthy husband, both in the graces of her body and mind, that they seemed to come together by a kind of natural magnetism." This latter step, though it certainly exposed the man who had just been wishing, in his '*Religio Medici*,' that "we might procreate like trees," and had declared that "the whole world was made for man, but only the twelfth part of man for woman," to the charge of inconsistency, was fraught with happiness to the Doctor, and his fair partner, who lived in great harmony with each other for one-and-forty years.

In 1646 he published his '*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*,' or 'Enquiries into very many received Tenets, and commonly presumed Truths,'—a work of most multifarious erudition, and which was very favourably received by the learned, although virulently attacked by one Ross, "a sort of knight-errant in the literary world, whose Dulcinea was antiquity," and a Dr John Robinson.

In 1658 Browne published his '*Hydriotaphia*, Urne Burial, or a Discourse of the Sepulchral Urnes lately found in Norfolk.' From the trivial incident of the discovery of a few urns at Walsingham, he takes occasion to treat of the funeral rites of all nations, and has endeavoured to trace these rites to the principles and feelings which gave rise to them. The extent of reading displayed in this singular treatise is most astonishing, and the whole is irradiated with the flashes of a bright and highly poetical genius, though we are not sure that any regular plan can be discovered in the work. It opens with the following fine trumpet-like tones:—"In the deep discovery of the subterranean world, a shallow part would satisfy some enquirers; who, if two or three yards were open about the surface, would not care to wrack the bowels of Potosi, and regions towards the centre. Nature hath furnished one part of the earth, and men another. The treasures of time lie high in urnes, coignes, and monuments, scarce below the roots of some vegitables. Time hath endlesse rarities, and showes of all varieties; which reveals old things in heaven, makes new discoveries in earth, and even earth itself a discovery. That great antiquity, America, lay buried for a thousand years; and a large part of the earth is still in the urne unto us." He thinks that the practices of burning and of burying the dead were equally ancient; and shows why some nations have chosen to bury, and others to burn their dead. In the second chapter he discusses the probability of the supposition, that the urns discovered "in a field of Old Walsingham," and which gave rise to the essay, were Roman, and either contained the ashes of Romans themselves, or of Romanized natives. In the third chapter we are presented with some curious remarks on the contents of the urns. He informs us that the ancients, "without confused burnings, affectionately compounded their bones, passionately endeavouring to continue their living unions. And when distance of death denied such conjunctions, unsatisfyed affections conceived some satisfaction to be neighbours in the grave, to lye urne by urne, and touch but in their names." He adverts to the adornments of the cemiterial cells of ancient Christians and martyrs, as "iterately affecting," in their adornments and sculptures, "the pourtraits of Enoch, Lazarus, Jonas, and the vision of Ezekiel, as hopeful draughts, and hinting imagery of the resurrection, which is the life of the grave, and sweetens our habitations in the land of moles and pismires." After reviewing the funeral customs of the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Jews, Danes, &c. he concludes in favour of cremation or burning; for, says he, "to be knaved out of our graves,—to have our sculls made drinking bowls, and our bones turned into pipes, to delight and sport our enemies,—are tragicall abominations, escaped in burning burials." The Hydriotaphia has the following, amongst many other splendid passages, which must give the reader an exalted idea of Browne's style and intellect:—"There is no antidote against the opium of time which temporally considereth all things. Our fathers find their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors'. To be read by bare inscriptions, like many in Gruter,—to hope for eternity by any metrical epithets, or first letters of our names,—to be studied by antiquaries who we were, and have new names given us like many of the mummies,—are cold consolations unto the students of perpetuity, even by everlasting languages. The night of time far sur-

passeth the day: who knows when was the æquinox? Every hour adds unto that current arithmetic which scarce stands one moment. Darkness and light divide the course of time, and oblivion shares with many a great part even of our living beings. Who knows whether the best of men be known, or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot than any that stand remembered in the known account of time? The sufficiency of Christian immortality frustrates all earthly glory; and the quality of either state, after death, makes a folly of posthumous memory." "But man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing nativities and deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting ceremonies of bravery in the infamy of his nature." To this treatise on Urn-burial, the author added another upon "the Garden of Cyrus, or the Quincunxial Lozenge, or Net-work Plantations of the Ancients, artificially, naturally, mystically considered." "In the prosecution of this sport of fancy, Browne considers every production of art and nature, in which he could find any decussation, or approach to the form of a quincunx;[1] and, as a man once resolved upon ideal discoveries seldom searches long in vain, he finds his favourite figure in almost every thing, so that a reader might be led to imagine that decussation was the great business of the world."[2]

Besides the works we have already enumerated, Browne left behind him several other treatises, all evincing great erudition, but upon none of which can we spare any comment in this brief sketch. His style is often elegant and eloquent; but he wrote at a period when the English language was greatly deteriorated by affected taste, and a passion for coining new words. Johnson has characterised it as "vigorous, but rugged; learned, but pedantic; deep, but obscure." On the 26th of June, 1665, the College of Physicians elected him an honorary fellow of their body; he received the honour of knighthood from Charles II., when that monarch was at Norwich, in 1671. He spent the remainder of his days in the quiet practice of his profession; till seized with a cholic which put an end to his life on the 19th of October, 1682.

Of the life of Browne few memorials are preserved. His professional diligence, united to his studious habits, necessarily removed him from public observation. His friend Mr Whitefoot, who knew him intimately, says, "his complexion and hair was answerable to his name; his stature was moderate, and habit of body neither fat nor lean. In his habit of clothing he had an aversion to all finery, and affected plainness both in the fashion and ornaments. He ever wore a cloak, or boots, when few others did." "He was never seen to be transported with mirth, or dejected with sadness; always cheerful, but rarely merry, at any sensible rate; seldom heard to break a jest, and when he did, he would be apt to blush at the levity of it; his gravity was natural without affectation." Whitefoot and Johnson both concur in vindicating him from the charge of irreligion. Whitefoot's words relative to the close of his life are these: "In his last sickness, wherein he continued about a week's time, enduring great pain of the cholic, besides a continual fever, with as much patience as has been seen in any man, without any pretence of stoical apathy, animosity, or vanity of not

[1] A row or rank in the form of a five in cards, thus ⁘.

[2] Family Library, No. xiv. p. 76.

being concerned thereat, or suffering no impeachment of happiness; his patience was founded upon the Christian philosophy, and a sound faith in God's providence, and a meek and humble submission thereunto, which he expressed in a few words."

Izaak Walton.

BORN A. D. 1593.—DIED A. D. 1683.

THE deep interest which pervades the narrative of the life of Izaak Walton is derived, not from the splendour of political eminence, not from the variety and excitement of military adventure, nor from unwearied labour and profound research of philosophical investigation, but from the milder, but not less delighting, or less penetrating influence of private virtue, and active, intelligent benevolence. Though at one period of his life he was the obscure occupant of a small shop, yet his qualities of mind and soul exalted him to the dignity of intimate and beloved companion of the best and most eminent men of his time. In the list of his intimate friends we find Archbishops Usher and Sheldon; Bishops Morton, King, Barlow; Drs Fuller, Price, Woodford, Featly, Holdsworth, Hammond; Sir Edward Byth, Sir Edwin Sandys, Mr Cranmer, Mr Chillingworth, Michael Drayton, and that celebrated scholar and critic, Mr John Hales, of Eton; and there were many others of like character, whose friendship was the seal of accredited honour. All that is known of his origin is that his parents were respectable, and that he was born at Stafford, on the 9th of August, 1593. No memorial is left of his family, or of the place and manner of his education. The occurrences of his early life are not recorded: the death of his father, in 1596, being the only fact mentioned, from which no hint can be drawn as to the history of his youth. Subsequently he settled in London, and pursued the occupation of sempster, in the Royal Burse in Cornhill.[1]

About 1642, he married Anne, the daughter of Thomas Ken, of Furnivals Inn, London, and sister of Thomas, afterwards Dr Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the seven that were sent to the Tower, and who at the Revolution was deprived, of whom James II. declared, that he was the first preacher among the protestant divines. Walton's abode was then in Chancery-lane, and the description of his trade was *sempster or milliner;* his wife, most probably, taking the latter department. Anne Ken, however, was his second wife, as appears from the parish register of St Dunstan's, where the burial of his

[1] His shop was but seven feet and a half long and five feet wide, a space which appears insufficient for his own personal accommodation, much more the stowage of any goods. There, nevertheless, he remained till towards the year 1624, when he dwelt on the north side of Fleet-street, in a house two doors west of the end of Chancery-lane, and abutting on a messuage known by the sign of the Harrow. Now the old timber-house at the south-west corner of Chancery-lane, in Fleet-street, was known, till within a few years, by that sign; it is therefore beyond doubt, that Walton lived at the next door. In this house he is said to have followed the trade of a linen-draper; it further appears that the house was in the joint occupation of Izaak Walton, and John Mason, hosier; whence we may conclude that half a shop was sufficient for the business of Walton.

first wife, Rachel, is entered, and from Prebendary Bowles' Life of Bishop Ken, where is exhibited, from Izaak Walton's own "large octavo, splendidly bound," book of common prayer, an extract containing his memoranda on the fly-leaves. One item is, "Rachel, died 1640." Walton's direct consanguinity with Archbishop Cranmer has been insisted on, but in Major's edition of the 'Angler,' published 1823, a note is appended,[2] which shows, from a passage in the introduction to his life of Hooker, that the opinion is incorrect. From this passage, it seems perfectly clear that Walton's first wife was grandniece to Cranmer, and that his affinity with "that first and brightest ornament of the Reformation," though perhaps as such equally honourable to his name, was gained by marriage only.

Walton was a man of kind feelings and domestic manners, sincere and unaffected in his piety, firm in his friendship, and of warm-hearted generosity. Indeed his character seems to have been of that quiet, amiable, reflective cast, which attracts surely but by almost imperceptible degrees, our full confidence and unqualified esteem. He deeply sympathised with the king, and persevered in the most inviolable attachment to the royal cause. In many of his writings he pathetically laments the afflictions of his sovereign, and the wretched condition of his beloved country, involved in all the miseries of intestine dissensions. In 1643 he retired to a small estate in Staffordshire, not far from Stafford. His property was not by any means large, and he was, according to his own words, a sufferer during the civil wars. When the covenanters paraded the covenant on their pikes and in their hats, "This," says he, "I saw; and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning: when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it."

Walton is more generally known as a good fisherman, and a lover of good songs, than as a centre of friendship and love, radiating peace and happiness on all who came within the sphere of his influence,—the respected and beloved intimate of the great and good, and the pious protector of persecuted piety. His connexion with Bishop Morley constitutes an important feature in his life. The biographer of Ken thus describes its origin:—

"The honest angler, who had left London in 1643, when the storm fell on the communion to which he was so ardently attached, and when, as Wood says, he 'found it dangerous for honest men to be there,' in those days of presbyterian persecution, retired from his shop at the corner of Chancery-lane, and having a cottage near the place where he was born, he removed his humble Lares—his affectionate and pious wife, the sister of Ken—and retired with his angle to his obscure and humble habitation, his own small property, near Stafford.

"Here, after a placid day spent on the margin of the solitary Trent or Dove, musing on the olden times, he returned at evening to the humble home of love—to the evening hymn of his wife—to his infant

[2] Introductory Essay, p. 31.

daughter, afterwards the wife of Dr Hawkins—to his bible—and to the consolation of his proscribed prayer-book.

"This humble and affectionate party was joined by Morley, after he had been expelled from Christchurch, March 1747-8. In his lives of Herbert and Hooker, written under Morley's splendid roof, and published 1670, Walton speaks of the knowledge derived from his friend, with whom he had been acquainted 'forty years.' And now, with congenial feelings in his day of adversity, Morley passed the year before he left England in the cottage of his humble, pious, honest friend Izaak.

"Here was the proscribed service of the church of England performed daily in secrecy by the faithful minister of Christ and his church, 'now fallen on evil days;' and we can hardly conceive a more affecting group—the simple, placid, apostolic Piscator—Kenna, his dutiful, pious, prudent, and beloved wife, the sister of Ken—the infant child—and the faithful minister of the church, dispossessed of all worldly wealth, and here finding shelter, and peace, and prayer."

The poverty of Izaak is here set in too strong a light; he had not, it is true, the revenue of a bishop, but his poverty was quite comparative. He enjoyed a competence, and was content; he had enough, and to spare; and his cottage door was opened with a ready and affectionate welcome to the destitute Morley, whom he sheltered and fed as long as he chose to remain. Izaak was fervently attached to his wife, and usually spoke of and addressed her by her maiden-name, femininised Kenna,—thus investing with an air of poetry and refinement his most familiar and constant companion. How happy and inherently worthy a couple must they have been, who could thus deprive familiarity of the venom of disregard with which it is charged, and with which it usually impregnates the soil wherever it is permitted to grow. Izaak's love of fishing—his reflective turn of mind—his ever-stirring affection for his Kenna—his unambitious spirit—and withal, his tact in this higher strain of poetry—have each contributed a note in the touching harmony of the following 'Angler's Wish,' written by himself:—

I in these flow'ry meads would be;
These crystal streams should solace me;
To whose harmonious bubbling noise,
I with my angle would rejoice,
Sit here and see the turtle dove
Court his chaste mate to acts of love;

Or on that bank, feel the west wind
Breathe health and plenty; please my mind
To see sweet dew-drops kiss these flow'rs,
And then wash'd off by April show'rs:
Here, hear my Kenna sing a song,
There, see a blackbird feed her young.

Or a leverock build her nest;
Here, give my weary spirits rest,
And raise my low-pitch'd thoughts above
Earth, or what poor mortals love:
Thus, free from law-suits, and the voice
Of princes' courts, I would rejoice.

Or with my Bryan and a book,
Loiter long days near Shawford brook;
There sit by him and eat my meat,
There see the sun both rise and set,
There bid good morning to next day,
There meditate my time away;
And angle on, and beg to have
A quiet passage to a welcome grave.

Izaak Walton has been termed "the common father of all anglers;" indeed all subsequent writers on the subject have cited him as chief authority. "The precepts of angling," says Sir John Hawkins, "till Walton's time, were propagated from age to age chiefly by tradition; but he, unwilling to conceal from the world those assistances which his long practice and experience enabled him to give, published, in 1653, his *Complete Angler*, in a very elegant small duodecimo, adorned with exquisite cuts of most of the fish mentioned in it. And let no man imagine that a work on such a subject must necessarily be unentertaining, or trifling, or even uninstructive; for the contrary will most evidently appear from a perusal of this most excellent piece, which—whether we consider the elegant simplicity of his style, the ease and unaffected humour of the dialogue, the lovely scenes which it delineates, the enchanting pastoral poetry which it contains, or the fine morality it so sweetly inculcates—has hardly its fellow in any of the modern languages." It is certainly but too true, that as Sir John Hawkins says, there are very few who could *reason, contemplate, instruct, converse, jest, sing*, and *recite verses*, with that *sober pleasantry*, that *unlicentious hilarity*, that Piscator does. Some opinion may be formed of the estimation in which the Complete Angler was held in the time of its author, from the fact that the fifth edition appeared in the 23d year after its first publication.

The *Complete Angler* has happened to be the first of Walton's publications mentioned here, but it was in fact preceded by two biographies, one of Dr John Donne, dean of St Paul's and vicar of St Dunstan's in the West, whom he frequently heard and much admired —and at length, to use his own words, became his convert. To his life was appended a collection of the Doctor's sermons, and the whole published in folio. The other was the life of Sir Henry Wotton, who had occupied himself on the compilation of a life of Dr Donne, and at whose desire Walton had collected materials for the Doctor's history. Sir Henry dying while the work was yet unfinished, Walton took it up, and completed it, and afterwards, at the king's request, wrote a life of Sir Henry himself. About two years after the restoration he wrote the life of Mr Richard Hooker, author of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity;' he was induced to undertake this by his friend, Dr Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who by the way was an angler. Sir William Dugdale, speaking of the three posthumous books of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' refers the reader "to that seasonable historical discourse lately compiled and published with great judgment and integrity, by that much deserving person, Mr Izaak Walton."

The life of Mr George Herbert seems to have been written next after Hooker's: it was first published in 1670. Walton professes to have been a stranger to the person of Herbert, and though his life of

him was, as he assures us, a free-will offering, it abounds with curious information, and is in no way inferior to any of the former. The lives of Hooker and Herbert, it is said, were written under the roof of Walton's attached friend, Morley, who had returned to England and was then bishop of Winchester; which seems to accord with Wood's account, that "after his quitting London, he lived mostly in the families of the eminent clergy of that time," to whom his unaffected piety, amiable manners, staunch friendship, and delight in recording the history of good men, must have endeared him.

In 1676, the eighty-third year of his life, Walton was preparing a fifth and enlarged edition of the 'Angler,' when Mr C. Cotton of Beresford, in Staffordshire, whom he had adopted as a son, wrote a second part, on Fly-fishing, of which Walton, though an expert angler, knew little, being indebted for what he has said on this subject chiefly to his friend Mr Thomas Barker, author of a book entitled, 'Barker's delight, or the art of Angling.'

In the same year, notwithstanding his age, he undertook to write a life of Bishop Sanderson, which was published, together with some of the Bishop's writings, and a sermon of Hooker's, in 1677. The period when the faculties of men usually begin to decline, had long passed, when he undertook this life; yet far from lacking the excellencies which distinguish the former lives, it abounds with evidences of a vigorous imagination, sound judgment, and memory unimpaired. Sufficient commendation of these productions would be found in the fact that 'Walton's Lives' was a very favourite book of Dr Johnson,—one which, as Boswell states, he not only read but studied. One short passage the Doctor has pointed out as affording him peculiar delight, and much food for reflection; it forms the concluding paragraph of Sanderson's Life—"Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life:—It is now too late to wish that mine may be like his; for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age; and God knows it hath not; but I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may; and I do as earnestly beg that if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and as true relation, he will be so charitable as to say *Amen*."

It appears that Walton had contemplated writing the life of Sir Henry Savile, several letters relating to it having been found. He also undertook to collect materials for a life of Hales. In 1683, when he was ninety years old, he published 'Thealma and Clearchus,' a pastoral history, in smooth and easy verse, written long since by John Chalkhill, Esq., an acquaintance and friend of Edmund Spenser; to this poem he wrote a preface, containing a very amiable character of the author. He lived but a very little time after this publication, for, as Wood says, he ended his days on the 15th of December, 1683, during the great frost, at Winchester, in the house of Dr William Hawkins, a prebendary of that cathedral, where he lies buried. On a large, flat, black marble stone, is an inscription to his memory, the poetry of which has very little to recommend it.

Edmund Castell, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1606.—DIED A. D. 1685.

THIS learned and industrious divine was born in 1606 at Hatley in Cambridgeshire. He entered Emmanuel college, Cambridge, in 1621, and resided in that college for several years, but ultimately removed to St John's college in order to enjoy the use of its library, which was of special service to him in compiling his 'Lexicon Heptaglotton.' On this magnificent work he expended the labours of eighteen years, and a sum of twelve thousand pounds. This fact is stated by Hearne, on the authority of a letter from Dr Castell himself. It is likewise confirmed by an advertisement in the London Gazette, in which Castell informs the subscribers to his lexicon, that they may send for their copies of "that long-expected, often, and many ways most dismally obstructed and interrupted work, which is now fully finished: (the author) having laboured therein eighteen years,—expended not so little as £12,000, besides that which has been brought in by benefactors and subscribers."

In 1666, Castell was appointed king's chaplain, and also professor of Arabic at Cambridge; and in 1668, he obtained a prebend in Canterbury. These appointments assisted to relieve him a little under the pressure of the pecuniary embarrassments in which his lexicon had involved him; but the publication of the work itself next year failed to afford him any compensation either for his labour or expenses. The age could not appreciate its value, and the copies lay unsold upon his hands.

Dr Walker received eminent assistance from Dr Castell in preparing his celebrated polyglott bible. The latter not only collated the Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions, but even aided the publication from his own funds, besides contributing his own labours gratuitously. His only other work was a thin quarto, entitled, 'Sol Angliæ Oriens auspiciis Caroli II. Regum gloriosissimi.' He died at Higham Gobion in 1685. The great object of Castell's life was the pursuit of oriental literature. In this he spared no labour and no expense that a fortune at one time liberal could supply. He bequeathed his valuable collection of manuscripts to the university of Cambridge. It is supposed that about 500 of his lexicons were unsold at his death. These were placed by his niece and executrix in a room of a house at Martin in Surrey, where for many years they lay exposed to the unmolested depredations of rats and other vermin. The consequence was, that when they came into the possession of this lady's executors, scarcely one complete volume could be formed out of the remainder, and the whole load of learned rags brought only seven pounds!

Thomas Otway.

BORN A. D. 1651.—DIED A. D. 1685.

THOMAS OTWAY was the son of a clergyman, and was born at Trottin in Sussex on the 3d of March, 1651. After receiving the primary part of his education at Winchester school, he entered Christ-church, Oxford, but from some unassignable cause left the university without taking a degree, and went to London, where he began his career as an actor. Meeting with but little success in that line,[1] he turned his thoughts to a nobler occupation, and in 1675 produced two tragedies with the titles of 'Alcibiades,' and 'Don Carlos.' The latter of these appears to have been received with extraordinary applause, if we may judge from a passage in Rochester's 'Session of the Poets,' in which Otway is represented as swearing that Don Carlos had "amply filled his pockets." As Otway was a man of lively conversation, and no ways given to decency, he became a great favourite with the gay and dissolute noblemen of those days, but he appears to have obtained nothing from their friendship, or rather their familiarity, save an acceleration on the road to ruin. It was not likely that the

> "Gay coxcombs, cowards, knaves, and prating fools,
> Bullies of o'ergrown bulk, and little souls,
> Gamesters, half-wits, and spendthrifts,"—

with whom, as he himself tells us, he fed "on every soil of variety," should do him any lasting service, since intemperance and debauchery, more perhaps than any other crimes, breed in their victims a hardened selfishness which utterly incapacitates them for any real friendship. A cornet's commission was indeed obtained for him in some troops sent into Flanders, but Otway's genius was so little martial that he speedily resigned, and returned to England in extreme indigence. Soon after his return he brought out two translations from French dramas, and in 1678 an original comedy, entitled, 'Friendship in Fashion,' which, greatly to the credit of the spectators, was hissed off the stage in 1745 on account of its gross obscenities. In 1680 his 'Orphan' was exhibited, and in the same year he wrote a tragedy called 'The History and Fall of Caius Marius.' In this execrable travestie he has had the audacity to borrow the entire plot, and more than one-half of his scenes, without the alteration of a single letter, from Romeo and Juliet, and to invest the coarse, stupid, plebeian son, of the brutal Caius Marius, with the character and expressions of the gentle, gifted, romantic Romeo. His last, and unquestionably his best dramatic work, was published in 1685. He died on the 14th of April in the same year, some say of absolute starvation—others, with more probability, of a fever. Be this as it may, all agree that his death was hastened by the sorrows and deprivations which poverty brought in its train; of which poverty, it is to be feared, that his own vices were the cause.

His contemporaries, and the critics of Queen Anne's time, have

[1] In Downer's Roscius Anglicanus it is mentioned that, in 1672, he failed in the character of the King in Mrs Behn's 'Forced Marriage.'

awarded to Otway a much higher rank as a dramatist than his merits can fairly challenge. It is true enough that nothing has been produced since his time at all equal to 'Venice Preserved,' but if he be compared with his illustrious predecessors of the Elizabethan age, he is lost in the magnitude of his rivals. His comedies cannot be allowed the merit of superiority even over those of the present day. They are compounds of the most brutal obscenity and intolerable stupidity, without a spark of genius to gild their shame, a single trait of virtue to contrast with their vice, or even a thin mantle of refinement to conceal their deformity. They are productions which would have disgraced any age, save that in which the formal gravity of the court of Charles the First, and the austere religion of the puritans, were alike washed away by the poisonous inundation of foreign manners, foreign impiety, and foreign debauchery, which overspread the land on Charles the Second's unhappy restoration. For such an age they were well-suited, or indeed for any age in which obscenity can make a wit, or clever villany a gentleman. His tragedies, however, are productions of a different stamp. Not that the inculcation of virtue by either precept or example is any where much attended to, but his dramatis-personæ are in general respectable, and their language decent, while the talent displayed is of a vastly superior description to any thing he has left us in the comic line. His characters are not often drawn with any singular felicity,—the laws of the drama are nowhere strictly regarded,—his language is seldom polished or select,—no lofty thought, or playful fancy, or high imagination, beams forth from his page to dazzle or delight,—we see none of the learning of a scholar, or the refinement of a man of taste,—yet his tragedies, especially on the first perusal, excite a deep and oftentimes a long-remembered interest. Dryden and Addison have agreed in ascribing this interest to the power which Otway possesses of exciting the passions, but neither of them have explained the method by which this is effected. Perhaps the secret of it may be, that when Otway has succeeded in bringing his heroes into situations of the most overwhelming interest, instead of endowing them with lofty thoughts and lofty language, as Kit Marlowe, Shakspeare, or Beaumont and Fletcher would have done, he has put into their mouths just such ideas and expressions as persons of ordinary mind would naturally and appropriately employ, and has thereby come home to the bosoms of the great majority of his readers, who would find themselves lost in the vast intellect of a Hamlet. The concluding scene of 'Don Carlos,' and nearly the whole of the 'Orphan,' are strong instances in proof. Mrs Barry used to say that she could never pronounce the words, "Ah! poor Castalio;" in his character of Monimia in the latter play, without shedding tears. It is on 'Venice Preserved,' however, that his fame rests; and it is an edifice well-calculated to sustain it. Its grand defect is, that the characters from beginning to end, with the exception of the wearisome scenes between Antonio and Aquilina, speak in the most elevated tone of passion. There is no repose in the picture. From the first scene to the last all is thunder and lightning. There are excellencies, however, quite sufficient to counterbalance the defects, and the reader will find, in the exquisite portraits of the deep unutterable affection of Belvidera, and the irresolution and remorse of Jaffier, some remnant of the glories of the Elizabethan age. The

opinion which Moreri has pronounced on him will not, we think, be disputed:—"Ce n'est pas un poete du premier genie,[1] mais peut-être auroit-il ête plus loin, si ses débauches ne l'eussent pas tué à l'age de 35 ans."—Otway's works have been printed in 3 vols. duodecimo, in 1722, 1768, and 1812.

Edmund Waller.

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1687.

EDMUND WALLER was born on the 3d of March, 1605, at Coleshill in Hertfordshire. His father belonged to an ancient and respectable family, and his mother was an aunt of Oliver Cromwell, and sister of John Hampden, the immortal martyr to the cause of English liberty. By the death of his father, young Waller, at an early age, became possessed of an ample fortune, which enabled him, after passing through the usual routine of education at Eton and Cambridge, to enter parliament in his eighteenth, if not in his sixteenth year. His poetical career commenced about the same time, since the poem on the Prince's escape at St Andero—which is generally printed first in his works—must have been written in his eighteenth year. The most remarkable feature in this juvenile performance is, that it shows its author to have obtained almost without effort, or as Dr Johnson has said, to have "inherited" a purity of language, and an exquisite harmony of versification, such as few men acquire even by laborious culture. During the long interval which elapsed in King Charles's reign, without the meeting of any parliament, Waller appears to have spent his time in the company of those "with whom it was most honourable to converse," and in the liberal enjoyment of a handsome fortune. He had married early in life a woman of large property; but her death, soon after their nuptials, leaving his affections once more free, he paid his addresses to the Lady Dorothea Sidney, daughter of the earl of Leicester, to whom, under the unmeaning name of Saccharissa, many of his poems were addressed, though without exciting any sympathetic flame. Finding her inexorable, he took refuge in the arms of some other beauty, perhaps the Amoret or Phillis to whom several of his strains are inscribed, and there is every reason to believe that his marriage was a happy one. He sat in both the parliaments summoned in 1640 (the latter of which was the famous long parliament) and at first joined heart and hand with his illustrious relative Hampden, in resisting the arbitrary measures of the court. So decided a part did he take, that he was chosen by the parliament to manage the prosecution of Judge Crawley, for his opinion in favour of ship-money; and the way in which he performed the task amply justified the confidence they had reposed in his zeal and ability. When, however, the war of words was exchanged for one of blows, Waller suddenly veered round to the royalists, and both publicly and privately aided their cause, though he still sat among the representatives of the people. Not only did he

[1] Moreri does not seem to agree with the writers of the late French dictionary of universal biography, who gravely say, "that the English in general esteem Otway second only to Shakspeare!!"

contribute money, and speak in parliament in favour of the king, but he had the boldness to attempt to befriend Charles by some secret conspiracy which, from his being chiefly concerned in it, has received the name of Waller's plot. The real object and extent of this plot appears to be a matter of considerable doubt. Whitelocke and the commissioners appointed by parliament to examine into the matter,[1] affirm that the design was to surprise the city-militia, to let in the king's troops, and to dissolve the parliament; while Clarendon[2] asserts that Waller's object was merely to induce the citizens to pass declarations against the continuance of the war, and thereby to harass the parliament. The truth probably is, that there were some who blended warlike intentions with the more peaceful purposes of their associates. Be that as it may, the design was discovered, and Waller, with his allies, thrown into prison. With a baseness seldom paralleled, Waller, as soon as he was seized, revealed the whole design; impeached all who had been in any way implicated in it; and, in short, to use Clarendon's words, "was so confounded with fear, that he confessed whatever he had heard, thought, or seen; all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others." We have not space to enter into the details of his infamy, but the reader will find them fully recorded in Clarendon. While his bolder associates, Tomkins and Chaloner, were hung before their own doors, Waller, "though confessedly the most guilty, with incredible dissimulation, affected such a remorse of conscience, that his trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding." The time thus gained was spent with so much assiduity in bribing and flattering the members of the house, that although condemned on his trial, he obtained a reprieve, and after a year's imprisonment, was permitted, on payment of a fine of £10,000, "to recollect himself in another country." He chose France as the place of his exile, and in the gay society of Paris he found ample amends for the stern religion of the puritans, and ample opportunities of dissipating his fortune, already dilapidated by the bribery and fine which had been necessary to save his life. At length, being reduced to sell his wife's jewels, he asked and obtained from the protector permission to return home. Cromwell, who took great delight in Waller's wit, received him with much cordiality, and was amply repaid by the famous panegyric, which has always been esteemed the best of our poet's productions. On the Restoration, Waller's pliant muse found a new theme, in a congratulation to Charles the Second, but it cannot be affirmed that he was equally successful. Charles is said to have noticed this inferiority, and to have mentioned it to Waller, who, with infinite readiness, replied, "Poets, please your majesty, always succeed better in fiction than in truth,"—an answer witty enough to have excused any sin less infamous than a base prostitution of genius. Like his friend Hobbes, he seems to have worshipped power in whatever hands he found it, and, like him, he met with no reward. He sat in most of the parliaments called during the reign of Charles the Second, and although respected and trusted by no party, his wit and agreeable talents made him a favourite with all. Though arrived at extreme old age, he still retained all the vivacity of youth, and appears to have been regarded as one of the greatest orna-

[1] Vide Rushworth, part iii. vol. 2.

[2] Hist. of the Rebellion, Book vi.

ments to a convivial party that England could furnish. He is said to have predicted the downfall of James the Second; but he did not live to see his prophecy accomplished, being carried off on the 21st of October, 1687.

Waller's poetry is exactly what might have been anticipated from the character of the writer,—always polished and sparkling,—never commanding or sublime. To the student of the history of our language, it is interesting, from the remarkable purity of the diction, and still more from the modern style of the words, which forms so striking a contrast to the compositions of his immediate predecessors. Little more than twenty years elapsed between the death of Spenser and the time at which Waller began to write; yet the works of the latter can hardly be distinguished from productions of a modern date, while there are few who can peruse those of the former without the aid of a glossary. Though this may be partly accounted for by Spenser's known affectation of an antique phrascology, yet even in the dramatists contemporary with Waller, we meet with many expressions and idioms which appear uncouth, and out of date in our day. This modernized language, together with the singular polish of his versification, have secured to him more of the attention of posterity than his merits can fairly claim. 'Tis true that he is always sparkling and elegant, oftentimes witty and delightful, but he is never lofty or energetic,—he never feels the passion which he portrays,—he never pours out in the full tide of song a rich profusion of imagery,—he never forgets himself, and soars aloft in the enthusiasm or inspiration of genius,—he never, in short, excites any other emotion than an admiration of his own taste and dexterity. His poetry is that of a cool, calculating, and ingenious man, who could conceive deep passion, and could delineate its characteristics, but never felt it glowing in its true warmth and intensity within his own bosom. It is like those flameless fire-works, which flash, and sparkle, and glitter most magnificently in all the majesty of tinsel, but want the warmth, the interest, the excitement of the reality, because they want the danger. Waller's character is easily sketched. He was a man of talents more brilliant than solid, more superficial than real, and of just sufficient honesty to have enabled him to pass through life with a fair character, had he never been tried in the furnace of temptation. His utter want of principle might have obtained the bad eminence of our hatred, had not his meanness and cringing cowardice preoccupied the place of hatred with contempt. His works were printed at London in 1730, in 1 vol. 4to, edited by Fenton.

Nathaniel Lee.

DIED CIR. A. D. 1688.

NATHANIEL LEE was the son of a clergyman, but at what time he was born, or at what place, does not seem to be clearly ascertained. He was educated at Westminster school, whence he removed to Trinity college, Cambridge, and was admitted a scholar on the foundation, in 1668. Having completed his studies, he went up to London, and at first attempted to push his fortune at court; but not meeting with suc-

cess, he was compelled to resort to his pen: and finding in himself a natural turn for tragedy, he made his debut as a dramatic writer in the tragedy of 'Nero, Emperor in Rome," which was acted in 1675. It is said, that not content with writing he attempted acting, but was soon convinced of his incapacity to shine in that walk: though, from a story in Colley Cibber's Apology for his own Life, it would seem, that Lee read his own plays so pathetically, as almost to make Mohun, a popular actor of those times, throw up his parts in them in despair. After this time, Lee became a regular, and generally a favourite, writer for the stage; but, in 1684, not long after the appearance of his Constantine, it was found, that partly through indigence, partly, it is to be feared, through intemperance, and more than all, through an original taint in his constitution, his mind had gone ajar, and it was necessary to remove him to Bedlam. After a confinement of almost four years, he was discharged in April 1688. It is said that he was never perfectly restored to reason, but he recovered far enough to produce two plays, 'The Prince of Cleves,' and 'The Massacre of Paris,' and to make the well-known answer to a scribbling coxcomb, who in a brutal jest told him, that it was easy to write like a madman:—"No," said he, "it is not an easy thing to write like a madman, but it is very easy to write like a fool." His brief and melancholy career was terminated, though at what time is uncertain, by an injury received during a night frolic. We learn from Colley Cibber, that his latter years were spent in extreme indigence, his principal dependance being upon 10s. a-week, charitably allowed by the Theatre-Royal.

Addison remarks, that Lee's thoughts "are wonderfully suited to tragedy, but frequently lost in such a cloud of words, that it is hard to see the beauty of them. There is an infinite fire about his works, but so involved in smoke that it does not appear in half its lustre." The criticism is unquestionably just, but it scarcely conveys to those unacquainted with Lee a sufficient idea of the bombastic fustian in which he generally revels, or of the beauty of those occasional thoughts which shine out from the environing turgidity, like true gems of Golconda among Bristol diamonds. All his compositions are marred by the most tumid rant imaginable. It is impossible to account for such intolerable fustian in any other way than by remembering, that his wit was so nearly allied to madness, as in the end to compel reason to throw up the reins. Some of the characters in Cæsar Borgia, for instance, fume, rage, blaspheme, and imprecate, in a style which must surely have overdone the most furious termagant that ever "split the ears of the groundlings" at Bartholomew fair. He was a man of fiery temperament—of small acquirements—of little or no judgment—endowed with a mind which had never undergone much discipline, which had little acuteness or delicacy, and which throughout life bordered so closely on insanity, as to make it wonderful that his plots and incidents should have any consistency at all. His characters are ill managed: there is no fine discrimination between their sunlight and shade: all the colours are laid on with a hand as heavy as that with which a house-painter retouches the beard and turban of a Saracen's head. But with all these defects, there is a fine vein of imagination running through his plays, and an air of loftiness in his very extravagance, which make us regret that the want of a sound judgment should

have robbed the English drama of so bright an ornament. His Theodosius and Rival Queens still keep possession of the stage. Any one who wishes to see Lee in his best dress, should read the latter of these two plays. Some of the scenes are certainly magnificent, for fortunately they are of such a nature that even Lee's vehement passion does not seem misplaced.

His plays are eleven in number:—'Nero'—'The Rival Queens'—'Sophonisba'—'Theodosius; or, The Force of Love'—'Ulysses'—'Cæsar Borgia'—'Constantine'—'Gloriana'—'Lucius Junius Brutus'—'Mithridates'—'Massacre of Paris.' Besides these, he assisted Dryden in writing 'Œdipus,' and the 'Duke of Guise.' His dramatic works were printed in 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1713; 3 vols. 12mo. London, 1722, and 1733; 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1734.

Thomas Sydenham.

BORN A. D. 1624.—DIED A. D. 1689.

Thomas Sydenham, M.D., was born at Wynford Eagle, in Dorsetshire, where his father was a man of fortune, in 1624. When eighteen years of age he was sent to Oxford, and became a commoner of Magdalen-Hall, where he remained but a short time, the university being made a garrison by Charles I. soon after the battle of Edgehill. Being opposed to the king, Sydenham now entered the parliamentary army, where it is said that he remained a few years, and rose to the rank of captain. He then went to London, being yet undetermined as to what profession he should pursue. In his choice of the profession of medicine, he was influenced by Dr Coxe, a London physician, who discovered in him the indications of those talents which afterwards rendered him so illustrious. The university was now in the hands of the parliament, and young Sydenham returned to Magdalen-Hall in 1646, where he employed himself diligently in the study of his profession. He did not take any degree in arts, but, in 1648, he became Bachelor in medicine. The interest of a relation obtained him a fellowship in All Souls college, from which some of the royalists had been ejected; and after continuing for some time to study there, he took his degree of Doctor of medicine in the university of Cambridge. He then went to the continent, and after studying for a short time at Montpelier, returned to England and commenced practice in Westminster. On the 25th June, 1663, he became a member of the college of physicians in London. Respecting his life after this period, very little can be said. He attained considerable reputation and extensive practice in London, but his reputation during his life was by no means equal to his deserts. The causes of this are not well known; probably the part he had taken in the revolution rendered him unpopular with the royalists; probably his modesty, which was great, prevented him from making those exertions which often raise men of inferior talents to wealth and honour. He practised in London during the time of the great plague: about the middle of the period when this pestilence raged, he left town with his family, but returned very soon, and was extensively employed. With great modesty, he says of his success in practice at that time, "it could not be

but by reason of the scarcity of better physicians, that I should be called in to the assistance of those who had the disease." The opinion of posterity has awarded to his memory a higher praise than he seems to have anticipated. He suffered extremely from the gout and gravel, which obliged him, about 1670, to resign the practice of medicine. He died in 1689, on the 29th of December, and was buried in the church of St James's, Westminster, where a monument was erected to his memory in 1809, at the expense of the college of physicians.

Respecting the private character of Sydenham little is known; one of his biographers says of him, "he died with the character of a generous and public spirited man, as well as of the greatest physician of the age." As a literary man, we can only judge of him from the style of his writings, which were all published in Latin. These are, in general, extremely elegant, and have been compared to the works of Cicero.

To the genius of Sydenham the art of medicine owes much. He was born in an age when the minds of men were fettered by prejudices, and yet he rose superior to them. What Bacon did for science in general, Sydenham effected to a certain extent in his own department. He found the science a mass of conflicting theories, and the practice a tissue of complicated absurdities, he left his testimony of the futility of the former, and his improvements on the latter have been added to, but not superseded by the experience of later times; an experience which we owe, in a great measure, to the impulse given by his example to the philosophical method of investigation. His own words, in his essay on the plague, may be quoted as an illustration of his feelings on the subject:—"If the reader," says he, "shall find that I have anywhere erred in theory, I beg his pardon; but as to practice, I declare I have faithfully related every thing, and that I never proposed any plan of cure before I had thoroughly tried it. Indeed, when I come to die, I trust I shall have a cheerful witness in my breast, that I have not only with the greatest diligence and honesty attempted the recovery of the health of all who committed themselves to my care, but that I have laboured to the utmost of my power, if by any means it might be, that the cure of diseases may be managed after I am dead with greater certainty; for I esteem any progress in that kind of knowledge, how small soever it be, to be of more value than the vain pomp of nice speculations."

The professors of medicine in Europe, in the days of Sydenham, belonged chiefly to the sect of Galen. The alchemists were the leaders of another sect; and a third was founded by Sylvius. The system of Galen was the foundation of the humoral pathology. Disease was supposed to consist in the presence of morbid humours in the body, and the art of medicine employed all its resources towards the expulsion of these from the system. It became thus a rule with the Galenical physicians to encourage all discharges and cutaneous eruptions, to increase the natural excretions so as to carry off all that was morbid and superfluous in the fluids.

The sect of the alchemists investigated the operation of medicines rather than the theory of disease. To them we are indebted for improvements on the Galenical practice, and for the introduction of remedies of great value.

The sect of Sylvius propagated a chemical theory of disease. In addition to the Galenical notion of the humours, they supposed the existence of certain chemical operations, among the rest of fermentation, as at one time causing disease, at another aiding the efforts of nature to throw it off. Their practice was founded on the principles of Galen, though they adopted many remedies not indicated by him, but recommended by experience.

In the midst of this confusion of theories, Sydenham arose. He saw that the true mode of investigation was to begin by following nature. As an example of the changes which he introduced into medical practice, we may contrast his treatment of small-pox with that of the physicians of the old schools. By the disciples of Galen and Sylvius, small-pox was supposed to be a disease of the fluids, and the eruption was supposed to arise from the efforts made by nature to throw off the morbid matter. The duty of the physician was, therefore, to aid the efforts of nature towards accomplishing this object, which they did by administering heating remedies, and covering the patient with blankets. Sydenham on the contrary, kept the patient cool, gave laxative medicines and cooling drinks, and in violent inflammatory cases even used the lancet. His doctrine of fevers and his plan of treating them were equally opposed to those prevalent in his day, and remarkably judicious It is surprising that a mind so free from prejudice and error should have at the same time overlooked the contagious nature of small-pox.

Sydenham has also left an excellent treatise descriptive of the plague. His information on the subject was drawn from his experience during the great plague in London in 1665. His practice was unusually successful: he trusted almost entirely to blood-letting.

Himself a martyr to the gout, it is fortunate that he has left to us a record of his experience in that disease. His description of it is the most perfect and elegant that we are in possession of, and should be read by every student of medicine. The works of Sydenham are not voluminous, but they are all valuable. He is the father of the school of medicine of the present day; and from his time one of the eras in the science has been dated. Experience and observation are now our guide; hypothetical speculations exercise but little influence upon our practice, and we guide nature only by following her. Boerhaave has pronounced an eloquent and high eulogium on Sydenham in the following words: "Unum eximium habeo Thomam Sydenham, Angliæ lumen, artis Phœbum; cujus ego nomen sine honorifica præfatione memorare erubescerem; quem quoties contemplor, occurrit animo vera Hippocratici viri species, de cujus erga Rempublicam Medicam meritis nunquam ita magnifice dicam, quin ejus id sit superatura dignitus."

His works appeared in the following order,—On Epidemic diseases, 1675; on the Luis Venereæ, 1680; on Confluent Small-pox, and Hysteria, 1682; on the Putrid Fever of Confluent Small-pox, in the same year; on the Gout and Dropsy, in 1683; a treatise on Fever, 1686; and a treatise on the Practice of Medicine, which was left in manuscript, and was published in 1693. These have been frequently printed, and translated into other languages.

Hon. Robert Boyle.

BORN A. D. 1627.—DIED A. D. 1691.

THIS distinguished philosopher and admirable man, was the youngest son of the celebrated earl of Cork, and was born at Lismore on the 25th of February, 1627. Genealogists have traced the name of the family to a period anterior to the conquest, and in Doomsday book it is mentioned in conjunction with the estate of Pixley court, near Ledbury, in Herefordshire. The wealth acquired by his father in public employments enabled him to render in return many important benefits to his country, and his family, which consisted of seven sons and eight daughters, largely partook of the esteem and honour he thereby obtained. It has been remarked as a somewhat curious fact, that the subject of this memoir was the only one of the earl's children who did not obtain a title. But the care with which he was brought up, and the abilities he derived from nature, made ample amends for his want of factitious dignity, and while he was the only one of the family left untitled, he is the only one whom posterity has universally consented to regard with reverence. His mother died when he was but three years old, but his father fearing the effects of his being injudiciously nursed at home, had placed him under the care of a woman in the country, whom he directed to pursue the same plan with his son as she did with her own children. His directions being attended to, he had the satisfaction to see their good effects in the rustic health and vigour which characterized the youth of our philosopher, and the subsequent sacrifice of which to a less rational mode of treatment he had so much reason to deplore. On his reaching his seventh year it was deemed expedient to place him under the care of a tutor, and the person selected for the purpose of initiating him in the knowledge of Latin and French, was one of his father's chaplains, a native of France, and a man who appears to have been well-qualified for the task with which he was charged. But when little more than eight years old, his young pupil was removed to Eton, where, under the care of Mr Harrison, the then master of the school, he gave the most evident indications of those valuable endowments which were afterwards to be so usefully exerted in the cause of truth. His attention to study was unremitted, and the advancement of his mind was not inferior to the industry with which he laboured to improve it. The same sensibility to moral and religious impressions,—the same judicious and resolute attention to the most profitable modes of mental discipline, for which he was remarkable in after life, formed even at this early period part of his character. In the course of his residence at Eton, he met with several accidents which put his life in imminent danger. His preservation in these dangers he attributed solely to the merciful intervention of Providence; and when he found that the indulgence he had given himself in reading romances to wile away the languor of sickness, had weakened his aptitude for reflection, he resolved on commencing the study of mathematics.

On leaving Eton, where he remained but four years, he repaired to his father's residence at Stalbridge in Dorsetshire, and endeavoured,

under another tutor, to recover his knowledge of the classics, which, it is said, he had been allowed to neglect at Eton for other pursuits. In 1638 he was sent, accompanied by one of his brothers, to finish his studies at Geneva. He resided in that city with a Mr Marcombes, a person of considerable learning and ability, and with his assistance, he became acquainted with the principal branches of natural philosophy. So well versed also did he become in French, that he for some time employed that language in preference to English. The most interesting circumstance, however, recorded of this period of his life, is the sensible change which now took place in his religious feelings. Allusion has already been made to the susceptibility of his mind on the subject of providential interferences; but this feeling is not necessarily connected with religious belief, properly so called, and he had not, it appears, till the time of which we are speaking, paid any serious attention to the evidences on which it rests. There were, however, two main principles in his mind, which form, as it were, the natural soil of religion,—a keen apprehension, namely, of what is morally right and excellent, and an equally keen desire to arrive at truth. The former of these rendered him more than commonly alive to every indication of Divine power, the latter at length led him to inquire with profound attention into the modes of its developement. It was on the occasion of an awful thunder-storm, which awoke him one night out of a deep sleep, that he first felt himself called upon to examine the situation in which he stood with respect to the solemn warnings of Christianity. The feelings which then had birth in his mind were farther increased by the visits which he paid to the Carthusian monastery at Grenoble, where he appears to have been assailed by all those conflicting emotions so natural to a youthful mind, in which reason and imagination as yet held disputed sway. While suffering under the distressing sensations produced by this state of feeling, he began a serious examination of the evidences,—a labour for which he was rewarded by a firm and settled conviction of the truth. At the time when he thus anxiously devoted himself to religious inquiry, he was but fourteen, and had we not ample proofs of the advances he had made in other pursuits beyond the attainments usual at that age, we might be disposed to regard his religious progress as nothing more than the effect of youthful enthusiasm. But he had already learnt to reason; his mind was naturally cautious in its operations, and he had by this time acquired a sufficient stock of scientific knowledge to counterbalance the workings of any idle fancy. The method, therefore, which he pursued with regard to religion was the same which he had employed in the acquisition of other truth. "The perplexity," he himself says, "which his doubts had created, obliged him, in order to remove them, to be seriously inquisitive of the truth of the very fundamentals of Christianity; and to hear what both Greeks and Jews, and the chief sects of Christians, could allege for their several opinions, that so, though he believed more than he could comprehend, he might not believe more than he could prove, and not owe the steadfastness of his faith to so poor a cause as the ignorance of what might be objected against it." After a stay of about two years in Geneva, he proceeded to Italy, but while on his return from that country he received intelligence from his father, that owing to a rebellion in Ireland he could barely afford to send him the sum necessary to bring him and his brother to England. Even the order

transmitted for this purpose never reached him, and he was obliged to the kindness of his tutor, Mr Marcombes, for support during the two years he was necessitated to remain in Geneva after the receipt of his father's letter. Anxious at the end of that period to make their way home, the young men had no other means of doing so than by obtaining some jewelry on Mr Marcombes' credit, and selling it at the different stages of their journey. On their arrival in England they found that the earl had been dead nearly a year, and though the subject of our memoir received as his inheritance the estate at Stalbridge, and others of great value in Ireland, he was obliged, for want of money, to reside four months in the house of his sister, Lady Raneleigh. His affairs being at length settled, through the powerful interest of his friends, he took up his abode at Stalbridge; and thus placed in the enjoyment of wealth and tranquillity, resumed his literary occupations with redoubled ardour. With most of the celebrated men of the day he was on terms of close intimacy, and his general correspondence affords convincing evidence of the strong interest he took in the progress of every species of scientific investigation. In those times of trouble and contention he preserved a spirit of unchanging charity and benevolence. Though not wanting in zeal for the promotion of his principles, he never allowed it to warp the mild and generous sentiments of Christian brotherhood, and he declared with equal wisdom and goodness, that for his part, he could never observe in any church-government such transcendant excellency, as could oblige him either to bolt heaven against, or open Newgate for, all those who believed they might be saved under another. About this period he produced his essay on 'Mistaken Modesty;' 'the Free discourse against Customary Swearing;' and his 'Seraphic Love;' each of which contains striking indications of his amiable feeling and correct judgment. Nearly the same date may also be assigned for his union with the Invisible or Philosophical college as it was termed, and which formed the germ of the Royal society. But his philosophical studies did not prevent his faithful adherence to the resolution he had formed to examine the ground works of religion, and in 1652 he wrote an essay on the Scriptures. This was a work of labour and inquiry. He prepared himself for the task by not only weighing the opinions of critics and commentators, but by the careful study of the original languages. "Reflecting," says he, "often on David's generosity, who could not offer, as a sacrifice to the Lord, that which cost him nothing, I esteem no labour lavished that illustrates or endears to me that divine book; and think it no treacherous sign that God loves a man, when he inclines his heart to love the Scriptures, where the truths are so precious and important, that the purchase must, at least, deserve the price. And I confess to be none of those lazy persons who seem to expect to obtain from God a knowledge of the wonders of his book upon as easy terms as Adam did a wife, by sleeping soundly."

Finding it necessary to visit Ireland in the year 1654, he employed the few months he spent there in the study of anatomy, having for his tutor and companion in the pursuit, Dr William Petty, a man of great skill and erudition. On his return to England, he fixed his residence at Oxford, in order to enjoy a more frequent intercourse with his learned associates than he could while at Stalbridge. The meetings of the Invisible college were now regularly held at the several lodgings

of the members, and the conferences which took place among them led the way for that experimental study of natural philosophy to which science has been ever since so largely indebted. Boyle himself was ever among the most active and persevering of the inquirers, and one of the earliest results of his labours was the invention of the air-pump, which at once changed the whole aspect of pneumatical science. The first instrument of this kind that had ever been produced, was invented by a counsellor of Magdeburg, named Otto Guericke, and an account of which was given in the Technica Curiosa, a work published by Schottus, the professor of mathematics in the university of Wirtemberg. From this publication our philosopher simply learnt that the instrument had been invented by Guericke, and that he had now been long employed in making experiments respecting the air, and the relative weights of bodies weighed in that and other fluids: but he eagerly caught at the idea, and produced an instrument, which, though second to that of the Magdeburg counsellor, was sufficiently different to secure him a considerable share of credit as an inventor. The experiments which he made with his air-pump were productive of important improvements, and tended to prove in the most striking manner all those laws explanatory of atmospheric phenomena which had been first investigated by Toricelli, Pascal, Huygens, and some other philosophers on the continent. But even at this period, when his mind might have so easily allowed itself to be engrossed by the pursuits which were daily procuring him some additional praise, he continued to attend with unremitted ardour to the examination of Scripture. This led him to cultivate the acquaintance of the most eminent divines of the age, and so great was the reputation he enjoyed among the best supporters of the church, that after the restoration he was earnestly solicited by the lord-chancellor Clarendon and others, to receive holy orders and devote himself to the ecclesiastical profession. He was only prevented from taking this step by the consideration, that what he wrote in favour of religion as a layman, would have more force with many persons than it would if coming from him as one of the clergy. His reputation and fortune, however, enabled him to effect much good, and in a great variety of ways, for which the government found means to reward him, without raising him to a bishoprick. In 1662 he received a grant of forfeited impropriations in Ireland, and on the re-establishment of the corporation for the propagation of the gospel in New England, he was appointed governor of the society. From both these marks of public favour he drew fresh motives for benevolent exertion. With the income he derived from the Irish lands he maintained industrious clergymen in the several parishes, and improved the condition of the poor. In his capacity of governor to the society above named, he contributed greatly by his individual attention to its interests to promote the prime objects of its institution. The same circumstance also is apparent at this period of his life which we have remarked before, and which, indeed, characterized the whole course of this excellent man's career. Religion and philosophy walked with him side by side, giving to each other mutual support, and to their votary himself continual increase of strength and wisdom. While labouring in the most profitable manner to propagate the gospel, he at the same time shone as one of the first of European philosophers, and in his situation in the council of the newly established

Royal society, he pursued the most effectual methods for establishing it on the broad and permanent basis of genuine science. In the year 1663 appeared his 'Considerations touching the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy,' and soon after the 'Experiments and Considerations touching colours, with observations on a diamond that shines in the dark.' In the latter of these works he is said to have made observations on the nature of light to which Newton himself was probably in some measure indebted for the first germ of his own exquisite and profoundly reasoned theory.

Mr Boyle was now in the enjoyment of a fame for which he might have been envied by the most aspiring minds, but, in 1665, he published a work, entitled, 'Occasional Reflections on Several Subjects,' which exposed him to the sarcasms of men who, without possessing half his ability or worth, were well-qualified to satirize the simpler workings of his mind. His treatise, however, entitled, 'New Experiments and Observations upon Cold; with an Examen of Mr Hobbes' Doctrine of Cold,' was both too acute and too profound to admit of any such attacks. The letter which he wrote to Mr Stubbes on the miraculous pretensions of Greatraks, who pretended to cure the king's evil by the touch of the hand, is an admirable specimen of learned reasoning, imbued with a cautious but fervent piety. His work, entitled, 'Hydrostatical Paradoxes,' and that on the 'Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuscular Philosophy, illustrated by Experiments,' both appeared in 1666. He had, shortly before this, been nominated to the dignified post of provost of Eton College, but had declined the proffered honour,—the station he now occupied in the learned world furnishing him with sufficient employment, and the most efficient means for satisfying the only ambition he allowed himself to indulge. We find, therefore, that, in 1668, he left Oxford, and took up his permanent residence with his sister, Lady Ranelagh, in order to be able to attend the meetings of the Royal society with more regularity, and support its pretensions against the numerous adversaries with which it had now to contend. In the same year, he produced 'A Continuation of the Experiments on Air; with a Discourse of the Atmospheres of Consistent Bodies;' 'A Discourse of Absolute Rest in Bodies;' 'An Invention to Estimate the Weight of Water;' and 'A Letter to Dr Du Moulin' on the narrative he had lately published, respecting some singular and supernatural occurrences which had taken place at Mascon, in Burgundy. The collection of 'Tracts about the Cosmical Qualities of Things, the Temperature of the Subterranean and Submarine Regions,' appeared in 1670, and though his studies were suddenly interrupted the following year, by a stroke of paralysis, we find him, soon after, pursuing his inquiries and experiments with all the vigour of the best periods of his health. In 1680, he was elected president of the Royal society, but again, from conscientious motives, declined promotion to public honours, the official oaths which it would have been necessary for him to take, forming, on this occasion, the main motive of his refusal. Of his desire to promote the interests of religion, he gave another strong proof at this period, by bearing a large portion of the expense incurred in the publication of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. The 'Discourse of Things above Reason, Inquiring whether a Philosopher should admit there are any such,' affords a

similar indication, as does also his excellent treatise, entitled, 'A Free Inquiry into the Vulgarly received Notion of Nature,' which appeared some few years later. It would be of little use to give the titles of all the tracts which he published from time to time, but there are few of them which do not prove the extent of his learning, and the judicious manner in which he combined the great objects of his pursuits. In his 'Discourse about the Possibility of the Resurrection,' and also in his 'Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion,' he speaks with that clearness which is only to be attained by a full acquaintance with all the bearings of the subject; and, in his treatise 'On the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, peculiarly for his Wisdom and Power,' he alludes especially to the strong and peculiar proofs afforded to revelation by the system of experimental philosophy.

The virtuous and useful tenor of Mr Boyle's life was uninterrupted by any of those distressing cares or anxieties which so frequently fall to the lot of men of talent. Almost the only misfortune he had to deplore, was the destruction of some manuscripts by an accident, and the loss of others through the dishonesty of visitors. His fortune was ample, his literary and scientific projects proved nearly all successful, and he was treated with universal esteem and honour. Towards the close of his life, he found himself obliged to retire from his public cares, and to restrict the visits of his numerous acquaintances to certain days in the week. In the summer of 1691, his health, which had long been delicate, became daily worse, and, on the 30th of December, he ended his earthly career, his beloved sister, Lady Ranelagh, preceding him to the grave only the week before.

Of the moral and religious character of this great man, the most convincing traces may be discovered, not merely in what he wrote, but in the tendency of his actions and conversation. Honours which were pressed upon him in the most tempting form he calmly rejected; a peerage,—the highest offices in the Church,—the most lucrative situations that the government had to offer,—were all refused, on the plea that they would interfere with the duties he was best able to perform. Charity and kindness of feeling marked his intercourse with every class of society, and men of learning in distress ever found him a firm and constant benefactor. As a philosopher, he conferred advantages on science which place him in the same rank with Bacon and Newton. When he began his experiments, the inquiries to which he devoted himself had scarcely carried the students of nature to the threshold of her sanctuary. The most unwarranted suppositions were allowed to hold the place of facts, and reasoning was carried on with but very rare appeals to any but a mere empirical experience. Aristotle had still his ardent admirers on the one side, and on the other, Descartes was dazzling, as well as aweing, the minds of men into the belief that Nature had unveiled herself to his bold and subtle gaze. There was, therefore, as yet, every thing to do. And, in this country, the learned had other difficulties to struggle with besides those peculiar to their calling. Political contention was now at its height, and, in the busy struggle which had taken place between different parties, the minds of a large portion of even the most intelligent class of society had been thrown into a state little favourable to the calm cultivation of philosophy. The wit

was more likely than ever to prove an overmatch for the scholar, and politics to act as a barrier to the free progress of science. But difficulties of every kind yielded to the persevering efforts of Boyle and his associates, and the era in which he lived was rendered, notwithstanding all the struggles with which they had to contend, one of the brightest in the history of knowledge. The inductive system was established, as the only legitimate mode of inquiry; a large accession was made to the stock of knowledge immediately applicable to the wants of mankind; the fantastic schemes of philosophical adventurers rapidly gave way to plain experimental demonstration; and men of letters were thenceforth constrained either to remain satisfied with the less laborious branches of study, or to pursue science with modest and cautious assiduity. When we consider how great a share Boyle had in producing this improvement in the state of knowledge, and unite with this consideration, the recollection, that he was at the same time one of the most virtuous and pure-hearted men that ever lived, we shall readily assign him a place, not merely among the great scholars of his own country, but with the best and noblest benefactors of our race.

Dr Edward Pocock.

BORN A. D. 1604.—DIED A. D. 1691.

This distinguished oriental and biblical scholar was born on the 8th of November, 1604. His father was vicar of Chieveley, in Berks. In 1618, young Pocock was entered of Magdalen-hall, and in 1620 admitted to a fellow's place in Corpus Christi college. He began to direct his attention to the Eastern languages in 1622, under Matthew Pasor, a German refugee then established at Oxford; and subsequently enjoyed the instructions of Mr William Bedwell, vicar of Tottenham, "a person to whom," says Dr Twells, "the praise of being the first who considerably promoted the study of the Arabic language in Europe, may perhaps more justly belong, than to Thomas Erpenius who commonly has it." Under Bedwell's tuition, Pocock gave himself up with incredible ardour and perseverance to the study of oriental literature; and such was the progress he made, that while yet in his four-and-twentieth year he completed that version of the Syriac New Testament which was afterwards published by Ludovicus de Dieu, at the recommendation of Gerard Vossius, then 'a sort of dictator in the commonwealth of learning.'

In the year 1629, Mr Pocock was appointed to the English chaplaincy at Aleppo. He improved his residence in the East for the purpose of extending his acquaintance with the Hebrew and cognate dialects, but chiefly the Arabic, in which latter language he made so great progress that his sheich, or instructor, pronounced him 'a master in it in no sort inferior to the mufti of Aleppo.' After six years' residence at Aleppo, Pocock returned to England at the invitation of Archbishop Laud, who was now contemplating the foundation of an Arabic chair in Oxford. The lectureship was soon afterwards instituted, and immediately conferred upon Pocock, whose prelections gave great satisfaction to the university. In 1637, with the consent of the

archbishop. Pocock set out on a new visit to the East in company with his friend Mr John Greaves. He went to Constantinople, where he chiefly employed himself in collecting oriental manuscripts for his university library. After a residence of four years in that city, he returned to England by way of Paris.

He was now confessedly without a rival in Arabic and Rabbinical learning; but the confusion of the times prevented him resuming the duties of his chair, and, in 1643, he accepted the rectory of Childry in Berks, which removed him from the troubles and contentions which then distracted Oxford. There is a pleasant enough anecdote recorded of him, which shows that he was more careful to acquit himself to his parishioners as an humble and faithful minister of the gospel, than to make any ostentatious display of those stores of learning which he had acquired. One of his Oxford acquaintances, in passing through Childry, inquired at one of the parishioners who was their minister and how they liked him, when he received the following answer: "Our parson is one Mr Pocock, a plain, honest man; but master, he is no Latiner."

The fall of Laud deprived Pocock of a staunch and powerful friend; but, through the influence of the learned John Selden, on the death of the professor of Hebrew at Oxford, Dr Morris, the committee of visitation appointed Pocock to that chair, an appointment which had been already made by the king, then a prisoner in the isle of Wight. His refusal to take the tests prescribed by the visitors, exposed him for a time to some trouble; but he was ultimately allowed to enjoy his double professorship of Hebrew and Arabic unmolested. In 1649, he published his 'Specimen Historiæ Arabum,' from the historical work of Farajius. In 1655, the 'Porta Mosis' appeared, with a Latin translation and appendix of notes, by our author. The publication of that stupendous monument of human industry and erudition, Walton's polyglott Bible, was greatly facilitated by Pocock's judicious advice and assistance. He undertook the collating of the Arabic Pentateuch, and prepared a general preface to that part of the Bible. He also materially assisted Dr Castell in his Heptaglott lexicon.

In the year 1660, Dr Pocock published his Arabic version of Grotius 'De veritate Religionis Christianæ.' In 1663 a complete translation of Farajius's historical work with the original Arabic, was published by our indefatigable orientalist. In 1674 his Arabic translation of portions of the English liturgy appeared; and in 1677 his commentaries on Micah and Malachi. His large and laborious work on Hosea was given to the public in 1685. This huge work was exceedingly well received by the more learned class of theologians, who were profuse in their compliments to the author upon the occasion. His commentary on Joel appeared in 1691. But the lamp of life was now flickering to its close; a gradual decrease of strength and bodily vigour had for some time given sure indication that although this laborious student's constitution was yet unattacked by any formed disease, yet the powers of nature were gradually sinking. He died calmly without any severe illness, on the 10th of September, 1691.

Pocock was esteemed, by the universal consent of scholars, one of the most learned men in Europe. In Arabic literature he was without an equal, although Golius, Ludolph, Noldius, Altingius, Whelocke, and Langbaine were amongst his contemporaries. His devotion to Oriental

literature was unlimited; his long life was almost one course of indefatigable study directed by this one single aim and pursuit, the desire of acquiring a complete knowledge of that difficult branch of literature. More learned than profound, his claims to distinction are those exclusively of a linguist; but in his own peculiar department he is yet without a rival in the history of English literature.

Elias Ashmole.

BORN A. D. 1617.—DIED A. D. 1693.

ELIAS ASHMOLE, or ASMOLE, a celebrated Rosicrucianist and antiquary, and the founder of the Ashmolean museum at Oxford, was born at Litchfield in Staffordshire, on the 23d of May, 1617, and was first educated at the grammar school there. Having a genius for music, he was instructed therein, and was admitted a chorister in the cathedral of his native place. At the age of 16, being sent to London, he was taken into the family of James Paget, Esq. puisne-baron of the exchequer, whose kindness he acknowledges in his diary with the utmost sense of gratitude. He continued for some years in the Paget family, during which time he applied himself to the study of law with great assiduity. In the year 1638 he became a solicitor in chancery, and on the 11th of February, 1641, was sworn in attorney at the common pleas. In August, 1642, the city of London being in great confusion in consequence of the state of parties, he retired to Cheshire; and towards the end of the year 1644 he went to Oxford—the chief residence of the king at that time—where he entered himself of Brazen-nose college, and applied with great vigour to the study of natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy. On the 9th of May, 1645, he became one of the gentlemen of the ordnance in the garrison at Oxford, whence he removed to Worcester, where he was appointed commissioner-receiver and register of the excise; and soon after, captain in Lord Ashley's regiment, as well as comptroller of the ordnance. The king's affairs being now desperate, after the surrender of the garrison at Worcester, Mr Ashmole retired again to Cheshire, where he continued till October and then returned to London. Upon his arrival in town he became acquainted with the astrologers Moore, Lilly, and Booker, who received him into their fraternity, and elected him steward of their annual feast. In 1647 he went down into Berkshire, where he lived an agreeable and retired life in the village of Englefield. It was here that he became acquainted with the Lady Mainwaring, to whom he was married on the 16th November, 1649. Soon after his marriage, which proved rather an unfortunate one, he went to London and settled there, where his house was frequented by all the learned and ingenious men of that time. Mr Ashmole was a diligent and curious collector of manuscripts. In the year 1650 he published a treatise written by Dr Arthur Dee, relating to the philosopher's stone, entitled, 'Fasciculus Chemicus,' together with another tract on the same subject by an unknown author. About the same time he was busied in preparing for the press a complete col-

lection of the works of such English chemists as had till then remained in manuscript: this undertaking cost him great labour and expense, and at length the work appeared under the title of 'Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum,' 4to. towards the close of the year 1652. He proposed at first to carry it on to several volumes, but he afterwards dropped this design, and seemed to take a different turn in his studies. He now applied himself to the study of antiquity and records, urged probably by the example of his acquaintance Selden. He was at great pains to trace the Roman road, which in Antoninus's Itinerary is called *Bennevanna*, from Weedon to Litchfield, of which he gave Mr Dugdale an account in a letter. In 1658 he began to collect materials for his history of the order of the Garter, which he lived to finish. In September following he made a journey to Oxford, where he set about giving a full and particular description of the coins given to the public library by Archbishop Laud. Upon the restoration of Charles II., Mr Ashmole was introduced to his majesty, who received him very graciously, and, on the 18th of June, 1660, bestowed on him the place of Windsor herald. A few days after, he appointed him to draw up a description of his collection of medals, which were accordingly delivered into his possession: at the same time a commission was granted to him to examine Hugh Peters about the disposal of the king's library, pictures, and jewels, which had fallen into his hands. On the 15th of February, 1661, Mr Ashmole was admitted a fellow of the royal society; and, on the 9th of February following, the king appointed him secretary of Surinam in the West Indies. On the 19th of July, 1699, the university of Oxford, in consideration of the many favours they had received from Mr Ashmole, created him Doctor of Physic by diploma. On the 8th of May, 1672, he published and presented his 'Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter,' to the king, who received it very graciously; and, as a mark of his approbation, granted him a privy seal for £400 out of the custom of paper. On the 26th of January, 1679, a fire broke out in the Middle Temple, in the next chamber to Mr Ashmole's, by which he lost a noble library, with a collection of 9,000 coins, ancient and modern, and a vast repository of seals, charters, and other antiquities and curiosities; but his manuscripts and his most valuable gold medals, were luckily at his house at Lambeth. In 1683, the university of Oxford having finished a magnificent repository for the reception of the gift, Mr Ashmole sent thither his curious collection of rarities, which benefaction was considerably augmented by the addition of his manuscripts and library at his death, which happened at Lambeth the 18th of May, 1693, in the 76th year of his age. He was interred at Great Lambeth in Surrey. Wood, in his 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' thus writes of Ashmole:—"He was the greatest virtuoso and curioso that ever was known or read of in England before his time. *Uxor solis* took up its habitation in his breast, and in his bosom the great God did abundantly store up the treasures of all sorts of wisdom and knowledge. Much of his time, when he was in the prime of his years, was spent in chemistry; in which faculty being accounted famous, he did worthily deserve the title of *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*." He wrote and edited a variety of works. The Diary of his life, written by himself, was published

at London in 1717, in 12mo. There are portraits of Ashmole by Faithorne, Lodge, and Richardson; and one by Stow, from an original picture in Malcolm's 'Lives of Antiquaries.'[1]

Dr Richard Busby.

BORN A. D. 1606.—DIED A.D. 1695.

It is to be regretted that the accounts of Dr Busby's early life are so scant. Very little is known of his days of boyhood, indeed nothing beyond the places of his birth and education. His father, Richard Busby, Gent., resided in the city of Westminster, but himself was born at Sutton, in Lincolnshire, on the 22d of September, 1606.[2] His college reputation descends to us bright with glorious fame of classical learning. He was at this early period of life not only acquainted with all classic writers, but profoundly intimate with the structure of the Greek and Latin languages. To classical erudition he superadded the graces of oratory, so eminently, that he is reported to have been selected as an example of 'complete oratory:' thus his mind was stored with rich supplies of ancient learning, and his knowledge prepared for use by the sparkling ornament of rhetorical burnish. He seems also to have had a taste for the buskin that was strengthened and supported by histrionic power of no inconsiderable rank. Charles I. and his queen witnessed at Christ church a representation, by the students, of William Cartwright's comedy, called 'The Royal Slave,' in which Busby took a part and obtained great applause.

In July, 1639, he was admitted to the prebend and rectory of Cudworth, with the chapel of Knowle annexed, in the church of Wells; and shortly after, at the latter end of 1640, he was appointed master of Westminster school, a post of high honour at that time, but of laborious duties. This school was under Busby's superintendance during the long period of fifty-five years, and he is said to have educated more youths, afterwards eminent in the church and state, than any other master of his time. The profits of the prebend and rectory he lost in the civil wars, but submission to the dominant party enabled him to retain his other preferment. In the year 1656, Edward Bagshaw, formerly a favourite pupil of Busby's, was appointed to officiate as second master at Westminster, which appointment proved a source of much trouble and annoyance to Busby. That fiery ardour, which in the youth, and in the pursuit of knowledge, had attracted his favour, became, in the man and sub-master, the most annoying turbulent impatience, hurling violence and fury at every check and obstacle opposed to his over-

[1] Bayle,—Wood,—Biog. Brit.

[2] He was received as a king's scholar into Westminster school, but, notwithstanding that the title Gent. is appended to the name of his father, it appears by the two following extracts from the church-warden's accounts of St Margaret's, Westminster, that his education could not be completed without assistance from the parish-purse.

"1628.—To Richard Busby, by consent of the vestry, towards enabling him to proceed bachelor of arts. vl."

"1631.—To Richard Busby, a king's scholar of Westminster towards enabling him to proceed master of arts, at Oxon, by consent of the vestry, vil. xiiis. iiiid."

At this time it will be perceived he was at college, having been elected a student of Christ-church, Oxford, in 1624, when he was 18 years of age.

bearing spirit of domination. Bagshaw's learning was extensive and sound, but his behaviour, even at college, was that of the most refractory extravagance. So much noise was made about Mr Busby's quarrel with this individual, and so many injurious reflections were cast upon him on account of it, that justice to the reputation of Mr Busby requires that we should exhibit Bagshaw's character in its true colours. He is described in Wood's 'Athenæ,'—"While he continued in the state of under-grad. and bach., he did set an high value upon, and expressed himself very often intolerably impudent, saucy, and refractory to the censor, and thereupon was either sconst, or put out of commons, or forced to make his palinody, in a declamation in the public hall."—"When a senior bach. of Merton college, (E. W.) above the standing of master of arts, was present in the school in his formalities, according as the statute of the house required, Bagshaw, in despight of those things which he called trifles, did express some scorn towards him, and thereupon being reprehended by the senior bachelor, he sent a challenge to him to dispute, but the other scorning to encounter with him, caused him to be kicked into better manners. In the year 1651, Bagshaw proceeded in arts —a year being then allowed to him—and was senior of the act then celebrated, and being soon after put in office, he showed himself a turbulent and domineering man, not only in the college but in the university, where it was common with him to disturb the vice-chancellor with interposed speeches, without formalities, and his hat cocked." After naming his appointment in the school, Wood proceeds,—"But soon after showing himself too busy in that office, pragmatical and ungrateful to the chief master, Richard Busby, he was by his endeavours ousted out of that place, &c." There does not appear to be evidence to establish the charge of an attempt to supplant the chief master, but his removal is to be attributed to his disrespectful and impertinent conduct to Mr Busby. The cause of his dissatisfaction was his not being selected to supply the place of his superior, when, in consequence of his age and feebleness, that gentleman needed another assistant. He considered himself much aggrieved, that a junior one, who, before that change had been under him in the school, should now be advanced above him, and to an office for which he considered himself much better fitted. No objection certainly could have been made to him on the score of ability, for he was "well-learned," but, in all probability, his temper was too splenetic and ungovernable for Busby to permit his being placed so near him. Bagshaw's removal, however, did not restore quiet, for he soon after put forth a volume of vituperation, entitled 'A True and Perfect Narrative of the Differences between Mr Busby and Mr Bagshaw;' in which, amongst other things, he dilates upon Mr Busby's rigour of severity, declaring that Busby had often complained of his not using the rod enough. He even expresses a desire that some restraint should be put upon Busby's exorbitance of punishment; "that poor little boys may not receive thirty or forty, nay sometimes sixty lashes at a time, for small and inconsiderable faults." Busby's rigorous severity of discipline has become proverbial, nor will his extraordinary and magnificent success as a master, be received as a justification. All experience proves, in so great a majority of instances, that the exceptions do not at all invalidate the rule, that

the acquirement of knowledge is attended with so much deep and real pleasure, that a single experience acts as an irresistible spur to seek a repetition of the delight, and so on with an increasing intensity of enjoyment, without sense or fear of satiety. No child, as Dr Watts very justly remarks, should be termed idle till he has tasted the sweets of study. It is the duty of the preceptor to excite the curiosity of the pupil by presenting knowledge in her own natural and engaging form, and not disguised and deformed, as is too frequently the case, into a Fury, with lightning-looks and thunder-words, and a rod of stripes in her hand. Dr Knox deemed such a course of severity unnatural,—inconsistent with the kindly feelings inherent in our nature, nay, declared it to be their very opposite. "Inhumanity," says he, "even in a Busby, cannot admit of palliation." The character of this kind of schoolmasters has been touchingly drawn by Pope:—

> "When lo! a spectre rose, whose index hand
> Held forth the virtue of the dreadful wand;
> His beaver'd brow a birchen garland wears,
> Dropping with infant blood, and mother's tears.
> O'er every vein a shuddering horror runs;
> Eton and Winton shake through all their sons.
> All flesh is humbled; Westminster's bold race
> Shrink and confess the genius of the place.
> The pale boy-senator yet tingling stands,
> And holds his breeches close with both his hands.
>
> *Dunciad*, b. 4, l. 103.

Busby's merit and reputation attracted the favourable attention of Charles II., and, in the year 1660, he was installed prebend of Westminster, and made treasurer and canon-residentiary of the church of Wells. He had the honour of carrying the ampulla at the coronation of Charles II., and in the convocation which met June 24th, he was proctor for the chapter of Bath and Wells, and one of those who approved and subscribed the Book of Common Prayer. Dr Busby appears to have been actuated by a deep respect for the honour, and an earnest desire for the improvement of the body to which he belonged. He not only strove to instil a reverence and love for the church into the minds of his pupils, but declared, by a worthy example, the line of conduct which he deemed it incumbent on his brethren to pursue. He not only appropriated sums of his money to the repairing and beautifying of churches, but, to increase the facilities already enjoyed by the clergy of preparation for their duties, founded and endowed two lectures, one for oriental languages, the other for mathematics, enhancing the benefaction by the addition of £100 to repair the room in which the lectures were to be delivered. Besides which, he made a generous endeavour "to found two catechistical lectures, with an endowment of £100 per annum each, for instructing the undergraduates in the rudiments of the Christian religion, provided all the said undergraduates should be obliged to attend the said lectures, and none of them be admitted to the degree of B. A., till after having been examined by the catechist as to their knowledge in the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, and by him approved of. But this condition being rejected by both universities, the benefaction was rejected therewith, and the church hath ever since suffered for the want of it." Several

convocations were held on the subject, but the heads of the college are said to have rejected, with characteristic impatience, a proposal involving a doubt as to the excellence of the course under which the university had so long subsisted, and acquired so substantial and so glorious a renown. The conditions were the avowed obnoxious qualities of the proposal, the rejection of which Warton and Huddesford have made a feeble and quite unsatisfactory attempt to defend. Dr Prideaux felt the value and importance of Dr Busby's proffer, and deeply lamented that any thing should have prevented its being received.

Dr Busby's manners were rendered agreeable by his constitutional sternness being mixed with a dash of merriment. The rigid severity of temper exhibited in the school was laid aside in the drawing-room, or pleasingly blended with the mildness of social affability. But even in the school-room his sternness would relax at the discovery of wit or intellectual acumen. The surest and quickest means of attracting his favour was the manifestation of vigorous talent; but mental obtuseness and inertness were persecuted with an unrelenting and sometimes cruel severity. His conversation presented solid learning and extensive knowledge, clothed in the garb of unpretending modesty. His zeal as a churchman, and loyalty as a subject, preserved a steady ardour, unchecked by the turbulence and trials of the times. Over his extensive charity a veil of secrecy was thrown by his unfeigned unaffected piety. The habitual chastity, temperance, and sobriety of his youth secured to his declining years a constitution hale and strong, and a frame unafflicted by the diseases and infirmities commonly attendant on old age; nor did he remit his scholastic duties till removed from his office by the hand of death, which event took place on the 5th of April, 1695.

A statue of him, very correct in resemblance, was affixed to his monument, on which was engraven an inscription to the following effect:—"You see below a representation of Busby's body and outward appearance. If you would see his inward qualifications, behold the lights of both universities, and of Westminster-hall, the chief men at court, in the parliament, and in the church. And when you perceive how large, and how plentiful a harvest of ingenious men was sown by him, consider how great was the sower. He was a person very sagacious in finding out every one's genius and disposition, and no less industrious in employing them to advantage, and forwarding them successfully. He was a person who so formed and trained up the minds of youth by his instructions, that they learned at the same time both to speak and to be wise; and whilst they were instructed by him as boys, they insensibly grew up to be men. As many scholars as he sent into the world, so many faithful, and in general brave champions, did the church and state obtain. Whatever reputation Westminster school enjoys, whatever advantage has thence accrued, is chiefly due to Busby, and will for ever be due to him. So useful a man God blessed with long life and crowned with riches. And he, on his part, cheerfully devoted himself and his possessions to the promoting of piety. To relieve the poor; to support and encourage learned men; to repair churches; that, he thought, was truly enjoying his riches. And what he employed not on those good uses in his life-time, he bequeathed to the same at his death."

He published grammars for the Westminster school; ex purgata editions of Juvenal and Persius, and of Martial; an Ἀνθολογια δευτερα, and some other philological works. The field of grammatical science has been much widened and more philosophically cultivated since the time of Dr Busby; so that whatever repute his grammars obtained formerly, in the present day they are held in very little esteem.

Joseph Beaumont, D. D.

DIED A. D. 1699.

THIS learned ecclesiastic and poet was descended from a collateral branch of the ancient family of the Beaumonts, from whence sprang Sir John Beaumont, the author of 'Bosworth Field,' Francis, the celebrated dramatist, and others. He was born at Hadleigh in Suffolk, and educated at the university of Cambridge, where we find him, at the time of the civil war, fellow and tutor of Peterhouse. Being ejected from his offices by the republicans, he retired to his native place, and employed himself in the composition of his 'Psyche.' On the return of Charles he was reinstated in his former dignities, with the addition of some valuable pieces of preferment which were conferred on him by his patron, the munificent Bishop Wren. He afterwards exercised in succession the offices of master of Jesus and the Peterhouse, and king's professor of divinity, which latter situation he held from 1670 to 1699, the year of his death. One of his biographers describes his character in a long sentence of antithetical eulogy, beginning with "religious without bigotry," and ending with "humble without meanness." "We are not inclined," says a writer in the Retrospective Review, "to question the latter assertion, but the former is more than problematical; although his bigotry was probably more of the heart than the head. He appears, in truth, from his writings, to have been one of a class of characters not uncommon in that age, and which it is impossible to contemplate without a mixture of reverence for their high worth, and regret for the human prejudices and infirmities which rendered that worth, in a great measure, useless; a truly religious and upright, though narrow-minded man, capable of undergoing any sacrifice in defence of principles which he perhaps only imperfectly understood; tenacious to an excess, of the outward forms and observances of religion, yet strenuous in the performance of active duties to a degree not always united with this species of punctiliousness." Besides 'Psyche,' which appeared first in 1648, and of which a second and posthumous edition was published by his son in 1702, with numerous corrections, and the addition of four cantos by the author, he wrote several smaller poems in English and Latin, and a polemical tract in reply to Dr Henry More's 'Mystery of Godliness.' He also composed a number of theological works, the bulk of which are still in manuscript, owing to a provision in his will to that effect, but his remarks on St Paul's Epistle to the Colossians were printed in 4to. in 1749.

John Aubrey.

BORN A. D. 1626.—DIED A. D. 1700.

JOHN AUBREY, an eminent naturalist and antiquarian, was descended from an ancient family in Wiltshire, and was born at Easton-Piers in 1626, and educated at Trinity-college, Cambridge. He made the history and antiquities of England his peculiar study, and contributed considerable assistance to the 'Monasticon Anglicanum.' He succeeded to several good estates; but law-suits and other misfortunes consumed them all, and he was ultimately reduced to absolute want, whilst, to add to his misfortunes, his marriage proved very unhappy. In this extremity he found a valuable benefactress in the Lady Long of Draycot in Wilts, who gave him a residence in her house, and supported him till his death, which happened in 1700. Aubrey was a man of considerable ability and learning, but credulous and tinctured with superstition. His 'Miscellanies' is a very curious book on the most gloomy and portentous subjects—day fatality, local fatality, impulses, apparitions, blows invisible, dreams, transportation through the air, second sight, &c. In 1719, was published, in 5 vols. 8vo., with additions by Dr Rawlinson, 'A Perambulation of the county of Surrey,' which he had left behind him in manuscript. Besides these, he left many pieces in manuscript, among which are 'Monumenta Britannica, or a Discourse concerning Stonehenge and Roll-Rich Stones in Oxfordshire,' a work written by command of Charles II.; and 'Architectonica Sacra, or a Dissertation concerning the manner of church building in England.' In 1813, his 'Lives of Eminent men, and a collection of Letters,' were published from the originals preserved in the Bodleian library, in 3 vols. 8vo.; and in 1821, his 'Collections for Wilts,' in 4to. The lives are replete with curious matter; that of Hobbes in particular, who was his early and intimate friend, is very full and elaborate. It is surprising that his intimacy with this great philosophical sceptic did not drive him out of many of those superstitious ideas which he seems to have delighted in to the last. Besides his intimacy with Hobbes, Aubrey was the friend and associate of Harrington, the author of 'Oceana,' with whom he was in the habit of frequenting a political club termed by Anthony Wood 'the Gang,' in which the politics of the day were freely discussed. Gifford treats Aubrey with a bare measure of justice when he says of him, in his life of Ben Jonson, "Whoever expects a rational account of any fact, however trite, from Aubrey, will meet with disappointment." His portrait by Loggan is in the Ashmolean museum, and has been engraved by Caulfield. It is also prefixed to his history of Surrey; and is engraved by Cooke in 'Malcolm's Lives.'[1]

[1] Biog. Brit.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO SIXTH PERIOD,

EXTENDING FROM

THE REVOLUTION TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE II.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

Eminent Englishmen

WHO FLOURISHED DURING THAT PERIOD.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

SIXTH PERIOD.

The Revolution—Affairs of Scotland—Treasonable plots—Partition-treaty—William's campaigns—Struggles betwixt the whig and tory parties—Marlborough appointed to the command in Holland—Death of William and accession of Anne—War with France—Affairs of Scotland—The Union—Meeting of the first United Parliament—Struggles of parties at home—Fears entertained for the protestant succession—Death of Anne—Literary character of the age.

THE Revolution, the Glorious Revolution, as it has been termed, gave an entirely new aspect to the affairs of Great Britain, and exerted a salutary influence over all the protestant nations of Europe. It was a stride in social advancement and enlightened legislation which has not only continued to operate in our own government to the present times, but which has proved the seed of similar ameliorations in other states. It involved an innovation upon long-established usages and hereditary rights, which was viewed with suspicion even by many liberal minds, and condemned as sacrilegious by all the powerful and numerous friends of monarchy. It presented to the nations of Europe the strange, and, as most thought, the *perilous*, example of a free and enlightened parliament renouncing the maxim of indefeasible, divine, and hereditary right, and placing the basis of their monarchy upon the rational and intelligible principle of a solemn compact, involving allegiance on the one hand and legal rule on the other. Prior to this bold transition, the prospects of the nation had been any thing but flattering; and the memory of the past reigns of the hereditary monarchs, any thing but grateful. All the fruits of a protracted struggle against ecclesiastical domination had been nearly lost, and a general depression, if not a total overthrow of the protestant cause, had been anticipated, as the inevitable effect of the measures which had long been pursued by the British court. But the accession of William III. at the present juncture, had the happy effect of relieving the nation from the alarming dangers which threatened them, and of imparting a spirit of confidence and of hope to all the other protestant nations of Europe, which had been accustomed to look up to England as their chief bulwark in times of general or common peril. It was indeed true that the semblance of respect for the hereditary and indefeasible principle was not wholly over-

looked in the great change which the revolution introduced; and this, no doubt, tended in a considerable measure to quiet the more reasonable and moderate admirers of the *jus divinum* of kings. It seemed to be, as Burnet expressed it, "a double-bottomed monarchy, where there were two joint-sovereigns; but those who knew the queen's temper and principles, had no apprehension of divided counsels, or of a distracted government."

The settlement, however, of so important a business as a monarchy upon new principles, being necessarily an expedient urged upon the adoption of the country by the exigency of its affairs, was, like all such steps, taken hastily, and therefore with many imperfections. No blame could justly be attached to those who planned and executed this revolution because their measure was not perfect. It was impossible that it should be; and it was a great achievement to have introduced a principle which should gradually work those changes which were required to the completion of the measure. It is true that an opportunity was then afforded of retrenching the prerogatives of the crown, such as never had occurred in the history of this country, and might never occur again; and it might be said that the statesmen of the revolution lost this opportunity. But it should rather be said that they did not deem the nation ripe for so large a restriction of the royal prerogative as seemed to be required, and that the peace of the nation was better secured by the admission of the principle which might, in future, be directed to the restriction of the prerogative as circumstances should require, than by a bold and sweeping application of the principle at once to the long-admitted rights of the crown. It was undoubtedly true that, in theory, the revolution was inconsistent with itself; for, while it created a king *jure humano*, it left him to rule his people as if of *jure divino*. Practically, no doubt, the work of reform was incomplete; but the power was admitted in the new principle of the monarchy by which the most beneficial changes might be introduced. It is, moreover, to be observed, that the revolution was a measure brought about by the dominance of no one party either in politics or religion, but by a coalition of several parties all driven into the one great measure by that common sense of impending danger, which often induces union among discordant elements, but which being removed, leaves the original causes of hostility in undiminished activity. This was the case with the conflicting parties who combined to rid the nation of arbitrary power and the dread of the papal religion, but who, when the hour of danger was past, split again into their original factions, each endeavouring to place the king at its head. William had been brought up a presbyterian, and had avowed liberal principles of toleration. Hence the dissenters of all classes looked to him as the protector and promoter of their interests, and naturally attached themselves to him as to a prince entitled to their warmest and most loyal support. These indications were watched with jealousy by the church of England. The tory episcopalians, with the Roman catholics and the friends of hereditary monarchy, formed a strong phalanx; and their numbers were daily increased by those whom the king's deportment, since his arrival, had tended to alienate. Disaffection, therefore, soon increased; and, in some instances, from the most opposite causes. Some alleged that his army contained almost as many Roman catholics as that of the late

king; others, that the Dutch troops were kept in London, while the English army was dispersed over the kingdom: some, that the reports and alarms which had induced the nation to call over the prince of Orange were without foundation, and that it was owing to his interference that the two houses of parliament had refused the late king an opportunity of defending himself; and others, that the trade of the country was sacrificed to Dutch interests. These, and other discontents, were greatly increased by the personal conduct of William, which was any thing but gratifying and winning. His natural disposition was far from affable, and his present indisposition necessarily prevented him from mixing much with his court. The queen, though anxious to please all, and doubly assiduous to make up by her attentions for the absence and seclusion of her husband, was unable to allay irritation and remove disappointment. In this situation of affairs it required no small skill and prudence to conduct the government. The king began his administration of the executive by a proclamation to confirm all protestants in their offices. After this he proceeded to choose his council, which, with two exceptions, was warmly attached to his interests. The individuals whom it was thought desirable to include in the council for the sake of pleasing the church-party, were the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Nottingham; the latter nobleman was soon after advanced to the office of secretary of state, which was considered a further concession to the principles of the tories. This appointment served greatly to disgust the king's earliest and warmest friends, while it tended but little to soften the animosity of those who had opposed the settlement of the crown on its present possessors. The new secretary of state employed his utmost power to disable and weaken the liberal politicians, who, of course, became daily more displeased with his advancement, and increasingly distrustful of the king's intentions. Great difficulties soon arose as to the settlement of the existing relations between the king and the other branches of the legislature. The convention which had brought about the present state of affairs was not a parliament, and the first resolution of the king's council was to make it such. The more constitutional method would have been to call a new parliament by the king's writ, but this was deemed unsafe; and the more politic measure was finally adopted of constituting the convention a parliament by the king's admitting them to be such, in an address from the throne. A bill was introduced for terminating all disputes respecting the validity of the present parliament, and this was ultimately passed, though not without severe contentions in both houses. Some of the peers, both lay and ecclesiastical, as well as some members of the commons, vacated their seats. A new oath of allegiance was incorporated in the act of parliament, which was refused by five of the bishops, and a still greater number of the lay peers. The completion of these first measures for the settlement of the nation was hastened by the intelligence that the late king had set sail from Brest with a considerable armament against Ireland. The loyalty of the parliament was immediately put to the test, and the sum of £420,000 was voted as a temporary aid to enable the king to defend himself against the ejected monarch. These measures were not carried in parliament without considerable opposition, which terminated in the withdrawment of those in both houses who refused to take the new oath of allegiance. Hence arose the title of nonjurors.

by which they became distinguished. They refused all acknowledgment of any king save one ruling by hereditary, divine, and indefeasible right. For their consistency and fidelity they deserve the respect of posterity; but few will be now disposed to commend their wisdom, or defend the policy of their proceedings. The faction who refused submission to the king *de facto*, became daily more formidable, and the news of the late king's expedition to Ireland greatly contributed both to embolden and strengthen them. Letters were intercepted between some of the Scottish nobility, which excited so much alarm as to induce the commons to pass a bill for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and several persons, among whom were the earl of Arran and Sir Robert Hamilton, were immediately put under arrest. A mutiny and revolt began also in the army; but it was soon checked by the vigorous measures of the government. Attempts were made to place all the protestant subjects of the realm on the same basis of eligibility to civil offices by the abolition of the sacramental test, but this measure was rejected by the house of lords. An act enlarging the liberties of the dissenters was however passed with the decided approbation of the king, and this greatly tended to allay irritation and conciliate the affections of a large body of the people, without any infraction of the rights and privileges of the episcopalians. All further attempts of the king on behalf of his dissenting subjects were thwarted, and considerable restrictions placed upon the expenditure of the public money. Discontent continued to prevail to a great extent between the whigs and tories, for the settlement of which a bill of indemnity in favour of the enemies of the revolution was brought in, but effectually impeded by the whigs, who were determined to keep their opponents under the terror of punishment for their opposition to the late settlement. A bill for the settlement of the succession was also stayed in its progress, partly by the combination of the opposite parties, the hereditary royalists and the republicans, and partly by the birth of a son to the princess Anne, which, for the present, dissipated the fears of a popish successor to the crown.

While these domestic affairs occupied the attention of the government, the king pressed upon them the situation of the Dutch, and propounded his great and favourite measure of a confederacy against France. The support which France had afforded to the exiled king in his invasion of Ireland contributed to recommend the measure to the parliament and the nation, and war was therefore at once declared, with the promise of effectual assistance by the house of commons.

While these measures were being taken by the English parliament, Scotland was called to consider the propriety of acknowledging the new sovereign. But the nobility of that kingdom were greatly divided in opinion. The duke of Hamilton, with all the presbyterians, declared for King William, and the duke of Gordon maintained his possession of Edinburgh castle on behalf of his late master. After serious contention among the estates, the vote passed declaring the throne vacant. The lord-president proposed that it should be filled by William and Mary, and a committee was appointed to prepare an act for settling the crown upon their majesties. The castle of Edinburgh was reduced by siege, and the duke of Gordon surrendered at discretion. Viscount Dundee now became the leader of the royal cause. He continued

bravely to support it until his troops were greatly reduced in numbers by the severe sufferings to which they were exposed; and Dundee himself perished in an engagement in which his troops were successful. But the fall of this nobleman was the ruin of the cause of James. Colonel Cannon took the command, and landed a reinforcement from Ireland. But all his efforts were abortive, and the troops, after a succession of defeats and misfortunes, laid down their arms and received the king's pardon by proclamation.

Meanwhile the exiled prince, with his queen, had been received and entertained most munificently by the French court. Assurances had been given him that he should be restored to his throne and kingdom. But he conducted himself in such a way as to inspire no enthusiasm on his behalf. He displayed little sensibility at the loss he had sustained, and excited little sympathy among the French for his fallen greatness. His time was rather occupied in discussing religious questions with the Jesuits than in arranging plans for the promotion of his own interests. The pope bestowed upon him indulgences, while Louis viewed him with contempt. "There is a pious man," said the archbishop of Rheims, 'who has sacrificed three crowns for a mass." This saying will indicate the ridicule and scorn to which his weakness and bigotry exposed him among the French. In this situation little hope was to be entertained by his friends, and little fear by his foes, that he would ever rally the magnanimity of devoted royalists in his favour. Indeed his whole conduct proved how little he was worthy of any generous efforts to reinstate him in the throne he had forsaken. His expectations appeared to rest wholly on his friends in Ireland and Scotland, and he is said even to have refused the help which the king of France offered, assigning as his reason that he would be reinstated by his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. Tyrconnel, who commanded in his name in Ireland, endeavoured to conceal his real views, and to cajole the protestants of Ireland with promises of submission to William till such time as he could receive supplies and reinforcements from France. He even treated, through the duke of Hamilton, for submission to the prince of Orange; while, at the same time, he sent Lord Mountjoy and Baron Rice to represent to the exiled monarch the necessity of abandoning his claim, or of waiting a fitter opportunity. But Mountjoy, on his arrival, instead of being admitted to an audience, was cast into the Bastile. The French ministry, however, effectually prevented their sovereign from affording that zealous aid which he had proffered; and the fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, two frigates, and other vessels, carrying about twelve hundred British subjects, and an adequate number of French officers, put to sea on the 14th of February. The words of the French king, after supplying every thing requisite for the enterprise in the most liberal manner, were very emphatic and significant,—"The best thing I can wish you," said he, "is, that I may never see you again." James was received with enthusiasm, and, in a few days, was at the head of forty thousand native troops. Soon after he made his public entry into Dublin, and proceeded to issue his proclamations and orders. Londonderry was the first place which presented any formidable obstacle. The inhabitants defended themselves for some time with great bravery and perseverance, and at last were relieved by succours spiritedly thrown in by Kirke, which dispirited the besiegers,

and compelled them to raise the siege. Similar success attended the efforts of the Inniskillers, who defeated a body of six thousand papists, and took their general prisoner. James, however, called an assembly of the Irish parliament, and obtained a repeal of the act of settlement, and passed an act of attainder against absentees. These measures were followed by the debasement of the coin and the severe oppression of the protestants. Their churches were violently seized by the catholics, and themselves forbidden to assemble for worship upon pain of death.

The English fleet, which had been but tardily equipped, at length put to sea, in the hope of falling in with a large reinforcement about to sail from Brest to Ireland. The French fleet had, however, reached Bantry Bay before the English overtook them. Here the English admiral engaged on very disadvantageous terms, and was in consequence repulsed and compelled to sail for Portsmouth. The parliament now became greatly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the ministry, which seemed little calculated to establish the new dynasty, and repress the spirit of rebellion which had been so extensively excited by the successful movements of James. After unaccountable delays on the part of the English ministry, an army, at length, was sent to Ireland under the command of the duke of Schomberg. Some successes attended his first movements, but after a short time his troops became greatly dispirited, and nothing of any importance could be effected. The combined fleets of England and Holland made an attack upon Cork, which proved unsuccessful. Schomberg was censured for his inactivity, and King William himself lost much of his popularity. A considerable number of the clergy, perceiving the state of the nation, and being naturally disaffected to the new sovereign, refused to take the oath. The king now granted a commission for reforming church-discipline, and in consequence, the convocation was assembled; but after much useless discussion, prorogation after prorogation was resorted to for the purpose of delay, and at last nothing was done. The war in Ireland was prosecuted with no vigour, and it became apparent to the parliament that serious impediments to its success were interposed by some of the parties intrusted with its management. The result was an address to the king, praying him to bring the authors of these miscarriages to justice. The Scotch, in the meantime, partook of the general dissatisfaction, and several noblemen entered into correspondence and treaty for restoring the exiled prince. Extensive co-operation was promised by the tories in England, and general plots were formed for uniting the partisans of the late king throughout the kingdom. Supplies of money were obtained from France, and every thing seemed to promise a speedy return of the Stuarts to the throne of their ancestors. These projects were greatly promoted by the disposition and sullenness of William, whose conduct satisfied no party, but contributed to keep them all in a state of bitter hostility to each other. The king, perceiving the distracted state of his affairs, had once resolved to quit the kingdom, and commit the government to the hands of the queen; but upon the entreaty of several of his private friends, he relinquished this intention, and resolved to place himself at the head of his troops in Ireland. This resolution was opposed by the tories, through the fear of the consequences to James, should the war be vigorously prosecuted; and by the whigs, on account

of the climate and the state of the king's health. Both parties therefore endeavoured, though from very different reasons, to prevent it. The king, however, was firm in his purpose, and, notwithstanding the various subjects of contention and debate which occupied the parliament, he presently appeared in Ireland, and put his army in a position for active measures. The late king took the field with equal expedition, and their respective armies were soon brought towards each other. James had the advantage in the position he had chosen, but after a severe engagement his troops gave way, and he was compelled to retire with great loss. King William was wounded slightly before the action commenced, and in it he lost his most valued and experienced general, Duke Schomberg, who was esteemed, though in his eighty-second year, equal to the most renowned commander of his age. James also lost General Hamilton, who had been one of his most devoted friends and able officers. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and from the moment of his capture, the troops of James, which had been sustained by his skill and courage alone, gave way on all sides. James, who had remained a spectator of the battle, observed the discomfiture of his army without making any effort to rally them. His loss had not been considerable, and the advantage gained by his adversary had not been followed up by pursuit. This oversight in William was severely blamed; but his royal opponent seemed quite incapable of improving it to his own advantage. Destitute alike of skill and courage, he left his troops to shift for themselves in the best way they could; while he immediately betook himself to Dublin. There he resigned his friends to the hands of the victor, and hastened his flight back to France. William proceeded towards Dublin with the utmost speed, where he was welcomed by the protestants with the joy of a deliverer. The leaders of the rebellion having seen their prince safely embark, returned to their troops, determined to maintain as long as possible their resistance to the new sovereign.

While these partial successes attended William's arms in Ireland, his affairs in England evidently grew worse. The queen had been left regent, but her councils were unhappily divided between whigs and tories. Her feelings even at the success of her husband's arms were any thing but enviable, directed as they were against her father. Her conduct in this critical state exhibited great firmness and self-command. Even with the prospect of a formidable invasion from abroad, and a troublesome insurrection at home, she dissembled her fears, and maintained her high station with equal dignity and firmness. While things were in this precarious situation, the French fleet put to sea, and the English admiral was in consequence constrained to show some preparations for the defence of his country. With the combined fleets of Holland and England, he mustered only fifty-six vessels of war; while the French admiral appeared with seventy-eight, and a large body of fire-ships. After these fleets had remained within sight of each other for five days, Lord Torrington, the English admiral, bore down upon the enemy. The consequence was a defeat, with a considerable loss both to the Dutch and English. The result of this battle produced the utmost alarm in London, where it was supposed that a general rising of the Jacobites would be the immediate consequence. The populace became greatly alarmed, and the general aversion bitterly inflamed against the nonjurors and the friends of the late king. The queen, however,

behaved with signal discretion and promptitude. She took every suitable precaution for defence, and inspired courage and calmness into all about her. After the engagement, the French fleet had anchored off the Devonshire coast, and had landed a small body of men, who committed some depredations; but subsequently they left the British coast and returned to Brest. Torrington was cast into the tower, where he remained to the next session of parliament, was tried by court-martial, acquitted, and dismissed the king's service.

William had prosecuted the war in Ireland with only partial success. After having in vain endeavoured to subdue Limerick, he was compelled to draw off his troops; and, on account of the badness of the weather, and the precarious state of his own health, to commit the management of the war to his generals, while he returned to England with the young prince George of Denmark. A considerable reinforcement, under the command of the earl of Marlborough, landed near Cork, and, after some time, effected the reduction of that place with other seaports, by which means the communication of the Irish with France was completely cut off, and the rebels confined to Ulster, where it was exceedingly difficult for them to provide the needful supplies. Soon after, the French troops, which had conducted themselves but heartlessly in the cause of James, were recalled. But the Irish catholics who remained in arms, formed themselves into small bands, and infested the country in the character of freebooters and plunderers. This, in a great measure, induced similar movements on the part of the English army, and thus the peaceful inhabitants were exposed to continual outrage and plunder.

William's presence, and especially his personal energy and courage, revived the loyalty of his English subjects, and greatly tended to subdue the hopes of the late king's friends. Having settled some important matters in his government, he set out for the Hague, where his presence was required to consult measures to be pursued by the confederation against the threatening power and ambition of France. Having settled these matters, he again returned to England. But, in his absence, he found that his enemies, the Jacobites, had not been inactive both in plotting and intriguing. The principal leader in these movements was Lord Preston. He was taken with several other persons as they were about to leave the kingdom with letters for James and the king of France. The bishop of Ely, and Penn the quaker, were concerned in this conspiracy; and on its discovery both absconded.

This implied treachery on the part of the bishop of Ely supplied the king with a favourable pretext for filling up the vacant sees of the nonjuring bishops. This act of the king's supremacy over the church gave general satisfaction to the people, but brought on a severe and protracted controversy, in which the title of William to the throne was, as might be expected, the chief topic of debate, though it was mixed up with various questions of theology. The most efficient answer to those who disputed the king's title was given by Locke, in his 'Treatise on Government,' which appeared at this period. Affairs in Scotland, however, proceeded with no good omens towards the king's government. The presbyterians became dissatisfied by the favour shown to the episcopalians, and loud clamours were uttered for their suppression. Meanwhile the strenuous legitimates among the church-party combined with

the papists to keep up a correspondence with the exiled monarch, in the hope of being able to effect his restoration. Several noblemen and gentlemen were seized and imprisoned on the charge of treasonable practices. Many undertook the most solemn obligations to be true to the new settlement on promises of favour to the church-party, while they maintained their connexion with the court of St Germains, and studied only to put themselves in a situation of more effectually serving James when a general effort should be made in his favour. It became highly important that the war should be prosecuted with vigour in Ireland, and scarcely less so that the French should be kept from pursuing their projects against the continental states. King William, therefore, made all the necessary arrangements for Ireland, put England and Scotland in a state of defence, and after committing the helm of government into the hand of the queen, hastened again to Holland. Here he prosecuted the war with much vigour at the head of the allied army against the duke of Luxembourg, who had passed the Scheld with a large army, and plundered Halle. The campaign was, however, passed without a decisive battle. The French received some checks, both on the Rhine and in Italy, where they had been making extensive conquests. Another campaign passed with no very decisive victories on either side, but with a manifest decline of the French power. The Spanish government offered to confer on William the Netherlands, but he would not accept their offer. He knew that the people would never be contented under a protestant prince, and he therefore recommended that the court of Spain should confer the honour upon the elector of Bavaria. The proposal was acceded to by Spain, and accepted by the elector without hesitation. After settling these affairs William returned to England. During his absence the king of France had remitted large supplies of clothes, ammunition, and food to the Irish garrison at Limerick, which still defied all the power of William. A considerable number of French officers, with commissions from James, had also arrived, with a fleet of three frigates and smaller vessels. Notwithstanding these reinforcements the Irish army could not be kept in order, but was still separated into independent parties, called rapparees, who committed the most brutal and desolating excesses. The justices, in conjunction with General Ginckel, employed their utmost efforts to repress these disorders, and issued proclamations promising ample protection to all catholics disposed to submit to the government of William. The war began to be prosecuted with vigour by Ginckel, who defeated the Irish and French in several battles, and at length reduced Limerick after great efforts. This was the only post of any importance in the possession of the Jacobites; and its fall was considered decisive of the Irish war. The garrison, together with the disaffected, generally obtained favourable terms; and a considerable body were allowed to depart from the kingdom, and were conveyed at the government expense to France. William had determined at any rate to put an end to the war; and hence the haste of his generals in terminating hostilities, and in removing, in so expensive a manner, the persons who had caused so much annoyance and so protracted a struggle.

The object of William in hastening the termination of hostilities in Ireland on terms less advantageous than those which he might have enforced, if he could have spared his troops longer, was to enable him

to bend more of his attention to the affairs of the continent. The parliament became jealous of his foreign propensities, evinced, as they doubtless were, in many ways. They hinted broadly their dissatisfaction, and many began to unite in the cry of the Jacobites, observing that William had become as tender of his prerogative as any of his predecessors. These discontents were aggravated by the sullen or reserved temper of the king; by his capricious conduct to some of his ablest generals, particularly the earl of Marlborough; and by the promotion of several noblemen who had been the tools of arbitrary power. This was the case in reference to Sir E. Seymour, speaker of the commons, afterwards advanced to the treasury; also in reference to the earls of Rochester and Ranelagh.

These causes of alienation were of course assiduously improved by the Jacobites, who, notwithstanding the failure of all their hopes hitherto, seemed to be growing quietly in strength and numbers. The terms on which the king stood with his Scottish subjects daily grew worse. For such had been the king's treatment of the presbyterians, and such the favour shown to the episcopalians, their rancorous enemies, that the former began to lay aside all respect for his person, and openly to express their detestation of his government. His reputation suffered still more severely by a dreadful massacre, which he authorized, of Macdonald, a Highland chief, and his clan, who had been in arms against the king. It is believed that the king was deceived by false information, and made in a great measure the tool of private malice in this case. But it is certain that the design to cut off Macdonald and his clan received his sanction: though it is believed that he was not aware at the time that Macdonald had professed submission, and taken the oath prescribed. A limited period had been fixed, beyond which all who did not submit were to be treated as rebels. Macdonald, it is true, held out to the extremity of the time, but had been prevented from taking the oaths, by the impossibility of reaching a magistrate owing to the season. But it is certain that after he had so taken the prescribed oath, he, and his family, and clan were all treacherously murdered. This circumstance, though it petrified the Highland enemies of William into instant silence and submission, begot in all their bosoms the most stern and implacable resentment. The correspondence with James was renewed and quickened. Plots are said to have been formed for the king's assassination, and rumours spread of the intention of James and the French king to invade the kingdom. One Colonel Parker was despatched to England to concert measures with the disaffected, and to assure them that a descent would be made in the ensuing spring.

In the meanwhile William exerted himself to place the kingdom in a state of defence, and to equip a fleet capable of meeting the naval power of France. He then took his departure again for Holland, and was received by the states-general with demonstrations of the most cordial and sincere regard. James took this opportunity of circulating through the country a printed declaration of his purpose to make another effort to recover his ancient dominion, and invited all his faithful subjects to assist him in this enterprize, assuring all of his intentions to maintain a mild and constitutional government, and intimating that his queen was likely to produce an heir to his throne, in whom the claim would be continued, whatever might be the issue of the conflict in his own life-

time. The emissaries of James proceeded to enlist in the northern counties a considerable number of soldiers; while the French king gave orders for his fleet to attack the English immediately, before they could form a junction with the Dutch. James also removed to La Hogue, and collected the refugees of all classes who were ready to embark together with a number of French troops. William was not ignorant of these proceedings. He hastened the equipment of the Dutch fleet, and despatched several regiments back to England. The queen also displayed her usual energy and foresight. She issued a proclamation ordering all papists to depart from London and Westminster, summoned the parliament, assembled troops, hastened the fleet to sea, and caused the discontented nobles to be narrowly watched. Admiral Russel was soon joined by the Dutch, and made for the coast of France, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels. The French admiral commanded only sixty-three ships of the line: but he had received positive orders to fight. He therefore did not hesitate to meet the combined fleets, though so much inferior to them in number. Louis, who had learnt that the Dutch had formed a junction with the English, despatched two vessels to countermand his orders, but one of them fell into the hands of the English, and the other arrived too late. The consequence was fatal to the French. Admiral Tourville fought with great bravery, but at length was obliged to flee. His ship was towed out of the line, and a fog coming on the whole set sail. The French, however, lost four ships the first day, and when they fled were pursued by the English and Dutch. The French admiral's ship ran ashore, and was burned near Cherbourg. Eighteen others ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked and burnt by Sir George Rooke with a large number of transports, and an immense quantity of ammunition, in sight of the Irish camp, and under a terrible fire from the enemy on shore. The remainder of the French fleet escaped through the Race of Alderney, where the English could not follow them without exposing themselves to the dangers of a most perilous passage. This total defeat of the French proved a most mortifying event to Louis, who had prided himself on an uninterrupted course of naval victories. It instantly destroyed the whole plan of the invasion, and reduced James and his partizans throughout Great Britain to the lowest ebb of desperation. This defeat of the French was followed by a design to make an immediate descent upon the French coast. But the armament, though embarked for the purpose, could not be landed on account of the advanced state of the season. This disappointment caused some murmurings, which were considerably increased by the injuries the French privateers inflicted upon British commerce, as well as by the pressure of the additional taxation which became necessary for carrying on the war. William in his turn, and at the head of his armies, was destined to receive a severe mortification in the fall of Namur in Flanders, which was taken by the French king after a long and severe siege, in which William could render no effectual aid to the garrison. After this Louis returned in triumph, and left Luxembourg to prosecute the war with the English king. After a short time the French army was brought to battle. In the first onset the English and Dutch were decidedly victorious, but in the end beaten and compelled to withdraw from the field. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, and the French, though they un-

doubtedly gained the victory, were little advantaged by it, having lost many officers of the first distinction, and being utterly disabled from following up this success. It is manifest that William was greatly dreaded by the French; for, not contented with the defence which their armies afforded them, they deemed it necessary to resort to the most base and infamous designs against the life of William. They engaged one Dumont, who undertook to assassinate him. But several plots of this kind failed, principally through the vigilance of William's Dutch friends. The war in Germany was prosecuted by the allies with as little success as in Flanders. Under the duke of Savoy, however, they gained considerable advantage in Piedmont, and spread consternation even to Lyons itself. But the duke being seized with smallpox in the midst of his conquests, and tampered with, as some think, by the French court, at length evacuated all his conquests. At this period the protestant interest in Germany received an important accession of strength by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus, duke of Hanover, who had renounced all connexion with France, and engaged to enter zealously into the cause of the allies upon condition of receiving the electoral dignity. This, after much negotiation and formidable opposition by the emperor, was at length effected, and the duke of Hanover became elector of Brunswick.

While the attention of the king was thus engrossed by continental affairs, his government in England was daily becoming weaker by its internal dissensions, and by the growing corruptions, disorders, and disputes of the people. Many persons of distinction were arrested on the charge of treasonable practices, and great severity exercised in order to repress the hopes of the disaffected. Discontent began to prevail to an alarming extent, and the national grievances were enumerated and discussed in detail. Into such a vicious and corrupt state had all public business fallen,—so extensively was the system of bribery practised by the government,—so injurious had the influence of the war been upon commerce,—and so dissatisfied were all classes with the administration of public affairs, that it became imperative upon the king to return and set in order his own kingdom. Accordingly he put his army into winter quarters, and returned to London, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. He found, however, that his parliament was in a state of great discontent and disaffection. A quarrel had taken place between the queen and her sister Anne of Denmark, in which a considerable number of the house of lords had taken part. On the assembling of the parliament, the lords would proceed to no business until they had discussed the matter of recommittal of the earl of Marlborough and others. The debate was carried on with great ability and warmth on both sides; but at length the court-party fell upon the expedient of adjourning the house, and in the meantime the lords that were held under bail were discharged. This allayed in a great measure the disaffection of the peers. But the commons proceeded to animadvert severely upon the administration of the public affairs. Their efforts, however, were all frustrated through the influence of bribery, and nothing was done beyond the passing of votes for supplies of men and money to prosecute the war. Severe contentions were continued through several sessions of parliament upon various questions between the two houses, and respecting national grievances and burdens. The practice of

pressing men both for the army and navy caused extensive dissatisfaction. This business was taken up and prosecuted with great spirit by the commons, who caused many pressed men to be discharged, and the chief promoter of the system, one Captain Winter, to be prosecuted. Severe complaints were also made against the administration of affairs in Ireland, where Lord Sidney was said to exercise the most arbitrary and tyrannous rule. An address upon the subject was agreed upon by both houses, and graciously received by his majesty, who promised to examine the alleged abuses of power. Lords Sidney, Ashlone, and Coningsby, with Commissioner Culliford, were all implicated in charges of mal-administration; the latter was said to be guilty of the most oppressive acts of cruelty and fraud. Notwithstanding, they were all allowed to escape with impunity. After various demonstrations on the part of both houses to check the prevalence of corruption, to diminish the influence of the court and ministry over the parliament, and to protect the rights and interests of the nation at large—in most of which they were thwarted by the ministry—the session was terminated, and the king's intention signified of again putting himself at the head of his army. Having made all the necessary arrangements at home for defending the kingdom, and carrying on its government, he passed over to Holland, and soon found the king of France ready to engage him in the field.

The war was prosecuted principally under the direction and superintendence of Luxembourg on the part of the French, and by William on the part of the allies. Much time was spent on both sides in various sieges of fortified towns, and in movements of the hostile armies, displaying great skill on the part of the commanders on both sides. Sometimes one party and sometimes the other gained the advantage. At length a general battle was fought, in which the slaughter was great on both sides, and William was obliged to retreat, while the French were again left in possession of the field of battle, and some of the artillery and ammunition of the allied army, but in no condition to pursue their advantage. Luxembourg remained above a fortnight inactive, during which time William recruited his army, and was again ready to meet him in the field. Nothing, however, of any great moment occurred during the remainder of this campaign. The allies had now been beaten in three great battles,—at Flerus, Steenkerke, and Landen; and yet in a fortnight after each of these battles the inexhaustible genius and spirit of the prince of Orange placed him in a condition to venture upon another engagement. In former days King Louis had conquered half Holland, Flanders, and Franche Comté, as it was then called, without a battle; but now with all his resources he durst not venture, even after his victories, to pass the frontiers of the United Provinces. This was no inconsiderable proof of the generalship of William, and no mean testimony of the skill and courage of the armies which he led to the field. The only advantage which the French arms gained, as the result of a hard campaign, was the possession of Charleroy, after which both armies retreated to their winter-quarters. The next campaign was opened on the part of France by De Lorges, who crossed the Rhine, and plundered Heidelberg, committing, under the express command of Louis, the most brutal excesses in the Palatinate. These were followed by a general battle, in which the duke of Savoy and his confederates

were beaten, but with such difficulty that the enemy gained nothing by his success. The victory was gained solely by superior numbers, and after it the allies were allowed to retreat, though they had sustained a severe loss both in men and officers. The French general Catinat desisted from all further movements against them, and contented himself with plundering the country and levying contributions. The success of this battle induced Louis to try the influence of negotiation in detaching the duke of Savoy from the interest of the allies. France had been successful in her intrigues both at Rome and Constantinople. Never had she been so conspicuous or so formidable as at the present juncture. With a large and well-appointed navy at sea, and four large armies in different parts of Europe, she seemed to threaten the subjugation of all the neighbouring states. In Flanders, Germany, Piedmont, and even in Spain, she waged successful warfare.

The operations of the English navy, which, at this period and after their late successes, ought to have supplied some check to the rapid and threatening growth of the French power, were disastrous and dishonourable in the highest degree. A great loss was sustained, though chiefly in merchant ships, a large fleet of which belonging to Denmark, Sweden, Holland, England, Flanders, and Hamburg, under convoy of Sir George Rooke, was attacked by the French fleet off Cape St Vincent, and a large number of them taken and destroyed. Admiral Rooke, after his misfortune, made his way to Madeira, while the French admirals made an unsuccessful attack upon Cadiz and Gibraltar. But after passing along the Spanish coast, and burning and sinking many merchant vessels, they returned in triumph to Toulon. The English navy about the same time suffered another disgrace in the failure of an expedition to the West Indies under Sir F. Wheeler. Soon after a small fleet was fitted out for the purpose of making an attack on St Maloes, merely for the purpose of annoying the enemy. But this was productive of little benefit, except by the partial destruction of a port which had been a nest of privateers. These frequent disasters produced much discontent at home, and induced the people to say that the counsels and interests of the nation were betrayed. This in some instances was no doubt the case, but the chief source of the national troubles was to be traced to the motley and disjointed ministry which the king had now for some years endeavoured to maintain. It was impossible for men so divided in their political principles and so determined to undermine each other, to act together with any thing like benefit to the nation. In fact the interests of the country were perpetually sacrificed to party and personal ends. Patriotism became almost unknown amidst the strife of conflicting factions. The destruction of an adversary in the cabinet or the parliament, or even the thwarting of the plans and movements of the minister, was accounted a preferable object to the success of the national arms by sea or land. The jealousy of the country was particularly directed against the marquess of Caermarthen, and the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who from their hatred of the whigs had gained much credit with the queen, and were thus enabled to betray at once the secrets of the court and cabinet. But grievously as this protracted war distressed the subjects of William, and exposed them to all the annoyances of an ill-conducted government, yet the French, even with their victories, were in a far worse condition.

There the war had so thinned the population, so exhausted the country of labourers, that the ground had been left untilled, and the consequence, in spite of all the diligence of the government, was a season of almost unexampled want and misery. Multitudes perished through their inability to procure the simplest necessaries of human life; and Louis had the mortification of seeing his ambitious schemes defeated when he thought them nearest to consummation, and by those very means which he had employed to effect them. Thus checked by the hand of providence, he was compelled first to endeavour to divide the allied powers, and then, upon the failure of that project, he solicited the northern powers to become mediators for a general peace. A memorial was presented by the Danish minister to King William, from which it appeared that Louis would have been contented to purchase peace with England by very considerable concessions. But the king of Great Britain felt that this was not the time for him to favour his proud and ambitious enemy, but rather to humble him and fortify his own power against his rival, whom the king of France still encouraged to seek the recovery of his lost kingdom.

James kept his attention steadily fixed on the disaffection of the English to the king's government, and repeated his addresses, and fomented their discontents, whenever opportunity invited. These efforts of the exiled monarch, sustained and stimulated as they were by the asssistance of the French king, induced the English government to employ severe and often unjust measures in defeating or punishing the factious. Several persons were prosecuted for the publication of libels, and the law was often stretched to an extreme of severity in the repression of efforts made in the cause of James. Even the judges lent themselves to the measures of the court, and disgraced the administration of justice by overawing and controlling juries in the discharge of their duty. The partizans of James and the enemies of William's government, in general, were provoked by these measures only to prosecute their designs with more secrecy and malignity. They inveighed with force and bitterness against the oppressive dominion of William, and the vindictive spirit of his ministers. It would have been difficult indeed for any government to have been firm and settled amidst the difficulties at home and abroad with which William had to contend; but at the same time nothing could justify the disgraceful and infamous measures of the government in countenancing subornation and espionage to an extent which often implicated the innocent with the guilty, and tended to destroy all confidence in human society.

In Scotland the friends of James continued to correspond with him, and to concert all sorts of schemes for promoting his return. Plot under plot was constantly worked, and stratagem set against stratagem. The secretary of that kingdom, Johnston, was a man of uncommon penetration and vigilance, and he contrived not only to make himself master of most of the projects in favour of James, but by a skilful management of court-favour and patronage, to secure, if not the hearty support, yet the acquiescence, of the presbyterians in William's government. Under the influence of this able minister, William ventured to assemble the Scottish parliament, whose proceedings tended materially to consolidate his power in that kingdom. Nevertheless discontent continued to disturb both England and Scotland to a great extent, and made it desira-

ble for the king to return to his dominions and review the state of his affairs at home. He accordingly once more returned from Holland, after he had prevailed upon the states-general to augment both their army and navy in anticipation of the approaching campaign. When the king arrived in England, and had heard the advice of Sunderland his chief counsellor, he found it prudent to make some alterations in his government. The people were too extensively and too justly dissatisfied to allow the present order of things to be maintained. The king therefore began with dismissing the earl of Nottingham, who was the most odious of his ministers, and both houses proceeded to make inquiry into the causes of the late disasters at sea. After much artifice employed in the management of this business, it came to nothing—the court finding that some of its own creatures were likely to be implicated. It appeared, however, certain that the interests of the country had been sacrificed to the mutual jealousies and animosities of the king's ministers. The alterations which he made in his cabinet were in favour of the whig interest and popular measures; and in return for these concessions, the commons voted him a large supply for the year, and determined on the augmentation of the army and navy.

The malecontents did every thing in their power to impede the designs of the court; and after trying various bills to curtail the power of the crown, succeeded in carrying one to shorten the duration of parliaments; but the bill was rejected by the king, and it fell to the ground. The year 1693 was remarkable for the origination of the scheme which ripened at length into the bank of England. The East India company also obtained a renewal of their charter, although it had become forfeit by their failure to pay the tax to which they were subject. Great opposition was made to the renewal; but the charter was obtained through the commanding influence of that wealth which the company knew so well how to use. A subsequent effort was made to obtain parliamentary sanction to this charter; but it ended in a resolution of the commons, that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by act of parliament.

Much offence was given by the efforts of the court to pass a bill for the naturalization of all foreign protestants. It was alleged that already Dutchmen were advanced to many stations in preference to natives, and that the passing of such a bill would tend to the exclusion of the English, and the introduction of Dutchmen and others, not only into the most important offices of government, but into the whole internal economy of the country. A speech against the bill by Sir John King inflamed the country from one end to the other. He was extolled as the saviour of the nation. But this circumstance exposed him to the resentment of the court. His speech, which had been printed, was burnt by the hands of the hangman, and himself compelled to disown it, or suffer imprisonment, and expulsion from his seat in the house. This violence of the ministry provoked the country but the more, and both court and ministry began to tremble. They however prudently dropped the bill and calmed the rising storm. This year another misfortune overtook the English navy. Admiral Wheeler was overtaken by a hurricane in the bay of Gibraltar, in which he perished; and several ships of the line, with many merchantmen, were wrecked.

The king of France had become increasingly solicitous during the

winter for a cessation of warlike operations. His armies were too large, and his plans of fighting the allied powers in so many different and distant places too extensive for his resources. He therefore redoubled his efforts to detach the duke of Savoy; and determined, in the ensuing campaign, to act only on the defensive, except in Spain, where his prospects of success seemed to be the most promising. Early in the spring of 1694 the combined fleets of Holland and England put to sea, amounting to ninety ships of the line besides frigates and smaller vessels. The design was first to burn a number of French merchant vessels, which being effected, a part of the combined fleets made a descent upon Barcelona, where they endeavoured to land a body of troops. But the expedition failed through the information the enemy had previously obtained of the design. A considerable number of troops was lost in this attempt. After receiving fresh orders from England, they proceeded to bombard Dieppe, and after that Havre-de-Grace. The whole French coast was thrown into the greatest confusion by these movements, while the troops which watched and followed the squadron along the shore were exposed to the most provoking and harassing assaults from an enemy whom they could never reach. After this the command of the fleet was resigned by Lord Berkeley to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who made an ineffectual attempt upon Dunkirk and Calais. These miscarriages were in some degree compensated by the success which attended Admiral Russel. He relieved Barcelona, which was besieged both by sea and land. The French Admiral Tourville was compelled to retire to Toulon harbour, while General Noailles, who commanded the land forces, retired and abandoned his enterprize. Russel kept possession of the Mediterranean during the remainder of that season, while the French fleet did not again attempt to pass the Straits. In the month of May of this year, William again took the field. The Dauphin of France with Luxembourg his old opponent were at the head of the French forces; but these were inferior to the allied army, and had strenuous orders to avoid a general battle. Much time was occupied by both armies in manœuvering. But the French, by the secret means of information they enjoyed, as well as by a most extraordinary march which they accomplished, defeated the design which William had formed of establishing his army at Courtray. This disappointment was however compensated by the successful siege of Huy, which fell into his hands in ten days. This enabled William to secure winter-quarters for a portion of his army, and was at the same time a signal for the Dauphin to return to Versailles.

In Catalonia the French army had in several battles defeated the allies, and taken many important fortresses, and were proceeding with the siege of Barcelona, both by sea and land, when their operations were checked by the arrival of Russel with the combined fleet, as before stated. The operations in Piedmont were of little moment: the zeal of the duke of Savoy was greatly subdued by the prosecution of a secret negotiation between him and the king of France. The king returned to England in November, and speedily opened the parliament. During his absence the country had been much more quiet than on former occasions; and though some disturbances had been committed by the Jacobites, and some individuals had been tried and severely dealt with, yet nothing farther of importance had occurred.

The king was anxious for large supplies, and the parliament earnest for the passing of the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments. These measures proceeded together, and the king having obtained a grant of nearly five millions, found it necessary to give the royal assent to the triennial bill. During this session of parliament the celebrated Archbishop Tillotson died. The king and queen are both said to have been deeply affected by this event. He was succeeded in the archbishopric by Dr Tennison, Bishop of Lincoln. Soon after this period the queen's health declined, and her death took place on the 28th of December, 1694. This queen was distinguished alike by her solid judgment, gravity, and apathy. Her indifference to her father's degradation and exile, as well as her cruel treatment of her sister, are mentioned as proofs of her insensibility to the claims of natural affection. The princess humbly entreated permission to see her in her sickness; but the favour was not granted till she found herself near her death. After that event, the king and the princess were ostensibly reconciled; but a mutual jealousy remained, which was never entirely removed.

William now reigned alone, and, from the severity with which he punished the proceedings of the Jacobites, it might be inferred that he had resolved for ever to annihilate the little remains of hope to which they clung. Indeed, every real and pretended plot was alike investigated, and eagerly seized upon as the means of punishing the malecontents. About this period an extensive plot was pretended to be discovered in Lancashire, and extraordinary powers were vested in persons sent down to investigate it. They are charged with acts of great violence and oppression. Some treasonable papers were discovered, and several parties brought to trial; but the excited malecontents employed the pen of the celebrated Ferguson, who had been concerned in every plot since that of the Rye-house. He published a letter to Sir John Trenchard on the abuse of power; in which he inveighed against the ministry with so much effect, that the whole nation was roused against them for the corruption, subornation, and oppression, of which they were said to be guilty. This letter had such an effect, that when the alleged conspirators were brought to trial, it was with the utmost difficulty that the witnesses against them could be preserved from the popular fury. One of the witnesses, however, stated that the whole scheme was got up for the purpose of exacting money from the government, who were always known to lend a willing ear to such fabrications. The Jacobites triumphed in their victory, while the king's ministers, and especially Harley, had to sustain a heavy load of reproach and odium. Although these parties were acquitted, yet the commons took up the matter, and agreed that there were adequate grounds for the trial, and that, moreover, a dangerous conspiracy had existed. The lords concurred in this opinion. An order was made for the apprehension of a Mr Standish, in whose possession a declaration had been found ready prepared for publication on the supposed landing of James; but Standish was not to be found, and there ended the alarm excited by the famous Lancashire plot.

The house of commons next proceeded to investigate the mal-practices of several public functionaries, and of some person connected with the contracts for the army, as well as the conduct of one regiment in particular, which had exacted subsistence-money from the inhabitants of

the town of Royston where they had been quartered. These charges were investigated, and a full exposure made. The commons, proceeding still farther in the spirit of reform, proved that their speaker Sir John Trevor, and the chairman of the grand committee Mr Hungerford, had both been bribed by the chamberlain on behalf of the Orphan's bill. The speaker was then called upon to abdicate his chair; after which both he and Hungerford were expelled the house. These discoveries led to a farther investigation. The books of the East India company were demanded by the committee of inquiry; and, when obtained, they presented a most appalling scene of corruption and venality in the business of the late charter. It appeared that, in the course of the preceding year, about £90,000 had been paid in secret services. This led to the most strict inquiries as to the disposal of this sum, when a number of the right honourable and honourable members of the respective houses were found implicated in these disgraceful transactions. One discovery led on to another, till many of the most important persons in the state were found implicated. The duke of Leeds, in particular, was impeached by the commons: the king used his influence to put a stop to these investigations, and the duke of Leeds was saved from the consequence of the pending impeachment, only by removing out of the kingdom the principal witness; which being made a pretence for postponing the trial, effectually quashed it; but the character of the duke was ruined.

Soon after, the king prepared to leave the country to prosecute his favourite object on the continent. He accordingly appointed a regency, consisting of the principal officers of state, with the archbishop of Canterbury; but neither the princess of Denmark nor her husband was admitted to the honour. There was a large party offended with this slight put upon the princess.

The prospect of continuing the war made it necessary to call the Scottish parliament, and provide new subsidies for the maintainance of the troops belonging to that kingdom. But the king's government laboured still under the odium of having caused the massacre at Glencoe; and nothing could be effected towards the pacification of the national feelings, till an investigation of that unhappy affair had taken place. The Scots were also heartless in a war which had hitherto afforded them no advantage, and from which, as they deemed, no public good could result. A commission therefore passed the great seal, for an investigation of the massacre, preparatory to a trial of the parties concerned in that most infamous transaction. The parliament was opened in the king's name, on the ninth of May 1695, by the marquess of Tweedale. An invitation was given to them by the marquess to establish a colony of their own in Africa or America, with the assurance of the same privileges and protection as had been granted in like cases to any other of his majesty's subjects. These concessions had the desired effect upon the parliament. They immediately voted an hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and, having thanked the king for his care of the government, the church, and the nation, proceeded to offer him an address of condolence on the death of the queen. They also expressed their thanks for the inquiry which had been granted into the massacre of Glencoe, and then required that the commissioners should exhibit to them an account of their proceedings. This latter

step is said to have originated in the jealousy which Secretary Johnston entertained toward Dalrymple, a political rival. The commissioners reported, that Mr Secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders, and that Macdonald of Glencoe had been perfidiously murdered. The parliament agreed in the report of the commissioners, exculpating the king, and throwing the blame of this affair on various officers and noblemen. They voted an address to the king, praying that he would forthwith order his advocate to prosecute the guilty agents of this massacre, and make reparation to the remaining inhabitants of Glencoe for the injuries and losses they had sustained. The investigation implicated the master of Stair, in the charge of having in his letters exceeded the orders he had received; and the earl of Breadalbane, in transactions with the Highlanders which amounted to high treason, in consequence of which he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. But he made out in his defence, that he had dissembled with the Highlanders by the king's permission, and therefore now sheltered himself under the royal pardon.

The parliament, in conformity with the suggestion of the king's commissioners, passed a bill for the settlement of a colony on the isthmus of Darien. Many of the London merchants, allured by the prospect of a new colonial settlement free from all taxes and restrictions for twenty-one years, entered eagerly into the scheme. The act was confirmed by letters patent under the great seal. The Scottish parliament also passed an act in favour of the Episcopal clergy in that kingdom; by which, on entering into engagements to the king required by law, they might retain their benefices without being subjected to the government of the presbyterian church. Seventy of the most distinguished episcopal ministers took advantage of this indulgence, and immediately professed their loyal adherence to King William's government. This parliament passed also a vote for raising nine thousand men yearly, to maintain their regiments abroad, and an act for the establishment of a national bank. Ireland was at present under the government of Lord Capel as deputy. Much disaffection and disorder prevailed in it, which the deputy endeavoured to subdue by severe and arbitrary measures. He contrived to collect a parliament willing to comply with all the designs of the English ministry. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor, who was a man of equal ambition with the lord-deputy, finding his influence and importance diminished, took up the tory interest, and raised a formidable faction against the deputy. This led to an effort on the part of the lord-deputy to impeach the chancellor for seditious proceedings; but having first obtained a hearing before the commons, he justified himself to their satisfaction, and was voted free of imputation by a considerable majority. As a counterpart to this negative victory of the chancellor, an address was sent over bearing testimony to the mild and equitable administration of Lord Capel.

Having done what lay in his power for allaying dissensions, and maintaining public order in the different sections of the empire, King William once more took his departure, in the month of May, hoping that as the power of France was now materially weakened, he might be able effectually to humble his old and haughty rival, and acquire additional renown. His expectations were raised by the circumstances in which the king of France found himself placed. His kingdom was

exhausted, his people distressed and discontented by exactions for carrying on the war, while he suffered the mortification of having all his offers and overtures for peace disdainfully rejected. His misfortunes were greatly aggravated by the death of his most renowned and successful general, Francis de Montmorency, duke of Luxembourg. The French king had no other officer on whose talents and character he could rely for prosecuting the war against the allied army commanded by so renowned a warrior as the prince of Orange. The Marshal Villeroy was intrusted with the supreme command, having Boufflers at the head of a separate army, but under the direction of the commander-in-chief. Their orders restricted them to defensive operations, and their line was formed from Lys to the Scheld. Their main object was to cover Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur, from the approach of the enemy. William arranged the allied troops into two armies; the one commanded by himself, the other by the elector of Bavaria assisted by the duke of Holstein-Ploen. William arrived at his camp on the 5th of July, and the next day his army invested Namur, a place naturally strong, and additionally fortified by new works and a formidable garrison, which rendered it, in the esteem of the best judges, altogether impregnable. Much skill was displayed by the respective armies of both parties. The French having gained some successes, penetrated to Brussels, and began to bombard that town; but as the siege of Namur was prosecuted by William with extraordinary skill and diligence, they were obliged to withdraw with ninety thousand men to succour the besieged garrison of Namur. Villeroy, the French general, approached with his army; but King William immediately committed the prosecution of the siege to the elector of Bavaria, and drew off a part of his army to check the approach of Villeroy. The French general had declared that he would hazard a general battle with William for the relief of Namur. But when he observed the position of the allied army at Massy, within five miles of Namur, he gave up his intention, and availed himself of the cover of night to make good his retreat. After this the whole force of the allied army was brought to bear upon Namur, which was taken after prodigious displays of valour on both sides. When the fall of Namur was known to Villeroy, he retreated with great precipitation towards Mons. The conduct of Boufflers in the defence of the place had excited the highest admiration in William and all the generals of the allied army. He had maintained the defence till his garrison was reduced from fifteen to about five thousand men. But notwithstanding the great reputation he had won, when he marched out he was arrested by order of William, until the French king should release the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which had been taken by Villeroy a short time before, and detained contrary to the cartel agreed upon by the hostile parties, and in contempt of the remonstrance presented against their detention. Boufflers was detained till he received intelligence from the king of France that the said garrisons should be delivered up. After which he was released, and being conducted in safety to Dinant, repaired to the king at Versailles, who received him with marks of extraordinary esteem and affection, and in testimony of his entire satisfaction with his conduct, created him a duke and peer of France, and bestowed upon him a large gratuity.

The conquest of Namur not only secured the allies against any fur-

ther movements on the part of the French during this campaign, but enabled William to retire early from active operations. He committed the charge of the army to the elector of Bavaria, and took up his residence in his favourite house at Loo. On the Rhine nothing of importance was attempted through the remainder of this campaign. With the duke of Savoy a secret negotiation was going on, although he continued to keep the field in Piedmont, and even went so far as to commence the siege of Casal, which was considered one of the strongest fortifications in Europe. He surprised the allies by this vigorous enterprise, and still more so by the success which attended the project; for in fourteen days the place capitulated. The surprise of the confederates was, however, soon dissipated; for it appeared that this was a part of the negotiation by which the king of France secured his virtual neutrality through the remainder of the campaign. He took good care to occupy so much time in dismantling the place, which was to be done at the expense of the allies, that he had no time for any further prosecution of the war; and as September was far advanced before he could complete this enterprise, and an ague followed immediately after, his winter quarters were his only resource. The French arms, which had been in former campaigns so successful in Catalonia, could now scarcely maintain their standing. Admiral Russel co-operated with the land forces, and the French were, in consequence, obliged to abandon several fortresses which they had occupied; and had it not been for a misunderstanding between the court of Spain and the English admiral, the French army might have been driven out of Catalonia. While Russel well maintained the British superiority in the Mediterranean, another fleet, under Lord Berkeley, annoyed the French coast, and bombarded several of their towns. Notwithstanding these hostile movements by sea, the commerce of the country was left in a great measure unprotected, and a prey to the numerous privateers which were continually taking British merchantmen of great value even within sight of their own shores. The marquess of Caermarthen was guilty of the most flagrant breach of duty in this particular. He had been stationed with a squadron of ships off the isles of Scilly, for the express purpose of protecting our trade through the channel; but, when a fleet of merchant ships hove in sight, he professed to mistake them, or did actually do so, for the French squadron from Brest, and in his panic withdrew to Milford haven for shelter, while the privateers seized a considerable portion of the merchant fleet. Few periods of English history have been so disgraced as that of which we are now treating, by the misconduct, treachery, and carelessness of public functionaries. The malecontents were continually employed in transmitting intelligence to France, or in tampering with officers and persons in places of public trust. It required no small measure of patience and firmness to conduct the affairs of a nation thus divided against itself; and it is no small proof of the genius and wisdom of King William that, with such a multitude of perfidious persons constantly in his service, he should be able to bring any of his purposes to accomplishment. He rarely could know in whom he might confide. By sea and land, at home and abroad, he saw his own and his people's interest perpetually sacrificed to party spirit, or base cupidity. His return to England, which took place in October, was greeted by general rejoicings on the victories he had won

in the Netherlands, and the severe check he had given to the French power. He devoted his attention now to means of ingratiating himself with his people; visited many of the nobility; received addresses and congratulations; and at length retired to Windsor.

He had summoned a new parliament, and had no doubt intended these expressions of royal condescension to tell favourably upon the temper of the people. The whig interest generally prevailed, and the elections proceeded to the satisfaction of the court. But the nation did not enter so enthusiastically into the continental wars as their sovereign. They found their own affairs neglected, and their treasures wasted as in a bottomless abyss. The king's recent attempt to please his people was so evidently constrained to serve his purpose of procuring their aid in his foreign wars, that they could not be deceived. His conduct to the Princess Anne continued to be unkind and disrespectful in the highest degree, and both lords and commons seemed disposed to discourage his further military projects, at least unless he would make considerable concessions to the wishes of his people. The bill long advocated by the popular leaders in the commons for regulating trials for high treason was passed. This was a most important measure, as it tended greatly to the security of the subject, and to a limitation of royal power. A bill was also passed with great difficulty for regulating the coin, and preventing its injury. A new coinage, which was then looked upon as a most alarming experiment, was successfully completed; and the coin of England, which had long been regarded as worse than that of any civilized nation, now became as pre-eminently good. The commons effected also a very important interposition on behalf of some very large lordships in Derbyshire, which they heard the king was about to confer by royal grant on the earl of Portland, an especial favourite. They alleged that these belonged to and had always accompanied the principality of Wales, and had uniformly been settled on the princes of Wales for their support; that they were now held under such a tenure, and could not be alienated without the consent of parliament. The king found himself compelled to yield to the force of these reasons, and in consequence his grant was recalled.

The plan which had been taken up so warmly by the Scottish parliament, of founding a national settlement and colony on the isthmus of Darien, began to attract the attention and rouse the jealousies of the English merchants. Such privileges as had been granted to it in prospect, would, it was said, greatly injure the trade of England, as it would enable the Scottish merchants completely to undersell them, being free of all dues; and that it would be impossible to prevent the smuggling of the Scottish merchandise into England, while their peculiar advantages would enable them to supply all Europe. These reasons, together with a petition to a similar effect from the East India company, induced the king to dismiss those ministers who had been the instruments of bringing this scheme before the public. The house resolved that the directors of the company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor in administering and taking an oath *de fideli* in this kingdom, and that they should be impeached for the same. The Scots were not a little displeased and incensed when they found that the king disowned their company, from the success of which they had already began to promise themselves a profusion of wealth. The plan of the

settlement, however, was carried into effect, but completely failed in the issue. About this period the attention of the parliament was diverted from the prosecution of an inquiry into the state of commerce, in which they were proceeding greatly to the king's annoyance, by the discovery of a new plot of the Jacobites. The death of Queen Mary had revived their expiring hopes, and induced the belief that the power and influence of the king would be found greatly weakened by that event. But they had ill-calculated both the attachment of the people to William, and the amount of their own interest on behalf of the exiled prince. The nation was not blind to the imperfections of King William, but these were vastly outweighed by those of James; and whatever might be their grievances under the former, they could expect nothing but their increase under the latter. Few exiled monarchs ever had such efforts made for their restoration as James had. His partizans seemed never to weary, and never to be discouraged in his service. No doubt the wealth of many of the catholic nobility paid richly for these repeated enterprises, and hence many engaged in them from mercenary motives alone. The plot now discovered was one of the boldest and most impracticable of any that had hitherto been set on foot. It proposed to seize the person of William, and convey him to France, or in case of resistance to put him to death. They made application to James to appoint a commission for carrying the project into execution; but he refused any such formal sanction. The parties concerned were the earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, Sir J. Friend, Capts. Charnock and Porter, with some others. But though the bolder part of the plot did not command the concurrence of James, yet a plan was subsequently arranged by the earl of Montgomery for a descent upon some part of England, and several regiments were completed in various parts of the kingdom ready to take the field as soon as the exiled king should give the signal.

While these measures of preparation were advancing, an old officer of king James's, Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, and a furious bigot to popery, actually set on foot a scheme for seizing King William. It was proposed to effect their purpose in a lane between Turnham Green and Brentford, as the king returned from hunting in the neighbourhood of Richmond. The day was fixed and every arrangement well considered; but a few days before its execution one of the parties gave information to the earl of Portland, who conveyed it to the king. At first they were both disposed to treat it as one among the fictitious plots, by which imposition had so often been attempted. But shortly after two or three other individuals, to whom the scheme had become known, came forward without concert, and stated the same things. One of these was a Roman catholic, whose sincerity and loyalty convinced the king that the plot was real. Having used some further means to discover the truth of the information, the king did not go out on the day expected by the conspirators. But they, finding themselves disappointed, waited till his next hunting-day, when learning that his coach had gone to convey him from his palace, but that it had been sent back again to the mews, they suspected that some intimation had transpired, and that they were themselves betrayed. Every one's next thought was his own safety. Sir George Barclay, the leader, contrived immediately to secure his own retreat, and was never afterwards dis-

covered, though the utmost diligence was employed to arrest him. Many of the others were taken in a short time, as the names of most had been communicated to the privy council.

The projected invasion was attended with little better success than the project of assassination. There is little doubt but it was designed they should transpire together. The plan and preparations for the invasion had been conducted with skill and secrecy; but before it could be put into execution, intelligence had reached William, who immediately equipped about fifty ships under Admiral Russel, and despatched him over to the French coast. The appearance of the English fleet filled James, who had just reached Calais, with infinite consternation and dismay. The whole project was at once frustrated. The French troops were sent back to their garrisons, while the vessels were blocked up by the English fleet. The discovery and defeat of this double scheme, for restoring the old order of things, served to awaken the loyalty of the parliament, and to make the nation generally more sensible of the liberties they enjoyed, and of the reforms they had effected in the government. The parliament urged upon the king the necessity of enforcing more rigidly the submission to his majesty's government which the laws required, and of employing every possible means of securing his own safety. They advised him to banish, by proclamation, all papists to the distance of ten miles from London and Westminster, and in other ways to weaken the power both of the catholics and the nonjurors.

The house of commons also went so far as to enter into an association by which each member bound himself to support the king and his government, and to revenge any violence attempted upon his person. The resolution of the house, forming this association, was signed by all the members present, and was ordered to be sent to all that were absent—who were required to sign it within sixteen days or declare their refusal. The disaffected, finding themselves thus straitened and shut up by their own house of parliament, all complied; when the house in a body presented their instrument of association to the king, begging that it might be lodged among the records in the tower. A similar association was formed by the house of lords, though some in both houses found it a hard measure to digest. Similar associations were formed by the people, and very extensively signed. The clergy also adopted a similar engagement, which was signed by the vast majority. So popular did these associations become, that the commons brought in a bill declaring all persons incapable of public trust, or of a seat in parliament, who would not engage in these associations. At the same time, a proclamation was issued by the council ordering all commissions to be renewed, that so they might be taken from all persons who had not already come forward voluntarily to sign the engagement.

The attention of the parliament was next called to the means of raising supplies. A bill was passed for constituting a new bank, to be called the Land Bank, because established on land securities. Upon this plan the sum of two millions and a half was to be raised. The bank of England petitioned against this measure, and was heard by counsel, but all in vain. The bill became law. The trials of the conspirators followed, and a number of them were found guilty. Against some the evidence was slight, and law and justice were certainly strained in their

conviction. The treasonable acts were clearly proved against most of them, but no evidence transpired that the design of assassinating William had ever been sanctioned by any commission from James. These trials tended greatly to inflame the feelings of the nation against the king of France and his government for the part which they had taken in the projected invasion. The parliament petitioned the king to appoint a day of general thanksgiving for his escape, and for the defeat of the enemy's intentions. This was accordingly done, and the day was observed with universal demonstrations of loyalty and devotion. A part of the fleet which had been employed to blockade the French ports, was now employed under Sir Cloudesley Shovel to bombard Calais. The allies of William also determined to resent the attempts made upon his life by some hostile movement against the French. They had strong reasons for suspecting that Louis had been privy to the design of assassinating the prince of Orange. The French had been employing all their resources to collect materials for the ensuing campaign, and had formed a vast magazine at Givet. To the destruction of this vast arsenal their attention was immediately attracted as one of the most effectual means of taking reprisals, and of preventing the success of the enemy in any new movements, as soon as the campaign should open. They accordingly caused a strong diversion of the enemy from this point, and then suddenly drew together a considerable force which was directed by Coehorn against Givet. The bombardment was immediately commenced, and in a few hours the whole magazine destroyed. The generals then rejoined their forces, and made good their retreat to Namur without the slightest interruption or difficulty. The news of this success probably accelerated William's departure to Holland. He reappointed the former regency, and immediately hastened to meet the successful generals, who had rendered such important service to the common cause of the allies, and to himself in particular.

The disaster the French had suffered, though it compelled them to act generally on the defensive, yet it induced them to open the campaign earlier than was usual. They anticipated the allied army in this step, but they made no movement of any consequence. William was disappointed in his plans for raising money, and therefore all his operations were restricted and cramped. The scheme of the land bank utterly failed, and the national bank suffered a severe shock in its credit. The measure of renewing the coinage had also been attended with a loss of £2,200,000, and it was found exceedingly difficult to supply the necessary circulation by means of the mints which had been established.

William found himself thus completely crippled, when the king of France, who was in still worse circumstances as to the means of continuing the war, began to make advances for a treaty of peace. He first pressed the king of Sweden to offer his mediation, and then sent proposals to Holland, supposing, that as the Dutch were pre-eminently a trading people, they must have suffered most by the war, and be the first who would listen to terms of peace. Louis endeavoured to forward these pacific intentions by forcing into his armies some little show of activity and spirit. Several bold movements were made both in crossing and recrossing the Rhine. But neither party appeared anxious to risk an engagement.

In Piedmont, however, Louis at length succeeded in inducing the

duke of Savoy to sign a separate treaty of peace. When this became known, it excited the anger of the allied powers to a high degree, and the duke was obliged to seek the protection of a French army. Matters were, however, arranged with him, and the troops both of the allies and of France allowed to retire upon a treaty of neutrality. But his treacherous conduct to the cause of the allies drew upon him indelible disgrace and universal odium.

While these events were transpiring, the English fleet was employed in annoying the French coast. A considerable army was consequently required to move along the coast continually, to defend as far as they could the maritime places. But vast mischief was effected by this mode of warfare, and the French kept in constant fear of invasion. One of the French admirals, however, who had been blockaded in the harbour of Dunkirk, found an opportunity to escape through a fog, and steering to the Baltic, fell in with a Dutch fleet of merchantmen which he captured. Returning, however, with this valuable booty, he in his turn was met by an outward bound fleet under convoy of thirteen ships of the line. He immediately set fire to the frigates he had captured, and escaped, with only a small portion of the valuable prizes he had taken, into Dunkirk.

William closed his campaign, and after spending some time in his favourite amusement of stag-hunting at Loo, and settling some public business with the states, returned to England. The revenue was in a very embarrassed state, and great difficulties attended the whole management of the supplies. The king, however, confided in the extraordinary talents of Mr Montagu, chancellor of the exchequer. This gentleman proved himself a most able financier, and by his wisdom and ingenuity in raising funds, the nation was extricated from its difficulties, and public credit restored upon firm principles. He was unquestionably the first individual who taught the nation the true nature of its resources, and the extraordinary powers with which it was furnished against a time of trial. The attention of the house of commons, and of the country, was about this time occupied with the case of Sir John Fenwick. He was apprehended in June, 1696, and found to be in correspondence with James. This person proposed, after he was taken, to give information and make discoveries, provided he were allowed the privilege of turning king's evidence. When brought to the bar of the house, he resolutely refused to make any material disclosures unless the house would guarantee his safety. He even went so far as to prefer charges of treasonable correspondence with James against several distinguished peers high in the nation's esteem, and against Admiral Russel. These were only designed on his part to amuse and occupy the ministry, and excite distrust and jealousy, while he concerted other measures for his defence. The trial of the prisoner excited much interest in all parties, and occupied a large share of the attention of the house. At length the bill of attainder was passed and sent up to the lords, where it excited still more violent and protracted discussion than in the commons. It must be admitted, that the proceedings in this case were violations of the rights of the subject, and that the advocates of the bill rather lent themselves, and accommodated their principles, to the supposed emergency of the case. Bishop Burnet, contrary to his usual liberality, appeared as the advocate of the measure, and spoke at great length in its

favour. It was carried in the lords by a majority of only seven voices, and subsequently received the royal assent. Attempts were made to procure the intercession of the lords on his behalf, and the royal clemency was solicited by his friends. He was given to understand that his pardon would be made to depend upon the fulness of his discoveries. But after long hesitating between self-inflicted infamy and death, he preferred the latter, and was executed on Tower-hill. Immediately upon the passing of this bill, another of the like nature was passed against eleven other conspirators who had fled, unless they should deliver themselves up before a given day. The trial of Fenwick led to some investigations into the conduct of the admirals, which terminated favourably for their character. But the earl of Monmouth was implicated in a design of employing Fenwick's testimony against the duke of Shrewsbury, with a view to ruin the character of that nobleman. But it terminated in Monmouth's disgrace and committal to the Tower. He was dismissed from all offices, but released at the end of the session.

These domestic matters being adjusted, William embarked in April, 1697, for Holland. The present object of his visit was to superintend the negotiations for a general peace. But while these were pending, the French successfully pursued their advantages in Catalonia. They also made some successful movements in Flanders, while their fleets contrived most effectually to annoy the English trade. The management of King William's maritime affairs was mostly intrusted to Admiral Russel, who is thought to have been grossly deceived and betrayed by the inferior commanders. Several disgraceful occurrences took place at sea, through the want of skill and energy in the British officers. The successes of France in Catalonia, Flanders, and the West Indies, were in some measure counterbalanced by the failure of the scheme Louis had cherished of being able to place the prince of Conti on the throne of Poland. It was conferred on the elector of Saxony, principally through the influence of the emperor of Austria, and of Peter, czar of Muscovy, whose ambition to mingle in European politics was seconded by his eccentric movements to acquire a knowledge of the habits and arts of the older nations. He had determined to maintain a maritime power, and with this view travelled in disguise into Holland, and engaged himself to a ship-builder, with whom he served for some months. He first discovered himself to the elector of Brandenburgh in Prussia, and afterwards to King William. He visited England, and various other countries, for the sake of collecting information to civilize and improve his countrymen; but while he was engaged in these pursuits, he received intelligence of designs against his government, when he returned suddenly to Moscow, where he ordered some hundreds to be hung, and actually became himself the executioner of some who were beheaded. The negotiations entered into by the various powers were continued with little progress at Ryswick, and with little prospect of a speedy termination. But William availed himself of an opportunity to enter into a distinct treaty with France. The earl of Portland and Marshal Boufflers met near Halle, in sight of the English and French armies, and after frequent consultations they entered into engagements on behalf of their respective monarchs. The chief object of William was to get rid of the pretensions of James, while the anxious desire of the king of France was to put an end to a ruinous war which had impover-

ished and disgusted his people. The discussions among the several representatives having proceeded with little prospect of a speedy adjustment, the articles proposed by France were at length signed by the ambassadors of France, England, Spain, and Holland. The ministers of the emperor protested violently against this proceeding, but it was finally ratified. The emperor held out some time longer, but was at length induced to complete the negotiations, which he did under somewhat more favourable circumstances, owing to the success of his arms in Hungary, where his general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, obtained a complete victory over the forces of the Grand Signor. The treaty was more favourable to the catholic cause than pleased the protestant princes, who remonstrated, and published a formal declaration against the clause relating to religion.

Thus terminated a war, prosecuted with great energy and ability by all the powers of Europe, and in which—as is usual in all such extensive combinations and confederacies—discontent and misery are the result. The allied powers, after making great sacrifices, criminated each other, and had to sit down to console themselves with great loss and little real gain. King William had perhaps the greatest reason to be satisfied with the issue of the contest. He had subdued the hopes of the Jacobites, and deprived his royal rival of the powerful aid of France. The various powers of the continent reaped some satisfaction in having checked the encroachments of Louis. But England had suffered severely for the advantage she had gained. The expense of the wars had pressed heavily upon the people, while the naval skill and power of France had almost ruined her foreign commerce. Yet she had been taught by this arduous struggle her own amazing resources, and produced an impression upon foreign nations favourable to her character and strength, such as had never been produced before.

The parliamentary session of 1697 opened with flattering prospects for the continuance both of external and internal peace. There remained, however, a heavy national debt to be provided for, as well as a considerable sum for the current expenses of the large army and navy which the king deemed it prudent to maintain. The parliament, however, did not sympathize in the king's purpose of maintaining a large standing army. He was fond of military exploits,—a propensity by no means favourable to the welfare of a nation, and still less of a nation depending so much as England on trade and commerce. The king, moreover, thought his throne insecure without a formidable display of power; for though he had crushed in a great measure the hopes of James, yet the kingdom was infested with his partizans, who were ready to display their hostility on every favourable occasion. He did not put much confidence in the honour or integrity of the French king, and felt quite certain that nothing but dire necessity, in his own affairs, had induced him to sacrifice the interest and cause of the exiled monarch; and that while James lived, a possible source of annoyance and alarm would exist. William felt, moreover, that the diminution of his army would both diminish his influence on the continent, and increase his dependence on the will of his people.

He employed the earl of Sunderland, his chief confidant, to use his utmost efforts in endeavouring to effect this important matter. The earl employed a refined species of argument or sophistry in distinguish-

ing between an army raised by the king's private authority, and a body of veteran troops, maintained by consent of parliament exclusively for the defence of the kingdom. But this refinement had no weight. The people had become by painful and dear-bought experience jealous of standing armies, and could perceive little difference in their character as long as they were officered and commanded by the monarch. Upon this point, therefore, the parliament were firm and sensitive. The bare proposal roused their indignation and jealousy to the highest pitch, and the tories and Jacobites did not fail to stimulate and provoke their distrust of the king's intentions. This reluctance of the nation to agree to the king's wishes for a standing army, was strengthened by their dislike of the mercenaries whom he kept in his pay, and by his partiality to foreign officers. The dread of being overawed by foreigners in the expression of public sentiment, the possible abuse of the royal power in elections, and in terrifying parliaments, wrought effectually to fortify their minds against this measure. For all the purposes of national security against internal enemies, it was contended that a well-regulated militia might be formed, which, even in case of invasion, would, with the patriotic assistance of the people, be amply sufficient for protection. These considerations were still further fortified by the necessity which was now forced upon the country to carry the system of retrenchment and economy to the utmost practicable extent, that commerce and industry might have opportunity to revive and flourish after the long and unfavourable periods through which they had been left to struggle.

The question was taken up warmly not only in parliament but generally through the nation; and such was the ferment excited, that the king's ministers and other dependents durst not resist the unanimous voice of all parties for the reduction of the army, and the total disbanding of the foreign mercenaries. This subject occupied much of the attention of the house, and various stratagems were tried for retaining a considerable body of troops in the pay of the nation; but at length the commons resolutely persisted in reducing the whole to ten thousand, to which the ministry subsequently gained the addition of three thousand marines. The mortification of William, when he was defeated in this object, was exceedingly severe; and he is said to have declared to his particular friends that he never would have responded to the call of the nation in their exigency if he could have anticipated, on their part, such ingratitude and distrust. His vexation was not a little increased by the resentment manifested against the earl of Sunderland, who had been obliged to resign his office and retire from court, on account of this unpopular measure which it was supposed he had advised. The commons, however, made some amends for the severe measures they had pursued in reference to the army, by voting the sum of seven hundred thousand for the civil list, independent of all other services. Even with the reductions effected, the supplies for the year amounted to nearly five millions. The ingenuity and resources of Montague were severely taxed to make provision for so large a sum; but his abilities proved equal to the occasion, and the ways and means were agreed to.

A subsequent measure, concerted by Montague, greatly diminished his reputation in the end, though it was popular at the time. He brought in a bill for establishing a new East India company, the object

of which, and its inevitable tendency, was to destroy the old one. A body of merchants, under the auspices of Montague, offered to lend the government two millions, upon condition of receiving a charter granting them the exclusive privilege of the East India trade. The old company petitioned, and were heard by counsel against this measure, but all in vain. Their remonstrances were listened to without effect, and the bill passed. The conduct of the whig ministry, in this particular, was a severe blow to their reputation. They had generally been considered patriots, but they had now sacrificed the interest of a large body of merchants to their own personal gains; and they were charged with embezzling the public money by availing themselves of usurious contracts, and by taking advantage of their fellow subjects.

The government of Ireland had, for some time, gone on peaceably; but it was principally owing to the strong arm which was held over the people. The administration of its affairs was steady, but at the same time oppressive, and in a great measure military. The king and parliament had been too much occupied since its pacification to attend to its internal affairs, or even to reward those protestants who had stood forward in the cause of the king at the period of greatest peril. The inhabitants of Londonderry, in particular, had suffered severely in William's cause, and no compensation had yet been made them. Their case was now taken up by the house upon their petition, and an address agreed to, entreating his majesty to consider their claims. A book also was published in Dublin by a Mr Molineux against the dependence of Ireland on England. This was warmly taken up by the parliament, and an address presented to the king praying him to examine into it, and some other affairs which seemed to threaten serious consequences to the peace of the kingdom of Ireland. The peace and security of the English government seemed to be implicated in Irish affairs, and as the parliament of that country had not conducted themselves altogether to the satisfaction of England, the king was advised to take such measures as should insure the subjection of his Irish subjects. Other particular measures were adopted by the commons for the protection of English manufactures both against the Irish and the French, the latter of whom had contrived to carry on an extensive smuggling trade with England.

These movements of parliament with respect to trade were followed up by others of far more importance for the suppression of immorality, profaneness, &c. These measures led to an association for the reformation of manners, which the king was pleased to countenance. Excellent as these measures were, they led to some regulations contrary to liberty of conscience, and partaking of the spirit of persecution. This was particularly evinced by the severity that was felt against persons impugning the orthodox doctrines.

At this period Dr Thomas Bray formed a plan for the propagation of the gospel in foreign countries. Missionaries, catechisms, prayer-books, &c., were sent to the colonies in America and the Leeward Islands. This design was favourably received by the country, and Dr Bray was emboldened to petition parliament that some portion of the estates devoted to superstitious uses in former times should be appropriated to the prosecution of this object.

The earl of Portland, a great favourite with the king, was sent, in 1698, ambassador to France, where he made a public entry into

Paris with such a display of magnificence as completely astonished the French. He was received by the king with distinguished marks of respect. One of the most interesting parts of the duty with which he was charged was to intercede on behalf of the protestants of that kingdom, who had been subjected to a severe persecution, attended with some circumstances of peculiar aggravation and cruelty; a second point to which his mission tended, was to procure the removal of James from St Germains to Avignon. This latter proposition was accompanied with the pledge that, should it be complied with, an honourable pension would be allowed by William. But both these remonstrances were rejected by Louis, and ostensibly the mission seemed to be entirely unavailing. But it is believed that there was a secret understanding between the ambassador and the king of France. It is certain that they had a private conference at Marli, where the king is said to have communicated to him his project of the *partition-treaty*, relative to the Spanish monarchy. The earl of Portland, on his return to England, conceived that he had been completely supplanted in King William's favour by Keppel, now created earl of Albemarle. His jealousy of Albemarle was, however, in a great measure unfounded, and when the king discovered it, it gave him much uneasiness. Portland, however, threw up all his employments, and could not be induced, even by the king's personal solicitations, to resume any office in the household. He was, however, afterwards employed to negotiate the partition-treaty.

At this period the French were exceedingly anxious to renew their commercial intercourse with England. The refugees, whom persecution had driven over, brought with them various useful arts, and were soon enabled to confer an important benefit upon England by commencing some of those manufactures which had not before been attempted in England, or were in a very inferior state. A commissary was sent over from France to endeavour to effect such a regulation of the trade of the two nations as might secure the re-introduction of French goods to England. But insuperable difficulties were now opposed. England was beginning to rival France in manufactures which the latter had long usurped by her superior excellency in them. But now the refugees had very materially assisted England in placing upon a level with France her manufacture of paper, hats, stuffs, and silks. The enterprising spirit of the English merchants also superseded, in a great measure, the use of French wines, by supplying most of the nations of Europe with wines from Spain, Portugal, and Italy. France had no equivalent to offer England for an abandonment of her growing advantages. It was the superior freedom of the British constitution which had made our shores an asylum for the persecuted and oppressed of all nations; and it was not likely that an advantage to English commerce, so honourably won and so justly deserved, could be relinquished. The chief subject of complaint by the French was, the heavy dues with which their commodities were taxed, and which effected their exclusion, or nearly so, from the English market. These remonstrances, however, produced no effect. The government determined to favour the rising manufactures of their own people; and, if possible, to enable them to rival in foreign markets those French merchants and manufacturers who had long enjoyed almost an exclusive preference.

This year, 1698, a great ferment was created in Scotland by the op-

position which was manifested to the new company which they had been encouraged to form. Obstacles and discouragements of all kinds were thrown in its way. The Scotch had sent agents to Holland and Hamburgh as well as to England, to endeavour to raise a capital by subscription, and to procure adventurers. But the alarm which the merchants in all those places felt lest the new company should interfere with their interests, induced them to employ their influence and ingenuity in endeavouring effectually to thwart the scheme. The Dutch East India company felt keenly jealous of the well-known enterprise and skill of the Scotch. The king of England also allowed his ambassador at Hamburgh to present a memorial to the senate of that city against the new company. The Scottish parliament being now assembled, the patronizers and undertakers of the projected company presented a strong remonstrance and memorial in which they detailed their grievances. The parliament of Scotland warmly espoused the cause of the company, and sent up an address to the king, representing the hardships and injuries which their countrymen were suffering in consequence of the opposition which the king's ministers and agents abroad manifested to the design. The address of the parliament was seconded by a petition from the company, praying that his majesty would be pleased to give such intimations of his pleasure as might prevent opposition to their designs, and enable them to avail themselves of the privileges which had been legally conceded to them. They also implored that he would grant them the service of two small frigates, and bestow such other marks of his royal favour as might appear to him just and reasonable.

The earl of Marchmont, who was the king's commissioner to the Scottish parliament, was devoted to the objects of the court, and employed his utmost influence in endeavouring to allay the national resentment which was excited by the discussion of this subject. But all his efforts were fruitless. The debates and contentions in the parliament became at length so violent, that he was induced to adjourn its meetings for some months. In the meantime the directors of the company complained to Lord Seafield, secretary of state, that their address and petition had received no notice. The reply they obtained afforded little hope that they would accomplish their wishes. He promised to take the earliest opportunity to bring the subject fully before the king; but informed them that this could not be done at present owing to the pressure of public affairs, and the various national concerns which occupied the attention of the king. This reply was understood as a mere evasion, and made manifest that there was no intention to favour the claims of the company, or carry into effect the promise that had been made to the Scottish people. The effect of this disclosure was, as might have been anticipated, highly prejudicial to the cause of William in Scotland. It alienated the people from his person and government, and supplied new matter for dislike and prejudice to his ancient enemies. Multitudes, in no way concerned with the new company, gladly availed themselves of this opportunity for venting the most bitter invectives against King William and his government.

But while this unhappy business was thus allowed to disturb the peace and endanger the safety of the king's government, his mind was tolerably confident that the weakened state of France, and the humbled po-

sition of his rival James, left him little to fear from any further attempts of the Jacobites. He, therefore, paid little regard to the murmurs of Scotland upon this matter of national commerce, while the greater project of effectually repressing the power of France, engaged his most serious and profound attention. An opportunity was presented to him of thwarting the prospects of Louis in succeeding to the crown of Spain. This was undoubtedly a subject of great national interest, and one which William viewed as having a most important bearing upon the security of his own throne and kingdom. He in consequence resolved to employ his utmost influence in settling the succession to the throne of Spain. It was at the present juncture likely to be soon vacant, and the intentions of the king of France were perfectly well understood. Charles the Second was in a declining state of health, and was indeed supposed to be reduced to the last extremity. As soon as Louis became acquainted with this he despatched a fleet towards Cadiz, with orders to intercept the Plate-fleet as it was called, in case the death of Charles should take place before that fleet had actually reached the harbour. William sent another fleet to protect the Spanish galleons, but by some strange tardiness or mismanagement—which so frequently attended William's maritime operations—the English squadron arrived too late. Both the Spaniards and the English loudly complained of this misconduct. It proved, however, of little moment, as the king of Spain did not die as was expected, and the galleons reached their destination in safety without receiving protection from the presence of the English, or sustaining injury from the disappointed hostility of the French fleet. His catholic majesty recovered from his disorder, and all parties were disappointed for the present.

William took this opportunity of relieving his chagrin and recruiting his health by a visit of pleasure and recreation to Holland. The state of his health was the alleged object of his journey, but it was shrewdly suspected that he desired a little reprieve from the opposition and mortification he suffered both from the Scotch and English parliament, and that he sought a more favourable opportunity of negotiation with the king of France than he could enjoy at his own court. Upon his departure, he again left the government in the hands of a regency, with whom he left sealed orders to reserve, under his command and at his disposal, sixteen thousand troops, instead of the ten thousand to which the vote of the parliament had restricted the standing army. The reason alleged for this transgression of the solemn decree of the legislature, was stated to be the apprehensions he entertained that the nation might be involved in fresh troubles by the death of the king of Spain, which could not be far off, and might take place very soon and suddenly, leaving him in the difficulty of having but a very inconsiderable army at his disposal to protect the interests of the nation in the settlement of the succession. This disregard, however, of the voice of the nation, gave general dissatisfaction, and supplied his enemies with a new theme of depreciation and invective. William having transacted some business with the assembly of the states-general, and met some ambassadors at the Hague, retired to his favourite seat at Loo, professedly for the purpose of recreation, but really to mature his plans relative to the Spanish succession. This was obvious to the more knowing observers of his conduct, by the attendants whom he chose to share

the retirement of his country-seat along with him. These were the earls of Essex, Selkirk, and Portland. The negotiation between William and the king of France was carried on with great secrecy. The French knew well that her designs—relative to the dismemberment of Spain—could not be effected while William felt himself at liberty to carry on another treaty with the court of Spain. Louis, therefore, contrived to induce William to abandon that project, and to agree upon a final arrangement with himself, irrespective of the claims of other parties who ought in justice to be heard. Louis had well-concerted his plan for flattering and deluding William, by seeming to concede to him the office of umpire in this important matter, while he really entertained no intention whatever of submitting to his decisions. He obtained William's sanction to this treaty of partition without much difficulty. The terms of it were disgraceful to all concerned. It stipulated that in case the king of Spain died without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places on the coast of Tuscany now belonging to the Spanish monarchy, with various other places, should devolve upon the dauphin, in consideration of his right to the crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, it was agreed should descend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianship of his father; that the duchy of Milan should be settled on the emperor's second son, the archduke Charles. This treaty of partition was altogether one of the most impudent schemes of ambition that was ever planned. Although the king of England was to be no direct gainer by the partition, yet he lent his ear, and supposing him sincere, his solemn sanction also, to the dismemberment and partition of an independent kingdom over which he had no control, and of the natives of which he could not dispose without violating the most sacred rights of humanity. But while Louis was deluding William with a sanction of his purposes, and making him a party to them, his ambassador at Madrid was playing quite a different game, though with the secret intention of working things round at last to the same point. He even went so far as to order an army of 60,000 men to move towards Catalonia. The queen of Spain meanwhile penetrated the designs of Louis, and took her measures accordingly. The French ambassador, however, finding that she was suspicious of his designs, and had removed the king from Madrid to prevent the access of the ambassador, immediately redoubled his efforts to promote the wishes of his master, by engaging in his interest the Cardinal Portocarrero.

During the progress of these intricate and nefarious intrigues and negotiations, the war in Hungary between the emperor, the Turks, and the czar of Russia, which had been carried on with various success for fifteen years, was brought to a termination by the intervention of King William. This completed the pacification of Europe, and was denominated the peace of Carlowitz. The Turks lost by it a great part of their European dominions, which were divided between Austria and Russia.

The king of England continued this season longer on the continent than usual; and by the time of his arrival, which was as late as December, a new parliament had been elected, and had been permitted to meet, but had been prorogued to wait his majesty's return. This parliament was more independent than usual, and after the king's speech, they

proceeded immediately to discuss the matter of the standing army, in which his majesty had transgressed the regulations passed by the last parliament. So irritated were they at his violation of the authority of the house, that they determined to make him feel the severity of their displeasure. Contrary to the usual forms, no address was returned to the speech. A bill was immediately brought in for disbanding all troops above the number of seven thousand for England, and twelve thousand for Ireland, and enacting that all these should be his majesty's British subjects. The chagrin and vexation of William on the prosecution of the bill became excessive. His ministers even would not venture to defend his claim to an army of more than ten or twelve thousand, and these he esteemed not worth having; so the question was debated without his own servants interfering in it. When he found that his army was to be thus cut down, and that he must inevitably be deprived of his Dutch guards and French refugees, his anger was unbounded; and he actually prepared a speech which he intended to deliver on the resignation of the throne and the government. But he was finally diverted from his purpose, and induced to accede to the wishes of the parliament. Yet he was exceedingly reluctant to give up his Dutch guards, and made another effort, after signing the bill, to have them retained. He sent a special request by Lord Ranelagh to the commons; but they were inexorable in their resolution, though they expressed deep sorrow for their necessary opposition to the king's pleasure. It might seem that there was something of vulgar obstinacy in the conduct of the commons on this occasion; but it was fully justified by the king's partiality to his countrymen, by his readiness to retire from his kingdom and spend his time with his favourites in Holland, and by his propensity to be always intermeddling in continental affairs. This opportunity which the parliament fairly possessed of making him feel what they could not openly say as a body, was therefore very properly employed in checking his propensities. The Dutch troops were doomed, and forthwith they were transported, to Holland. William could not reconcile himself to this loss, and never forgave his English subjects for the mortification which they had inflicted upon him, and for the degradation which he supposed he should suffer in the eyes of Europe, and of his old enemy, Louis, in particular. The court and the parliament were now, though seemingly harmonized, most completely estranged from each other. The king reproached the English openly as malicious, ignorant, and ungrateful. The parliament became jealous of the king's enlarged views of religious toleration, and insisted that he should lay restrictions upon the Roman catholics and nonjurors. They even attempted to set aside the new East India company, and some members went so far as to declare that they were not bound by the votes and the faith of the former parliament. But happily the doctrines of these legislators did not prevail. The king, perceiving the peevish and hostile spirit of his parliament, prorogued it for a month, and, meanwhile, departed to Holland. Ireland remained calm; but Scotland became, if possible, daily more clamorous against the king and his government, because he had deprived them, as they supposed, of the fairest prospect they ever enjoyed of becoming rich. Notwithstanding all the impediments which had been thrown in their way, and the decided opposition shown to their plan by the king and his ministers,

they contrived to fit out two large ships and some tenders. These they freighted, and with twelve hundred adventurers set sail from the frith of Edinburgh. Their design was to take possession of the little island of St Thomas, lying between Santa Cruz and Porto Rico. But upon their arrival they found the Danish colours flying on the island. They then steered for the coast of Darien, where they established their colony by treaty with the natives. They commenced proceedings without delay, calling their colony *Caledonia*, and their town *New Edinburgh*. They then wrote a letter to the king of England stating what they had done, and pretending that they had previously received undoubted intelligence that the French intended to make a settlement on that coast, and congratulating his majesty that his subjects had been so happy as to anticipate that design.

The king, instead of receiving favourably this communication, resolved immediately to crush the undertaking. Orders were sent to the governors of all the colonies to grant no assistance whatever to these settlers, and alleging that they had taken possession of Darien contrary to the arrangements which his majesty had entered into with his allies. The position which these colonists had taken was one which commanded the pass between Porto-Bello and Panama, and which therefore divided the Spanish dominions in that part of the world. The courts of France, Spain, and Holland, remonstrated against this colony, and the king did not seem disposed to defend his subjects in the possession of the territory they had fairly purchased. After several attempts to sustain the colony by reinforcements from Scotland, finding themselves bereft of all succour from the English colonies, and being exposed to the attacks of the Spanish colonists, after suffering great hardships they yielded upon an assault and were permitted to retire.

The failure of this scheme was a great national misfortune to Scotland, as many families had embarked their whole fortune in it, so sure were they of realizing untold wealth from their project. But contrary to the usual foresight of their nation they had reckoned without their host. The disaster was wholly charged against the king, whom the whole nation hesitated not to condemn in the strongest terms. They openly reproached him with double dealing, ingratitude, and cruelty. They would even have proceeded to open hostility against his government, if they could have produced any thing like sympathy in the breasts of the English. But the course pursued by the king was rather pleasing to them, and the Scotch were left without the most distant hope of making the king effectually feel their resentment. However, they gave him to understand, that the blood and treasure of the country would not again be readily spent in the service of a sovereign who could thus requite his faithful subjects.

William, however, was not yet content to limit his cares to the prudent management of his own kingdom. He was passing his summer of 1699, at Loo; but not in inglorious ease as many supposed. His thoughts still reverted to European politics. The first scheme for the partition of the Spanish dominion, which had been made matter of secret treaty between Louis and William, was now frustrated by the death of the young prince of Bavaria. The contracting parties, therefore, set themselves to adjust another. But by the time the court of Spain had obtained intelligence of the plot formed for the dismember-

ment of that kingdom, and directed the ambassadors at London, Paris, and the Hague, to remonstrate sharply against the proceedings. The Spanish ambassador at London even went so far as to appeal from King William to his parliament. In consequence, he was ordered to quit the kingdom, and the English ambassador at Madrid was ordered, in his turn, to leave Spain. The negotiation was not interrupted by these expressions of displeasure on the part of Spain, but William returned to England, in October, again to meet the parliament, which had so resolutely resisted the projects of his ambition, and so deeply mortified his military passion. The earl of Sutherland resigned the office of chamberlain, and Mr Montague his chancellorship of the exchequer, anticipating the intractable temper in which it was more than probable parliament would meet.

Accordingly, their first act was to pass over the usual courtesy of an address of thanks for the speech. They voted a remonstrance, complaining that a jealousy and disaffection towards themselves had been produced in his majesty's mind, and praying that he would show his displeasure against all such persons. The king, in his answer, assured them no such representations had been made to him, and that he should account those his worst enemies who should make any such attempts.

These assurances, it was hoped, would have placed the king and parliament on fair terms with each other, but they were not to be thus appeased. They complained against the ministers, and particularly against the management of the navy. The states of North America, it was alleged, had grown rich by piracy, in which the English merchants had suffered severely. A person of the name of Kidd had undertaken to suppress them, and had been furnished with a ship of war for the purpose. But when sent out, instead of going to America, he had directed his course to the East Indies, taken a very valuable prize from the Moors, and sailed with his booty to the West Indies. From thence having made his way to North America, he was seized, and a ship sent out to bring him and other prisoners home to England. But this vessel returned disabled, and the malecontents immediately complained that the whole was a secret plot of some of the king's ministers to favour piracy, and grow rich by allowing it. The matter was also warmly espoused by the East India company, who pleaded that their interests with the Mogul would be injured by conniving at the conduct of Kidd. The ministers, however, justified themselves, and suffered the disgrace to fall upon those noblemen who had embarked in Kidd's adventure.

At this period the attention of the upper house of parliament was called to the case of Dr Watson, bishop of St David's, who was charged with having procured promotion to that see by simony. The lords investigated the charge and voted him guilty. He was in consequence deprived. Severe complaints were also made against Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, as an unfit person for the office of tutor to the duke of Gloucester. He was offensive to the commons on account of his 'Pastoral Care,' a work in which he had asserted that King William's title to the crown of these realms was conquest. His being a Scotsman was another thing that made him at this period odious to the commons of England. The attempt to remove him from his office of tutor to the duke failed, for he had acted with great integrity, and had previously offered to re-

sign his bishopric or refuse the tutorship, but had been in fact compelled to retain both.

The next circumstance which was calculated to irritate the king in the proceedings of parliament was an inquiry into the disposal of the Irish forfeitures. The commissioners appointed for this purpose were mostly under a strong bias towards the views of the popular party, and against the king, and they employed their utmost influence to bring to light every thing that could tend to throw odium on the king's conduct. The result was, they reported that a million and a half of money might be raised out of these estates. But three out of the seven commissioners did not agree to the report. A bill was immediately brought in for applying this property to the public service. The proceedings of the commons upon this affair created the greatest ferment. They determined upon the resumption of the estates that had been sold; and, to prevent any interference with this bill, they consolidated it with a money bill for the service of the year. The lords proceeded to discuss it, made alterations which were rejected by the commons, and finally both houses came into the most formidable and bitter hostility to each other upon its provisions. Conferences were held, which only exasperated them the more. The bill, however, was ultimately passed, and though the king had resolved to reject it, yet he at length yielded. But his resentment could not be concealed. His temper became peevish and sullen, his expressions bitter and passionate. These personal imperfections gave his enemies a greater advantage against him, and contributed to make his situation increasingly painful and humiliating. The commons had entertained a motion levelled against John, Lord Somers, the chancellor of England, but it had been overruled; and they now proceeded to carry an address, praying his majesty that no foreigner, except prince George, might be admitted into his council. This was understood to be levelled against the earls of Albemarle, Galway, and Portland. The king, however, cut short this proceeding by a prorogation.

In the session of 1700, the attention of parliament was particularly called to the regulations for selecting persons to fill the offices of justices, and to the checking of those proceedings on the part of the papists which kept the nation in a state of constant alarm for the safety of their religion. Some severe measures were taken relative to this latter point, and, contrary to the opinions of many who affirmed that William was a papist, his majesty concurred at once in all their proceedings for the discouragement of popery. The old East India company also gained this session a parliamentary confirmation of their privileges for the remainder of the period granted in their charter. This greatly mortified the king, who deemed it an infringement upon his prerogative. But they were now in a temper to pay very little regard to his displeasure. They even appointed commissioners for taking and examining the public accounts, which was in effect to establish inspectors of the king's ministers with authority to call them to account. This parliament, however, made some further arrangements, which proved highly salutary to trade and to the government of the colonies.

Meanwhile, Scotland continued in a ferment. The failure of the Darien colony was an injury which was long and severely felt. It had fallen on a people stern in their resentments, as they were firm in their

purposes. A pamphlet had been published, which detailed the grievances of that country, and impeached the king and his government in no measured terms. It was extensively read, and now engaged the attention of parliament. There it was voted to be a false, traitorous, and scandalous libel, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Then they addressed his majesty that the author, publisher, and printer, might be prosecuted. These proceedings led to a revival of the claims of the Scottish company. But it was voted in the lords that the settlement at Darien was inconsistent with the interests of the British colonies and plantations. An address was presented to the king by the commons, generally approving of his conduct relative to the attempted colony, and testifying their opinion that it could not have been established without great inconveniences both to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. In the king's reply, the important subject of the union of the two kingdoms was suggested to their consideration as a measure which would tend more than any other to their mutual advantage and security. The house of lords entertained the project, and introduced a bill appointing commissioners to meet commissioners from Scotland, for adjusting and cementing into a more perfect harmony the interests of the two kingdoms. This measure was resisted by the commons, who were glad to keep alive the animosity of Scotland, because it served their purposes against the king and his ministry. The Scottish parliament being convened, of course sympathised with their own nation, and warmly espoused the cause of the injured company and ruined settlers. They even adopted the company as a grand national concern, and voted that it was a legal and rightful settlement, which the authority of parliament would maintain. On account of this vote the king suspended their proceedings; but when they came to know that his majesty had wholly abandoned their settlement, that their capital involved in it was lost, and that all their hopes had vanished, they were seized with a paroxysm of fury. An address was got up praying for a meeting of parliament, and urging its absolute necessity in a very high strain of complaint and dictation. After this had been circulated through the kingdom for signatures, it was committed to Lord Ross, with others, for presentation. The king replied briefly that they should know his intentions in Scotland; in the meantime, he adjourned their parliament by proclamation. This was considered a farther insult and injury, and though the king wrote a letter to the duke of Queensberry and the privy council, assuring them of his willingness to grant them reparation for their national loss, and of his good-will and intention to assemble their parliament, yet it had little effect in quieting their clamour and allaying the violence of their rage. It was with difficulty they were prevented from breaking out into open rebellion. Here, however, we must leave Scottish affairs, to trace the relative situation of the parties and affairs of England.

William had now become wearied with his whig ministry, who had, as he thought, drawn upon him many of the vexations he had recently suffered from the parliament; and, in consequence, he lent an ear to some overtures that were made to him by the leaders of the tory interest. They assured him of their ability to manage the house of commons if he would part with some of those ministers who were become odious to that house. The person most unpopular was the lord-chan-

cellor, Somers, the most active leader of the whig party. The king, in consequence of the tory influence to which he was now inclined, ordered Lord Somers to resign the seals to Lord Jersey, who was sent for them. Somers instantly obeyed. But the effect of his dismissal was to leave the administration for some time without a head, and indeed to make it altogether doubtful whether it was whig or tory. There was no man in the latter interest qualified to fill the office efficiently, and for some time the duties of the court of chancery were discharged by a commission to three of the judges. The seals were soon after bestowed upon Nathan Wright, a serjeant-at-law, who was deemed but imperfectly qualified for the office. This year was signalised by the completion of the second partition-treaty, as it was called. It was signed in London on the 21st February, 1700. It differed from the former in decreeing that the Archduke Charles should enjoy the kingdom of Spain, while the dauphin of France should possess Naples and Sicily, and the other dependencies specified in the former treaty of partition. It was supposed that the king of France was altogether insincere in drawing William into this treaty, and that his real intention was to make prejudicial use of it against him at the court of Spain. After the signing of the treaty—which was kept a secret at London and Paris—the king embarked again for Holland; and, soon after his departure, the young duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of seventeen which the Princess Anne had born, died of a malignant fever at the age of eleven. This event caused great exultation on the part of the catholics, as it revived their hopes in favour of the prince of Wales; but the attention of the protestant part of the people was turned to the Princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. In this state of affairs the court of Brunswick began to pay attention to England, while the Jacobite faction became again vigilant, enterprising, and confident. They even stated that the Princess Anne had sent a message to her exiled father.

The prospect for the nation was by no means flattering. The king's health, and even his faculties, seemed to be much impaired; no rule had been established by parliament to regulate the succession; disaffection was springing up fresh and vigorous in all quarters; external and internal enemies were all on the alert, and there was every prospect that the country would be again embroiled in the confusion and ruin of a civil war.

William, however, was still busily occupied in continental affairs. He assisted, in conjunction with the states of Holland, the young king of Sweden to defend his dominions against the Danes and Poles, aided by the elector of Brandenburgh. A combined fleet of English and Dutch was sent to the aid of the young King Charles, and by its assistance he soon compelled his enemies to retire, after concluding an honourable treaty. The partition-treaty had now been communicated to the other parties concerned in it, but it was most unfavourably received. The emperor of Austria, in particular, complained of the indecency and injustice of the whole scheme; while the people of Spain itself were exasperated to the highest pitch, to think that their dominions had been parcelled out by three foreign powers, and their kingdom intentionally, at least, plundered and dismembered. Notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, the court of France had already

acquired considerable influence over the destinies of the Spanish monarchy. A party was formed in the court of Spain itself, who represented that the French monarchy alone was capable of maintaining the succession. The king, while in his weak and declining state, was importuned by this party to consult Pope Innocent the XII. who was decidedly a creature of France. This being done, the weak and dying king was exhorted by the pope to consult the propagation of the faith and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will in favour of the grandson of the French monarch. The question was asked by Count Zinzendorf—the imperial minister at Paris—what the king of France would do if the king of Spain should voluntarily place his grandson upon the throne? The Marquess de Torcy answered, that his most christian majesty would not listen to any such proposal. Louis professed strictly to adhere to the partition-treaty, and refused an offer from the emperor of Austria to treat separately. He professed himself determined not to negotiate with that court without the co-operation of his allies. The publication of the partition-treaty in England met with the decided condemnation of the better part of the nation, while it supplied the enemies of the revolution and of King William with fresh matter of crimination and abuse. Fresh correspondence was commenced with the court of St Germains, and it was generally reported that a vote would be called for in the house of commons, refusing the support of the nation to the execution of the partition-treaty. Every day seemed to augment the stormy elements which were gathering around the head of William, chiefly through his intermeddling in foreign wars, and striving to stretch his continental power beyond its proper limits. He seemed not ignorant of the dangers that threatened him, and not a little anxious at the thought of so much unpopularity throughout the whole of his empire. It might be that he had sought the consolidation of his own throne in the severe struggle he had maintained against France, and that the nation owed him much for stepping forward to its succour in a season of greatest peril to its dearest interests. But he had gone much too far in wishing to hold the balance between the powers of the continent in his own hand. He now began to feel that his situation at home would not have been less safe, and his life far less uneasy, if he had paid more attention to the affairs of his own kingdom.

To this point his attention was now called by the imperative voice of necessity. Scotland in particular had so long been discontented, and so little had been attempted to gratify the wishes of the people, that it became a matter of primary consideration with him to endeavour to settle the long standing quarrel which his Scottish subjects had with him. He accordingly sent orders from Holland for the assembling of the Scottish parliament. He condescended to do this by a letter from himself, in which he promised that he would concur in every thing that could be reasonably proposed for the welfare of that kingdom. Notwithstanding this letter, which was framed expressly to meet their grievances, and which assigned ample reasons for not suffering their colonial settlement at Darien to be established, yet the parliament, when it met, manifested no disposition to be on good terms with the king. Even his promises to show special favour to the presbyterian church, to prevent the growth of popery, to suppress vice and promote the

piety and virtue of the nation, had no harmonizing effect upon them Another national address was got up to the king, repeating and exaggerating the same complaints as formerly. To this the king replied, that he could take no further notice of their unfortunate settlement, and that he had hoped his former declaration would have satisfied all his dutiful subjects. Finding all their murmurs and complaints useless, the leaders in parliament listened to the private solicitations of the ministry, and began to change their temper and expressions. The violence of the parliament was mollified, and the outcry of the people subsided into unavailing murmurs. The king's wishes were complied with in granting the necessary supplies, and the earl of Argyle was honoured with the title of duke, for the effectual assistance he had rendered to the king's commissioners in bringing the session of parliament to a successful issue.

The king had returned to England in the end of October 1700, and in a few weeks received intelligence that the king of Spain was dead. This event had been long anticipated, but it soon appeared that William had been made the dupe of Louis. In spite of the treaty of partition which had so long been concocting between them, it now came out that the private influence of France had accomplished the object of the king; for when the will of the Spanish monarch was opened, it appeared that he had left the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, sole heir to the Spanish throne and all its dependencies; and that in default of him and his children, it was to devolve on the Archduke Charles and his heirs, after him on the duke of Savoy and his posterity. When this will was first announced to the French court, Louis professed to hesitate and to hold sacred his engagement with his allies; even a cabinet council was called, in which it was agreed that the treaty of partition should prevail. But the dauphin spoke of his son's title with an air of resolution, and Madame de Maintenon strenuously pleaded the right of the duke of Anjou, and most of the other members of the court urged upon the king the admission of his grandson's claim, and the necessity of adhering to the will of the late king of Spain, backed as it was also by the authority and recommendation of the pope. At length the king of France seemed to yield reluctantly to their arguments, and professed himself constrained by the necessity of the case. It was obvious, however, that the whole was a piece of acting, and that the scheme had been long and secretly pursued. Louis had dexterously contrived to amuse William with one scheme, while another was sedulously and vigorously prosecuted in a different quarter. Indeed it is surprising, after the proofs that William had received of the utter perfidy and ambition of Louis, that he should suppose him sincere for a single moment, in the prosecution of a treaty which secured so little to himself of a monarchy to which he had long turned his attention. The earl of Manchester was at this period the English ambassador at Paris, and when he began to inquire into the whole affair, the French minister openly stated that the treaty of partition had never been feasible,—that it could not have answered the purpose proposed by it,—that the emperor of Austria had refused to accede to it,—and that indeed it had been condemned by all the princes to whom it had been proposed. These, with many other arguments employed by De Torcy to justify his master, were closed, by professing that the king of France

had practised self-denial in accepting the will instead of the treaty, for that the latter would undoubtedly have been more to his interest. This explanation was followed up by official communications to the several courts, to which no decisive answers could be returned till they had had time to consult each other. The emperor of Austria, however, at once declared against the will, as surpassing in iniquity the treaty of partition, and declared his determination to sustain his claim by force of arms. The Spaniards foreseeing that measures would be taken against them, and in favour of the claims of Austria, became more than ever zealous to obtain the full protection of France. Hostile movements were soon made. Part of the Dutch army quartered in Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, were made prisoners of war because they would not acknowledge the young king of Spain, and French garrisons were admitted into the Spanish Netherlands and Milan. This event came upon the states so unexpectedly, that they found themselves in no situation to resent the conduct of France, and fearing that further hostilities might be commenced before their allies could come to their assistance, or their own armies be recruited and assembled, they determined forthwith to acknowledge the will of the late king of Spain, and accordingly wrote to Louis, admitting the claim of the new king. Louis, in return for their promptitude, immediately released their battalions. Meanwhile King William found himself in no situation to dispute the pretensions of the young king of Spain, supported as he knew he would now be by the utmost power of France. Finding himself completely deceived, he yet dissembled his vexation, and made no hostile indications against the movements of France, but suffered things to remain as they were until he had consulted the other powers of Europe. He was probably the less disposed to resort to arms, as his infirmities were daily increasing, and of course his desire of ease. Moreover, he had now placed the tories at the head of affairs, and it was quite certain they could not proceed without a very material alteration in the house of commons. The king, therefore, was advised to dissolve the parliament by proclamation, and issue writs for a new one. While these measures were in progress, the emperor sent an ambassador to England to explain his claims to the Spanish monarchy on behalf of Leopold. But he was coldly received, and no intimation given that England would join in supporting his pretensions. Indeed neither the ministers nor the nation were inclined to interfere in another continental war. Already they had paid dearly for the propensities of their sovereign, and they deemed it no longer prudent to expend the national resources in the projects which might engage the attention of the continental sovereigns. As to the balance of power so much talked of, and which William had so fondly imagined he held, it was evident that he had been pursuing a mere chimera, and had really now no power whatever, or but exceedingly little, in regulating this balance. The views of the ministry and the country were, moreover, confirmed by perceiving that France was not in a situation greatly to disturb that balance of power even were she so disposed, and that Britain had now a fairer prospect of using her influence to advantage, by remaining passive till she should see in which scale it might be most advantageously placed. The ministry were probably determined to this course of policy by their hatred to the whigs, and a wish to discountenance

all their measures. The king, however, yielded to these measures more from necessity than inclination, for there can be no doubt that his firm and sincere opinion was, that the union of the French and Spanish monarchy would prove fatal to the cause of liberty in Europe, and greatly retard, if not endanger, the protestant cause throughout the whole of Christendom. These evils he seriously dreaded, and there is no room to doubt either his sincerity or his zeal in the protestant cause. He saw no other means of preventing the results he dreaded, but by a general union of the European powers against the prevailing influence of France. Yet he could not prevail upon his ministers to carry his wishes into effect, and, in consequence, the ambassador of the emperor was treated with distance and reserve, though he was perfectly aware of the king's personal and private wishes upon the subject.

The parliament met in February, and the king's wishes being complied with as to the choice of Mr Robert Harley for speaker, their attention was called to the important matter of the succession to the British throne, and the affairs of Spain. This parliament is said to have been chosen almost entirely under tory influence, and never was bribery carried to so great an extent. It is said that a double or triple stream of corruption was employed at the same time; that besides the ordinary factions of whig and tory trying to outbid each other with the electors, immense influence was employed by France, and vast sums expended in endeavouring to strengthen the opposition against the king and his ministers. The house had no sooner met for business, than a motion was made for an address to the king, desiring him to acknowledge the young king of Spain. It is believed that this motion would certainly have been carried had not a certain member observed he expected the next vote would be for acknowledging the pretended prince of Wales. This had the effect of startling many of the members who had favoured the measure, and the very dread of any connexion between the two things, induced them immediately to abandon the motion, which was in consequence lost.

The attention of parliament was subsequently occupied with considering the various treaties into which William had entered since he came to the throne, as well as in reviving their friendly alliance with the states of Holland since they had admitted the title of the young Spanish king. Although these discussions in parliament by no means met the wishes of William as to French affairs, yet he was gratified to find a disposition to cement the connexion with Holland, and was pleased to regard graciously the declaration of the commons that they would support him in every thing that was deemed requisite for the defence and mutual advantage of Great Britain and of the States-General, as well as in his designs to preserve the peace of Europe.

By an extraordinary accident, a letter at this period arrived in London from Paris by mail, which had been put into a wrong bag. It was addressed to the earl of Perth, governor of the prince of Wales, and was written by the earl of Melford. It contained the scheme of another invasion of England. As soon as it was discovered, and the contents known to the king, it was published. The parliament proceeded to vote addresses, imploring the king to seize all horses and arms of disaffected persons, and to take all necessary measures for securing the kingdom against the approach of a foreign enemy; particularly they

recommended that the fleet should be kept in an efficient state. The alarm excited by this letter was no doubt excessive and ridiculous, but the wakefulness of men's fears at that period is to be ascribed to the formidable number of malecontents at home, and the contiguity of the exiled prince, who might, on any turn in French affairs favourable to his views, have been landed on the English shore in a few days with such a number of followers, and have been surrounded by such a proportion of his former subjects as might have made his presence truly formidable. It did not appear, however, that this new project of invasion had received any countenance, or was even known to the king of France. He complained that it was taken up as so serious a matter, and that it was evidently intended to make it the cause of an alienation between himself and the king of England; as a proof, therefore, of his disapprobation of the earl of Melford's proceedings, he banished him to Angers. Here this matter ended. The parliament now earnestly entered upon the business of the succession. The act of settlement was brought in and fully discussed. Mr Harley had the principal management of this bill. It declared some preliminary matters, and then adjudged the Princess Sophia of Hanover the next heir in succession, in the protestant line, to his majesty and the Princess Anne, and their heirs respectively, and that the farther limitation of the crown should be to the said Princess Sophia and her heirs. Some few peers entered a protest against this act of settlement. But the bill was passed, to the general satisfaction of the country, and the earl of Macclesfield was sent to notify it to the princess, and to confer upon her the order of the garter.

There were several members of the house of Stuart in the various courts of Europe, and numerous relatives to them, much nearer to the English throne than the Princess Sophia; but as they were all catholics, they were peremptorily excluded by this act. The dutchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of King Charles I. ordered her ambassador to make a protestation in her name against this act of the British parliament. But no notice was taken of this protest.

William having gained some advantages in the present session of parliament, felt encouraged to renew with France the discussion relative to the treaty of partition. He despatched Mr Stanhope to the states-general, there to represent to the ambassadors of France and Spain the necessity of agreeing to certain articles which he had to propose for the purpose of attaining the object proposed in the treaty of partition. His demands were, security from France for the peace of Europe,—the withdrawment of French troops from the Netherlands,—an engagement that no part of the territories belonging to the crown of Spain should ever be transferred to the dominion of France,—with various minor articles, the whole of which was treated by the French and Spanish ambassadors as exorbitant and absurd. Louis was even filled with indignation when he heard of these proposals, and deemed them a mere indication of the hostility which William was meditating against him. He at once refused to give any further security for the peace of Europe than what was given by the treaty of Ryswick. Meantime, he employed agents and emissaries to tamper with the English parliament, and through them to throw all possible impediments in the way of a continental war.

There is little doubt that William would have embraced an opportu-

nity, had such offered itself, of forming an extensive confederacy against the French and Spaniards; but of course the emperor of Austria would not join him in any effort to enforce the treaty of partition, and the states-general had already renounced it by acknowledging the duke of Anjou as king of Spain, and by acceding to the general arrangement pointed out by the will of the late king. On the other hand, it is quite certain that he could entertain no expectation that the king of France would listen to the new articles which had been proposed to him. By communicating to his parliament, however, the proposals he had made, William in all probability expected that he should secure the concurrence of parliament step by step, and that the refusal of Louis to accede to his proposals would rouse the people of England against the French, and prepare them to tolerate, or even to second his further advances towards a confederacy against France. He therefore laid his proceedings before the house, as far as he had gone, and gave them assurance that he should from time to time make them acquainted with the progress of the negotiation. His intentions after all were but imperfectly concealed. The commons guessed his design, and saw that he was aiming at a confederacy against France, in which he would fain have made them parties. They therefore took effectual measures for signifying intelligibly enough their disapprobation, both of the king's present intentions, and of his past transactions with respect to the Spanish monarchy. They required the partition-treaty to be laid before them, and then they proceeded to discuss it at length with great warmth. Many members spoke with violence and indecency of the king's conduct in it. One said it was no better than a robbery on the highway; and another, of the name of Howe, declared that it was a felonious treaty. So highly was the king provoked by the expression of these sentiments, that he declared he would have demanded satisfaction of Mr Howe by his sword, had it not been for the disparity of their condition. In the house of lords similar debates arose. They complained bitterly that the sanction of the great seal should have been given to this treaty without the knowledge of the privy council; that the emperor had been sacrificed to the interests of France. After long and fierce debates, in which the king's conduct was defended by the courtiers, an address was voted, signifying that they entirely disapproved of the partition-treaty as one which endangered the peace of Europe and was prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain. They complained that this treaty had been concealed from the privy-council, and humbly implored his majesty in future to lay all such matters of importance before the council of his native-born subjects, and intimated, that as this treaty had been chiefly managed by a foreigner, (the earl of Portland,) it would be wise in him hereafter to employ only his native subjects, men of probity, wisdom, and fortune, who were much better qualified to advise him than strangers, who could not be well acquainted with the affairs of his kingdom. Moreover, they gave him to understand, that as the king of France after all had completely overreached him in this treaty, which was now become null and void, it would become him to proceed with more caution. This severe treatment the king bore with sullen mortification. It was doubly painful, as it was inflicted through the instrumentality and influence of the men whom he had just raised to his councils, and was, moreover, a decided intimation of the line of policy they meant to adopt. His reply

was, that their address contained matter of great moment, and that he should take care that all the treaties he concluded should subserve the interest and honour of England.

In the end of March 1701, he communicated to the parliament the termination of his negotiations with France, that Louis would grant no other security for the maintenance of peace but a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick. The states now claimed the succours stipulated in the treaty of 1677, and their memorial on the subject was laid before parliament. The house having considered his majesty's message, desired him to continue his negotiations in concert with the states, and assured him of their support in carrying into effect the stipulations of the treaty of 1677, by which England was bound to provide, for the protection of the states, 10,000 men and twenty ships of war. The address was designed, by confining the king to the single treaty with the states, to preclude all attempts to promote a general confederacy. The king so understood it, and felt not a little chagrined at their covered attack upon his designs, though he was constrained to thank them for their readiness to grant the required assistance to Holland.

Soon after, he received, through the hands of the earl of Manchester, the ambassador at Paris, a letter from the young king of Spain, expressing a wish to cultivate friendship with the king of England. His new ministers importuned him to lay aside his resentment, and express civility and respect towards the king of Spain. He was at length prevailed upon to do so, though with great reluctance and hesitation. But the emperor found himself reduced hereby to a condition almost hopeless, as his chief reliance for resistance to the schemes of France had been on England and the states. Meanwhile it became daily more evident that it was the design of France to attack and distress the states. This induced the parliament to think that there might arise some danger to the peace of Europe by the recent union of France and Spain; and they, therefore, readily assented to the king's wishes for the immediate equipment of these armaments both by sea and land, which had been guaranteed by former treaties between Holland and England. These proceedings were followed by others, which could not fail to be irritating in the highest degree to the king. They proposed to impeach the earl of Portland for his conduct in the partition-treaty; and, after further consideration, they proceeded to include in this impeachment Lord Somers, the earl of Orford, and Lord Halifax, for being privy to and advisers of the same measure, which they stigmatized as derogatory to the honour, and injurious to the commerce of Great Britain. The impeachment of these parties, the commons were well aware, would produce no result in the upper house. They, therefore, proceeded, in a more summary way, to address the king, imploring him to dismiss them from his councils and presence for ever, and concluded, by pledging themselves to support his throne and government against all enemies at home and abroad. The king's reply was evasive as to the object of the address. The lords meanwhile perceived that this address of the commons was a designed reflection upon the justice and wisdom of their house, and they accordingly resented the insult of the commons, by preparing a counter address to the king, imploring him to pass no judgment upon the impeached lords until an opinion had been given according to the long-established usages of

parliament. The commons were then required to bring forward their articles against the impeached lords. But they made little progress in this part of the business. The most bitter and severe collision now arose between the two houses. To such an extreme was it carried, that they both became objects of scorn to the nation at large. In the end, the impeached lords were dismissed for want of persons to carry on the prosecution, and the two houses seemed placed in a position of most alarming hostility to each other. The tory ministry thus gave a handle to their enemies, which was efficiently employed against them. A petition was got up by the county of Kent, praying the house of commons to be united, to attend to the public business, and to regard the voice of the nation. This being presented by five gentlemen of considerable fortune and influence, was deemed an outrageous insult. The commons ordered the gentlemen who had presented it to be taken into custody and committed to prison. There they remained the objects of popular enthusiasm, and of the flattering attentions of all the leaders of the whigs.

At this juncture the celebrated Daniel de Foe first appeared upon the political arena. A pamphlet was published signed *Legion*, in the name of the inhabitants of certain counties, severely reflecting on the conduct of the tory ministry. It produced a wonderful impression throughout the country. Smollett says the commons were equally provoked and intimidated by it. They deemed it wise to take no notice of it; but like crafty politicians, more influenced by the love of place and power than of their country, they endeavoured to shape their measures more to the wishes of the people, who now began to entertain alarming apprehensions upon the union of France and Spain. They procured an address to be passed, assuring his majesty of the support of his faithful commons in any treaty he might think proper to form with the emperor of Austria and other states, with the view of effectually resisting the encroachments of French ambition. They then proceeded to vote liberal supplies for the year, and granted nearly three millions. The king, well pleased with the issue of a session that had commenced so inauspiciously, and been throughout so stormy, determined to prevent further collision between the two houses, by putting an end to their sittings on the 24th of June.

The troops destined for Holland were placed under the command of the earl of Marlborough, a distinguished general and politician. The king had now a fair prospect of seeing his favourite scheme of a confederacy against France permanently established, and himself at the head of it. Having brought the affairs of the session to this termination, he hastened to Holland, where he immediately examined the state of the frontiers and of the garrisons, and set every thing in a position to meet the storm which was threatening from France. The war had already commenced against the French in Italy, where Prince Eugene, at the head of the imperial troops, had manifested extraordinary talents in the conduct of his operations. The Spaniards themselves were beginning to feel dissatisfied with their new sovereign, and to suspect the designs of Louis. The change which had taken place in the aspect of affairs was soon perceived by the French monarch, who exerted himself with consummate ability to meet the dangers which he saw were threatening him. The duke of Saxony, whose second daughter was

now married to the young king of Spain, was importuned to come forward to the assistance of the king of France; but having obtained all he could expect, his conduct became cool and wary. The French influence, however, prevailed with the elector of Bavaria, of Cologne, the dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, and with the king of Portugal. But while engaging these unimportant allies, the French coast was beleagured by the combined fleets of England and Holland. Louis saw the forces that were gathering to meet him, and was not unconscious how ill-prepared he was for the onset. Spain was utterly exhausted. Her councils were without vigour, her nobles were impoverished, and the common people reduced to the condition of heartless paupers. France itself was in no condition to meet another war. She had not recovered from the exhaustion of the former one, and she had now to meet three of the most formidable princes of Europe, confederating earnestly to limit and to humble her power. By the month of September, 1701, the confederacy between Austria, Holland, and England, was concluded at the Hague. Two months were allowed to obtain satisfaction from France, and then, in case of failure, hostilities were to commence.

At this period James died at St Germains, and was interred in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris, without funeral pomp. Before his death he was visited by Louis, who compassionated his condition, and promised that, after his death, he would own his son as king of England. This title was also acknowledged by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. William being informed of this open insult upon his title, immediately ordered the earl of Manchester to quit Paris without an audience of leave. This imprudent declaration of Louis roused the spirits of the English nation, and made the war with France extremely popular. In all probability the king of France would not have ventured upon it, had he not foreseen that a war with England was inevitable, and that it might be of some service to him in the prosecution of it, to hold the claim of the prince of Wales over William's head. But William had now concerted his favourite confederacy. The emperor was to bring 90,000 men into the field, the states 102,000, and England 40,000, forming an army of 232,000. But while these arrangements were in progress, the king's health was declining, and his enemies supposed he would soon be removed. The Spanish minister even hired physicians to ascertain the nature of his disorder, and the probable period of his continuance. Upon their testimony it was reported at Madrid that he would not live another month. However, he disappointed this prognostication. Still it is certain he felt that his life was drawing to a close, and communicated his feelings and views to his favourite minister and friend, the earl of Portland, but begged that he would keep this information secret till after his death. William concealed his bodily weakness and decline in a very successful manner, and occasionally exerted himself with surprising vigour and spirit.

In the month of November he again returned to England, where he found the whig and tory parties in a state of fierce contention. They descended to the most scandalous language in their treatment of each other, and employed all the artifices of slander, calumny, and falsehood, in endeavouring to blacken each other's characters. The king undoubt-

edly had been grossly deceived by the party to whom he had intrusted the government. They had promised to second his views, and had done every thing to thwart them; had assured him of their ability to manage parliament, and had done nothing but keep it in a disgraceful state of collision all the time it had been sitting. After the king's return he could not help manifesting his disappointment at the conduct of his new ministers; and especially showed such coolness to the earl of Rochester, as induced him to tell his majesty he could serve him no longer. The king, however, treated him with great indifference, for the nation had now completely entered into his views of a confederacy, and breathed nothing but defiance against France. He therefore felt himself in a great measure standing in a position in which he was entitled to dictate to his ministers, and not they to him. He at once dissolved the parliament, and thereby appealed to the feeling of the country. The whigs prevailed in the elections, though both parties were charged with open bribery and corruption. When the house assembled, it was expected the choice of speaker would fall upon Sir Thomas Lyttleton. The king's pleasure, it was well known, inclined that way. But notwithstanding, Mr Harley was chosen. The king's speech was well received, both by the parliament and by the nation. It was admirably suited to the crisis, and was so popular, that it became a sort of loyal badge hung up with various decorations in almost every house. Of course, the parliament and nation generally responded to the temper and sentiments of the speech. The lords surpassed the commons in their indignation against the French monarch; they openly pronounced him a violator of treaties, and declared their opinion that England and its allies never could be safe until the house of Austria was restored to its rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to the limits of his ancient kingdom.

The king proceeded to place great confidence in the present parliament by frankly laying before them copies of all the treaties he had lately concluded. This act pleased the house of commons in particular, and they at once both approved of all that had been done, and declared their readiness to grant all the supplies forthwith. They proceeded in the public business with enthusiasm and despatch. They passed a bill for the security of the succession and of the king's person, and for extinguishing all the hopes of the prince of Wales. They proposed a bill for attainting the prince of Wales as pretender, and when this was passed and brought into the upper house, the zeal of the lords was evinced by adding a clause for the attainting of the queen also. But this amendment was rejected by the commons; and when the lords passed a separate bill against the queen, it was neglected by the lower house. Further proceedings were taken as to the abjuration of the pretender, and the security of the person of the Princess Anne as heir-apparent to the crown.

The enthusiasm with which the whole nation now entered into the design of the war tended greatly to soften the existing animosity of parties, and to unite all factions into one. The contentions respecting the two East India companies had long divided the city of London, but both these parties now seemed to think that their respective interests would be promoted rather by consolidation than by rivalry, and a union was therefore proposed.

In Ireland some troubles arose out of the act of resumption that had been passed. Many complained by petition of the ruinous effect of the measure to the protestant interests, and of the general conduct of the commissioners. Their petitions were pronounced groundless and their complaints frivolous. But afterwards the house was disposed to listen to some other petitions, and to grant a measure of redress.

In Scotland, however, the animosities of former years still prevailed. The earl of Nottingham proposed the dissolution of the Scottish parliament, as hitherto it had enjoyed only the character of a convention, and might be legally called in question. He urged that the legality of the protestant succession, as now secured by the act of settlement, could only be established by a union of the two kingdoms, and that for this purpose a new parliament ought to be summoned. The proposal pleased the king, and he sent a letter to the commons expressing his earnest desire that such a treaty might be prepared; but at the same time stating, that, owing to the agitated state of the public mind in Scotland, he could not call a parliament without great risk. The project of the union was therefore deferred to a season of greater tranquillity.

The plan of operations for the ensuing campaign had been concerted with the allies before William's return from Holland, but here his course was suddenly stayed. His constitution was much broken up, and his health rapidly declining. He took every precaution both to preserve it and to conceal its decay. His fondness for horse-exercise induced him often to engage in it. On the 21st of February, 1701, he had set out on horseback to go from Kensington to Hampton-court, when his horse fell, and he was thrown to the ground with such violence as to fracture his clavicle. He was conveyed to Hampton-court, where his surgeon reduced the fracture. But on being conveyed the same evening in his coach to Kensington, the bones were displaced; but the fracture was again set at Kensington by his physician. For several weeks he appeared to be in a fair way of recovery from this misfortune, when appearances of injury or disease were discovered in his knee. After a short time his symptoms improved, and he was able to appoint a commission for passing some important bills, and in particular one in favour of the Quakers, which legalized their solemn declaration instead of the usual form of an oath.

In the beginning of March he was so far recovered of his accident and of his lameness as to be able to take an airing in one of the galleries of his palace at Kensington. But sitting down after this exertion he fell asleep, and was seized with a shivering, which was followed by fever. The physicians found all their efforts ineffectual. He became so weak as to be unable to write his name, and seemed to lose all interest in his most important affairs. The earl of Albemarle arriving at this juncture from the continent with private information respecting his affairs, he received the intelligence with much indifference, and said, "*Je tire vers ma fin*,—I approach my end" On the eighth of May he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign. He was interred in Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster-abbey. Concerning his royal career opinions differ as widely as concerning any prince that ever ascended the British throne. All, however, agree that the nation was under great obligations to him, both for rescuing it from the most imminent peril of a second civil war, and for maintaining its

interests honourably abroad. It is admitted on all hands that he involved the country in expensive and destructive wars abroad. As to their necessity and wisdom authors greatly differ. William seemed, however, to be placed in the dilemma either of fighting his foes abroad, or of allowing them to make formidable invasions of his kingdom at their pleasure. He was religious, temperate, and sincere; possessing great self-command and coolness. His military genius is a theme of universal admiration; but his domestic management has been severely condemned. Great exertions were made during his reign for the promotion of the protestant religion, and for the suppression of vice and immorality. There can be no doubt of his anxious wish to see the people virtuous and religious; yet strange to say, vice and profaneness of all kinds abounded as extensively during his reign as during that of any of his predecessors. This may be attributed to his frequent absence, and to the artifices continually practised by the different political factions to gain the ascendancy. Bribery and corruption were carried to the highest pitch, and the consequences were extensively injurious to the morals of the people. When the king resided in England he had so much political business to arrange, and so many public concerns both to review and to regulate prospectively, that he had little leisure to perceive the injurious influence which the political factions were exerting over the character of the nation. Like most men when they arrive at power, he overlooked its temptations, and violated the principles by which he had obtained it. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that he did much for the security of British liberty, both civil and religious; and that if his views were not altogether enlarged and perfect upon these points, they were at least vastly in advance of all his royal predecessors, and of most of his royal contemporaries. The testimony of Bishop Burnet—who was no enthusiast, and who enjoyed ample opportunities—is perhaps the most just and accurate; and though it may be allowed to savour of partiality, yet it is unquestionably the opinion of a pious, wise, and upright prelate. He says, "I considered him as a person raised up of God to resist the power of France, and the progress of tyranny and persecution. The series of the five princes of Orange, that was now ended in him, was the noblest succession of heroes that we find in any history. And the thirty years, from the year 1672 to his death, in which he acted so great a part, carry in them so many amazing steps of a glorious and distinguishing providence, that in the words of David, he may be called, 'the man of God's right hand, whom he made strong for himself.' After all the abatements that may be allowed for his errors and faults, he ought still to be reckoned among the greatest princes that our history, or indeed that any other, can afford. He died at a critical time for his own glory; since he had formed a great alliance, and had projected the whole scheme of the war."[1]

Anne, princess of Denmark, came to the throne at a period truly critical and important. The state of affairs, both at home and abroad, required a mind of unusual vigour, and a hand of no common energy to regulate them. The nation had much to fear from a female head, and little to hope from what was already known of Anne's character. The

[1] Burnet's Own Times, vol. ii. p. 177. fol.

Jacobites seemed contented with her accession, and as there was no probability of her having any heir to the throne, they anticipated the day when they might be able so far to prevail upon her as to induce a settlement favourable to the pretender. Anne had no doubt sympathized far more deeply in her father's misfortunes than the nation supposed, and though she concealed such feelings with much success, yet there can be no doubt that the propensities of her mind had been well understood by the late king and queen, and that this was the true secret of that alienation which had so long subsisted between the families. Anne had chosen for her favourite the countess of Marlborough, a woman of the most imperious temper and intriguing manners. She had instilled all her principles into Anne with too much success, and had made her fond of arbitrary power, and disdainful of restraints upon royalty. Her accession, however, was followed by enthusiastic addresses from parliament, and from various other bodies throughout the kingdom. The queen's first speech to the privy-council was well received, as it had been well considered. She promised to tread in the steps of William, and to fulfil and carry out all his treaties and plans of operation for securing the balance of power in Europe, and the protestant succession, as determined by the act of settlement. The news of King William's death had spread consternation through Holland, and alarm among the allies. But it was soon followed by the queen's most solemn assurances, that she should fulfil all his engagements, and prosecute the war undertaken by the allies with the utmost vigour.

Marlborough was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the states, and was then declared generalissimo of all the queen's forces both by sea and land. This arrangement highly gratified the Dutch, who looked to him for a strenuous and determined prosecution of the war. The court of France, as was to be expected, evinced the utmost joy at William's death; and the enthusiasm with which it was heard generally through France, may be taken as a fair test of the apprehension with which his hostility was regarded. The event was employed by Louis to dissuade the allies from the confederacy. The states-general he assailed with great earnestness, exhorting them now to consult their interest by asserting their independence and rejecting the confederacy. But the Dutch expressed their resentment publicly against the insinuations of the French court, and their exalted veneration for the late stadtholder of Holland and king of England.

The earl of Marlborough succeeded fully in all his arrangements for the prosecution of the war, and had settled with the allies that it should be declared at Vienna, London, and the Hague on the same day. Having made these arrangements abroad, Marlborough returned home to settle other matters with the queen and the cabinet. He was particularly anxious to have such a person at the head of the treasury as he could confide in for accuracy and diligence in the necessary remittances; and he had fixed upon Godolphin for this purpose. In this arrangement he succeeded, and further, induced the council to enter into the war, not as auxiliaries to the emperor and states-general, but as principals. The war was accordingly denounced as agreed to, on the fourth of May. This proceeding disconcerted and provoked the French monarch to a high degree, but he was not in a situation to make his enemies feel his resentment.

In the first session of parliament under Queen Anne, a bill was brought in for enabling her majesty to appoint commissioners for carrying into effect the design of the union between England and Scotland. Though the bill excited much opposition among the tory faction, yet it ultimately passed both houses, and became law on the 6th of May. Soon after this the queen dismissed the parliament by prorogation, promising that she would carefully preserve and maintain the act of toleration. Affairs in Scotland were now thrown into great confusion by the controversy respecting the lawfulness of the sitting parliament. A protest was formally entered against it by the duke of Hamilton and seventy-nine members. But the parliament continued to sit and despatch business under the sanction of the court. They passed an act for enabling the queen to appoint commissioners for prosecuting the projects of the union. After this the queen's commissioner adjourned the parliament. Her majesty immediately proceeded to act upon the authority of the English and Scottish parliaments for appointing commissioners to arrange the articles of union. They commenced their sittings at the Cockpit on the 22d October, 1702. In December her majesty paid them a visit, with the view of quickening their proceedings. The arrangement was speedily settled so far as the monarchy was concerned. But when they came to questions of trade and commerce, insuperable difficulties seemed to arise relative to the rights and privileges of the Scottish company trading to Africa and the East. The pertinacity of the Scottish commissioners seemed to preclude all further proceedings; and, in consequence, there the matter rested. Meanwhile the allies were not idle on the continent. The dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha were surprised by the old duke of Zele and the elector of Brunswick. By this movement these dukes were compelled to renounce their alliance with France, and submit to the common council of the empire. Thus the whole north of Germany was brought under the influence of the confederates. But notwithstanding these successes, the affairs of the allies assumed no very favourable appearance in other quarters. The war raged fiercely between the young king of Sweden and Poland. The elector of Bavaria had tampered with the court of Vienna, only to raise his terms with France, and at length admitted French garrisons into Liege, and all his fortresses on the Rhine. The elector of Saxony was too hard pressed by the king of Sweden to supply his quota of troops, and the king of Prussia stood in terror of the approaching forces of Sweden. The duke of Savoy had, in conjunction with the French, entered and overrun all the state of Milan, and the pope, though he professed neutrality, evinced a strong bias to the interests of the French king. Some operations of a military kind took place under the name of the elector of Bavaria, in which the allies were successful, before the duke of Marlborough returned from England. But when he arrived, the states made him generalissimo of all their forces. In a short time he assembled an army of 60,000 at Nimeguen; and soon after, he manœuvered so successfully as to drive the French out of Spanish Guelderland. The duke of Burgundy, who was astonished at the success of Marlborough's movements, resigned the command of the French army to Boufflers, and retired to Versailles. But even Boufflers could not stand before the amazing energy of Marlborough. Having driven the French army within their own frontiers, his attention

was next directed to the reduction of Werk, Vento, St Michael, Ruremonde, and other fortresses which commanded important rivers. All these places he speedily reduced under the power of the allies. Boufflers, at the head of the French army, though a general of great experience and skill, seemed confounded at the rapidity with which Marlborough moved forward, and utterly unable to make any stand against him. When he saw that it was useless to attempt to stay the impetuosity of the English and Dutch troops, he retired towards Liege, determined at least to cover that city. But the confederates followed up their successes so rapidly, that he was compelled to draw off with precipitation towards Tongeren, from whence he still further pursued his retreat to Brabant.

The earl of Marlborough soon took possession of Liege, and, in a few days, brought the citadel to a capitulation, where he took possession of 300,000 florins in gold and silver, besides notes for above a million, which, being drawn on merchants in the city, he compelled them to pay. By this unexpected success, the earl raised his military character, and excited the entire confidence of the states-general, who now, instead of trembling in suspense for Nimeguen, as they had done at the beginning of the campaign, saw the enemy driven back by a single blow within his own frontiers.

The French army on the Rhine met with better success than that under the duke of Burgundy. They defeated the imperial general, and took several towns, but these were retaken by the prince of Hesse-Cassel before the end of the campaign. In Italy the imperial army under Prince Eugene was badly sustained, and suffered to languish for want of reinforcements and supplies. The general was obliged to relinquish some of his acquisitions, and provide for his safety the best way he could. While in this situation, the young king of Spain became fired with the ambition of putting an end to this war, and set sail for Naples. From thence he proceeded to Final, where he had an interview with the duke of Savoy, who now began to be alarmed at the prospect of the Milanese being under the power of the king of France. He accordingly forbade the Duke de Vendome to engage Prince Eugene, until he himself should arrive in the camp. The prince, though greatly in want of supplies, was enabled to maintain his post after the king of Spain took the field. Some slight skirmishes took place; but after several ineffectual efforts to compel the prince to retire, Philip, king of Spain, was himself obliged to return home without having effected any thing of importance. Meanwhile the king of France employed all the tricks of cunning and bribery in endeavouring to hamper the movements of the allies, and raise up new enemies against them. He bribed wherever he could find an opportunity, and is said to have prevented the succours from being sent to Prince Eugene, by corrupting Count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna. He endeavoured to engage the Turks again in a war with the emperor, but here his design failed. Then he embroiled Poland, by gaining the cardinal-primate to his interest. He prompted the young king of Sweden, who advanced to Lissau, and defeated Augustus.

At this time the combined squadrons made an unsuccessful attack upon Cadiz; but shortly after Sir George Rooke attacked a fleet of the enemy in the harbour of Vigo, having under their protection a num-

ber of galleons from the West Indies. This was a splendid victory, as the forcing of the harbour was a work of great difficulty and bravery. The combined fleet having effected their entrance, and silenced the batteries, destroyed eight ships of war, took ten, and eleven galleons. Fourteen millions of pieces of eight are said to have been lost in six galleons that were destroyed by the enemy, and about half that amount was taken by the English admiral. Soon after the action Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been in pursuit of the enemy's fleet, came up. He was left to dismantle the place, and complete the destruction of those vessels which could not be brought away, while Rooke returned with his prizes to England.

The glory of this action was counterbalanced by the disaster which befell another squadron in the West Indies. There Admiral Benbow engaged Du Casse, who commanded a French squadron; and after fighting most bravely in his own ship for sometime, he perceived that he was betrayed by the captains of the other vessels, who left him to engage the whole French squadron alone. Having himself lost a leg, and received several other severe wounds in the action, he was compelled to beat off with his ship, greatly disabled. When he arrived at Jamaica he granted a commission for trying the captains. Two of them were sentenced to be shot, and one was cashiered and imprisoned. The two that were sentenced were immediately sent home, and shot as soon as they arrived at Plymouth. The French admiral, on his arrival at Carthagena, is said to have sent Admiral Benbow the following note: "Sir, I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin, but it pleased God to order it otherwise; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by God, they deserve it!"

The affairs of England at home proceeded calmly and prosperously, every body seeming pleased with the present prospects and successes of the war. The queen was popular, and her movements so completely in harmony with the late king's designs, that his warmest friends seemed to be satisfied with the queen's measures. The continuance of the parliament after the king's death was limited, by express statute, to six months. Before the expiration of that period it was dissolved, and writs issued for a new one.

The elections displayed the predominance of the tory interest, and when the parliament met on the 20th of October, Mr Harley was chosen speaker. In the proceedings of this parliament as to the conduct of elections, the basest partiality was shown in screening tory delinquents, and punishing the whigs. The bishop of Worcester and his son were complained of as having endeavoured to prevent the election of Sir John Packington. The commons interfered to address the queen, that the bishop might be removed from his office of lord-almoner. The lords interfered on the other side for the privileges of their house, and implored the queen not to believe any accusation against any of their body until they had been fairly tried before the house. The queen, however, displayed her partiality for the tories, by disregarding the address of the peers, and dismissing the bishop of Worcester from his office.

The house of commons proved sufficiently obsequious to the court, and obedient to the ministry. All the supplies required were readily voted, and a sum of £100,000 to be settled on the queen's husband, in

case he should survive her. One clause in this bill created great contention. It was introduced with the view of exempting the prince, her husband, from that part of the act of succession, by which foreigners, though naturalized, could hold no employment under the crown. The queen manifested great anxiety for the passing of this bill; and it was at length accomplished, though not without a protest by twenty-seven lords against that particular part of it which exempted the prince from the operation of the act of succession.

After the close of the campaign, the earl of Marlborough came over to England to enjoy the congratulations which awaited him upon his successes, and to concert further measures for the next campaign. Upon his arrival, he was received with flattering attentions by the queen. She created him a duke; gave him a pension of £5000 per annum on the post-office; and in a message to the commons, begged them to settle this on his heirs-male. This created some serious contention, and the queen found it necessary to send a second message, saying that the duke had declined her interposition. This occurrence is believed to have led to the duke's alienation from the tories with whom he had been hitherto connected. But if this helped to increase his displeasure with that party, it was not the sole reason of his withdrawment from this course of policy.

The next measure was a request for the increase of the army, in which the commons readily concurred, but coupled their grant with the condition, that her majesty should herself strictly prohibit, and enjoin upon the states, the necessity of forbidding and preventing all intercourse with France and Spain. It was certain that at this period the remittances for the French army, both in Bavaria and in Italy, were made through Dutch, Genevan, and English merchants. The states-general professed to be shocked at the imperious manner in which the English parliament took upon them to dictate regulations to them; nevertheless they complied with the demand, and passed by the indignity. The commons of this parliament were great partizans of the English church, and they were anxious to do something to signalize their zeal for its security. They knew well the temper of the queen, who was no friend to toleration and liberty of conscience, and being zealously devoted to her wishes, they took up the subject of occasional conformity. The whigs and the dissenters were very much identified, and it appeared that by reviving a little of the old bigotry they could both aim a blow at their ecclesiastical and their political enemies. The accession of Anne had greatly tended to encourage high-church and tory principles, and now persecution began to threaten the dissenters. The pulpits of the established church were occupied in declamations against the sects,—the necessity of uniformity,—the perfection of the church,—and the sin of the dissenters. The press also poured forth the most scurrilous attacks upon them, and every means was resorted to which could ruin their characters, or excite popular enmity. Even those of the church of England, who befriended liberty of conscience, and pleaded for charity and moderation, were more violently assailed than the dissenters themselves. They were described as Judases, apostates, betrayers of their brethren, and such like. Mr Bromley, Mr St John, and Mr Annesley, were ordered on the fourth of November to bring in a bill against occasional conformity. In the preamble, all

persecution for conscience' sake was expressly disclaimed; but such disclaimers usually precede its most flagrant violations. This bill enacted that all persons who had taken the sacrament, or a qualification for offices of trust, or for magistracy in corporations, and had afterwards frequented any dissenting meeting-house, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of £100, and £5 a-day for every day they continue in their employment after having been present at such meeting-house. All such persons were also declared incapable of holding any place, or employment, until one year after their complete conformity to the established church. This infamous bill did not pass without opposition as may be supposed. The most able arguments were maintained for successive days against it, and many mitigating amendments proposed by liberal men who were the friends of the dissenters; but the bill passed without melioration, by a large majority in the house of commons. It was during the discussions upon this bill, that Daniel de Foe, himself a dissenter, published a pamphlet which stung the high-church party to the quick; because at first they had mistaken it for the work of a friend co-operating in their cause of intolerance, but afterwards they found out that it was a most keen and bitter satire upon their principles. The pamphlet was entitled, 'The Shortest way with the Dissenters, or proposals for the Establishment of the Church.' When the true bearing of the work was discovered, the house ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman, and the author committed to Newgate. The proceedings of the parliament against the unfortunate man were most disgraceful. He was tried and condemned to pay a fine of £200, and stand in the pillory. After having discussed the principle and provisions of this bill at great length in both houses, the parliament could not agree to pass it. The lords sent it back to the commons with such alterations and amendments as induced them to reject it, and it ultimately miscarried. But the debates on both sides were published, and altogether it created more commotion in the country than had been anticipated. A more disgraceful attempt to curb the religious liberties of the people had not been made for a long season. It evinced, however, the temper of the party, and the inclination of the queen's ministry.

A bill was also brought in for granting another year's space to those who had delayed taking the oath of abjuration against the prince of Wales. The lords made some opposition, and added some amendments to the bill, which created dissension in the commons; but at length the amendments were admitted, and the bill was carried. The object of it was evidently to favour the adherents of the late King James, and to extend the utmost lenity the nation would admit towards the friends of the pretender.

After these questions were settled, attention was called to the public accounts, which seemed to require, and which ultimately received, severe examination. Many of the persons holding the more important public offices were charged with the most gross and flagrant peculation. The earl of Ranelagh, paymaster of the army, was expelled the house for misapplying public money, and in resentment he resigned his offices. An address was presented to the queen attributing the increase of the public debt to the mismanagement of the funds, and alleging that the most iniquitous frauds had been practised by the commissioners of the

prizes. Lord Charles Halifax, auditor of the exchequer, was implicated in a charge of neglecting his duty, and violating the public trust reposed in him. The queen was petitioned to give the attorney-general orders to prosecute him. She promised to comply. The lords appointed a committee to examine all the charges brought forward by the commissioners of accounts, who acquitted all the persons accused by the commons. They made the queen acquainted with their proceedings in an address, which was printed, together with vouchers for all the particulars of their statement. This difference of opinion as to the state of the public accounts, created the most fierce and bitter animosity between the two houses. The queen interposed, but still the discussion continued with great violence, till both parties despairing of any agreement, published their proceedings respectively, and then this business was suffered to rest.

Soon after these severe contentions the queen prorogued the parliament, after having assented to the several bills that had been passed. Its prorogation was accompanied with assurances of protection to the established church, and with a request that when they met again they would take measures for the suppression of scandalous pamphlets and other libellous publications. She also promised to devote her share of all prizes captured during the war to the public service. The earl of Rochester, who had now become odious to the court, was entirely removed from the councils of the queen. He could not brook the predominating influence of the duke of Marlborough, and, though made governor of Ireland, he chose rather to retire altogether from office than submit to the rivalry and undoubted superiority of that nobleman. The office he resigned was therefore conferred on the duke of Ormond, a commander who had acquired great fame and popularity by the success of his expedition against the fleet at Vigo.

The queen perceived, however, that her influence over the lords was scarcely secure, and that the temper of that house was rather too independent and liberal. She wished to be certain of a majority pledged to her interest, and to the measures of her ministers. She therefore proceeded to select four members of the commons who had manifested most zeal and violence in their speeches, and these she created peers. At this period it was resolved again to summon the convocation together with the parliament. But this ecclesiastical parliament bearing a strong affinity in its upper and lower house to the national one, could not be readily brought to an agreement. Questions of right and superiority, with many other wholly unimportant matters, occupied all their attention. The lower house kept appealing to the queen, and the upper asserted their right of superiority, and seemed determined to carry it by their own authority over the lower. They were altogether divided into two violent factions, which took part with the respective parties in the nation. The low-churchmen were the advocates of the revolution principle, and recommended moderation towards the dissenters. The tory, or high-church party in the convocation, were for carrying the rights of episcopacy and uniformity to a violent extreme. But these felt themselves the stronger party, as they knew well enough that they possessed the favour of their sovereign. They openly contemned the right of parliament to control them; ridiculed King William's memory, and talked of setting at nought the act which had been passed for limiting

the succession of the crown to the house of Hanover. The queen was spoken of in the most flattering terms as possessing the prerogatives of the ancient monarchy. The doctrine of divine hereditary right was proclaimed and applauded, and the sin of opposition to an anointed sovereign denounced in the loudest terms. Her majesty's undoubted right to the throne was deduced from Edward the Confessor, and she was persuaded to believe that she possessed the miracle-working power of that wondrous saint for the cure of the king's-evil, according to the service appointed in the liturgy of the church for that purpose. In short, they carried their extravagance and flattery to the most disgusting extreme, and seemed anxious to prepare the way, not only for the return of arbitrary power, but of popery also.

The change of the queen's ministry in Scotland seemed highly favourable to the designs and feelings of the episcopalians and tories. In consequence, the episcopalian party made efforts towards another inroad upon the presbyterian church of that country. The queen looked with favour upon them, and graciously received an address from the episcopal clergy, praying, that where the episcopal freeholders prevailed, a majority of them might be allowed to confer the benefices upon ministers of that persuasion. A proclamation of indemnity was published, by which a considerable number of Jacobites were allowed to return, and by which they became eligible to take seats in parliament. These supplied a very considerable reinforcement to the numbers of the anti-revolutionists and episcopalians, by means of whom it was hoped the liberals and presbyterians would be outvoted, and the interests of the Stuart family again promoted. But it was certain that most of those who took advantage of the proclamation of indemnity had only concealed their sentiments, not changed them, and that the oaths they had taken were out of no respect to the queen, but merely to secure to themselves an opportunity of more effectually promoting the ulterior objects at which they aimed. The earl of Argyle headed the presbyterian party and the revolutionists, while the duke of Hamilton and marquess of Tweedale set themselves as leaders of the queen's party. It became the general opinion, in Scotland at least, that the queen would place the pretender on the throne, and that she considered herself now merely as holding it on his behalf, and till a favourable opportunity should occur of completing the restoration of the exiled family. These parties became violent, and the whigs, with the earl of Argyle as their chief, resolved to procure a more regular and parliamentary sanction to the revolution, both in its principle and in the transactions which had been founded upon it.

The Scottish parliament, assembled in May, 1703, began by recognizing her majesty's undoubted right and title to the throne of Scotland. The demand for supply being thus thrust out of view by the queen's party, the revolutionists insisted upon proceeding next to discuss the succession, and to a recognition of the presbyterian church. By the discordant objects which the courtiers and Jacobites aimed at, they split into parties, and the earl of Argyle was enabled to carry both the measures which the whigs desired, viz. the declaration that the reformed religion of the presbyterian church was the only established religion of that kingdom, and also a ratification of the various acts of King William's reign, for the regulation and settlement of the succession in the

protestant line. But when the name of the Princess Sophia was mentioned, it created the utmost confusion and contention. The debates in parliament now became so fierce, that the earl of Queensberry, the commissioner, was in danger of his life. The struggle was to keep the succession to the Scottish throne quite independent of that of England. There was every prospect at one time that this affair would have produced a civil war. The ministry deserted the commissioner, and the whole parliament was broken up into a variety of factions, all pursuing opposite measures, but all determined to thwart the purposes and ends of their opponents. At last the commissioner prorogued the parliament, as the only means of terminating these violent and protracted contentions.

The old subject of grievance, the resumption of the forfeited estates in Ireland, continued to agitate that country with incessant disaffection. The earl of Rochester had done little for it, except import into it from England fresh causes of factious disputation. The appointment of the duke of Ormond, however, was hailed by the protestant party with rapturous delight. After the opening of parliament, the subject of the estates was immediately brought forward, and the loudest complaints were made from all quarters of the conduct of the trustees appointed to investigate and settle the business of these estates. The commons complained loudly of the trustees to the queen, to whom alone they said they could look for deliverance from that most iniquitous system of oppression and plunder to which they had been exposed. After giving vent thus to their complaints, they voted the necessary supplies. After this they proceeded to examine the state of the public accounts, and finally were engaged in consulting security for the protestant church against the violence and treachery of the catholics, when they were suddenly dissolved by the lord-lieutenant. They were in the midst of important deliberations upon some treasonable acts of the papists, when the message for an adjournment was brought to them; and this timing of the message was deemed an ill omen for the protestant cause in Ireland, and for the Hanoverian succession. It was abundantly evident that the English court was too much engaged in continental politics, and in arrangements for prosecuting the war, to allow of attention to the domestic affairs of Ireland, so minute and strict as seemed to be necessary to its welfare.

The emperor of Austria had, by this time, agreed with his allies, that his son, the archduke, should assume the title of king of Spain, demand the infanta of Portugal in marriage, and make some bold movement by sea. The operations of the French, on the Upper Rhine, were attended with some important advantages gained against the allies. They penetrated as far as Ratisbon, which they took, and compelled a pledge of neutrality to be given them before they would withdraw their troops. The allies were, however, more successful on the Lower Rhine. The duke of Marlborough commenced his operations by the siege of Bonne, which, after an obstinate defence, was obliged to yield to the amazing vigour of the besiegers. The French general Boufflers and Villeroy now jointly took the field against the duke's grand army. They were, however, obliged to retire before him. He wished to follow them up closely as in his former campaign; but his plans were overruled by the Dutch generals, who urged the superior importance of reducing

Limburgh. This was accordingly undertaken, and in a short time the whole country of Liege, with the electorate of Cologne, was in the power of the allies. Before the end of this campaign, they had made themselves masters of the whole of Spanish Guelderland. The duke of Marlborough had, however, fixed his mind upon more splendid victories than were to be gained by the reduction of inconsiderable forts and fortifications. He was burning with ambition to defeat an army, instead of taking a garrison, and would gladly have availed himself of the opportunity recently offered, when he might have crushed the power of his enemy at a stroke, and covered himself with fresh laurels. But some jealousies existed both of the duke's high reputation and of his single authority, and the states-general began to be influenced by a faction hostile to the plan of conceding the supreme authority to the duke. The king of France, encouraged by the success that had attended his arms in Germany, determined to redouble his efforts on that side, and make the most of the influence his generals had already gained. The duke de Vendome joined the elector of Bavaria, and defeated Count Stirum. The duke of Burgundy also undertook the siege of Old Brisac, which he reduced, and then returned in triumph to Versailles. After this, General Tallard, being reinforced by Pracontal with 10,000 men, attacked and defeated the prince of Hesse-Cassel at Spirebach. But the French paid dearly for their victory. Their campaign in Germany was finished by the reduction of Augsburgh.

At this period the affairs of Austria began to assume any appearance but a promising one; for besides these successes, the influence of France had stimulated the Hungarians to rise against the emperor, and demand a redress of their grievances. But just at this juncture, the duke of Savoy began to foresee that the supremacy of the French power in the Milanese would leave him completely at their mercy. He, therefore, began a second negotiation with the court of Vienna. Though this negotiation was carried on with the utmost secrecy and caution, it was not long concealed from the French court. In consequence of its discovery, the Duke de Vendome was ordered to disarm all the Savoy troops to the amount of 22,000, and to demand possession of four principal fortresses. The duke of Savoy, exasperated by these insults, imprisoned the French ambassador and several officers. He then acknowledged the archduke, king of Spain, and sent envoys to England and Holland to announce his accession to the grand confederacy. This news was hailed with great delight by the allies, and nowhere more joyfully than in England. Queen Anne assured him of her satisfaction, and promised him her assistance in defending himself against the power of France. Ambassadors were immediately despatched to Turin from England and Holland. A body of the imperial horse, under Visconti, was immediately sent to support him, and afterwards Count Staremberg at the head of 15,000 men, marched, in the worst season of the year, through an enemy's country, and in defiance of the French troops which constantly harassed them, to his assistance. This was considered a very splendid action, and brought the Count Staremberg no little reputation. He effected a junction with the duke of Savoy at Canelli, after feats of incredible courage and perseverance. By this he secured the country of Piedmont. The cause of the confederates received another important help at this critical juncture by the accession of Portugal. The

Portuguese court was influenced partly by hope, partly by fear. They, too, began to see that the union of Spain and France would not a little endanger their independence. They were now also greatly exposed to the attacks of the maritime powers, against whom they could very ill defend themselves; and finally the temptation of a match between the infanta and the archduke, by which means they should themselves become connected with the crown of Spain, was too powerful to be resisted. It was accordingly stipulated between Great Britain, Portugal, and the states, that the Archduke Charles should be conveyed to Portugal, accompanied by 12,000 men with a powerful fleet, and a large supply of ammunition and money, and that he should there be joined by 28,000 Portuguese.

Through the summer of 1703 the efforts of the combined fleets were productive of little service to the common cause. Some few of the enemy's ships were destroyed; but nothing of importance occurred. A dreadful storm happened in the month of November of this year, which was attended with the most disastrous consequences to the shipping, and was severely felt by the inhabitants of London and Bristol. The loss sustained in London was computed at a million sterling. Thirteen ships of war, an incredible number of merchant-vessels, and many hundreds of seamen were lost by this alarming visitation. The utmost exertions were immediately ordered to be made for the reparation of these damages. Meanwhile the emperor of Austria having declared his son king of Spain, despatched him on a visit to Queen Anne, who received him graciously for a few days, and then ordered Sir George Rooke to convey him by a British squadron to Lisbon. Upon his arrival in Portugal, he was received with every mark of respect and joy; but, by the time of his arrival, the court was thrown into great distress by the death of the infanta, whom the archduke was to have married.

In the English parliament which met in October, the bill against occasional conformity was revived, but with mitigated severities. The court took no part in it, but left it to be handled by the members as each thought fit. After severe debates it passed the commons by a large majority, and was sent up to the lords. There it was by many treated as a measure designed to weaken and divide the protestant interest. Prince George of Denmark absented himself from the house, and many of the most distinguished peers warmly opposed it. On the second reading it was again rejected.

At this period, the plot hatched by the notorious Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, attracted much attention. On its supposed discovery, and the communication of the intelligence to parliament, a sharp conflict arose between the upper and lower houses, as to some points of order and right, in taking measures for its investigation, and for the trial of the parties concerned. The commons became patrons of the royal prerogative against the authority of the lords, who stood upon their right of taking cognizance of treasonable practices. They voted that there had been dangerous plots between some persons in Scotland and the courts of Versailles and St Germains, and that the ground of encouragement to such plotting was given in the non-settlement of the crown of Scotland in the house of Hanover. They charged the lower house with a great want of zeal and energy in the prosecution of their inquiry into the recent plots; they then produced many precedents to justify their

own course, as strictly parliamentary; and in the end accused the commons of partiality and injustice in vacating legal elections.

The queen, in her answer to the remonstrance sent up by the lords, said she considered any misunderstanding between the two houses of parliament as a national misfortune, which might be attended with the very worst consequences to the kingdom; and that she should never omit any thing within the compass of her power to prevent all occasion of such misunderstanding for the future. Her admonition, however, was attended with very little effect in quelling these contentions. The earl of Nottingham, one of the secretaries of state, was suspected of designing to stifle the investigation into a conspiracy discovered in Scotland, and this brought forward fresh matter of collision between the two houses. It was manifest in these contentions that the ministry did not wish to have the whole subject of the conspiracy developed, while the lords pursued the examination with great vigour, and voted several resolutions which traced the plot to the encouragement given to the enemies of the revolution, by the unsettled state of the law in Scotland respecting the succession. They also charged the lower house with a want of zeal in prosecuting their inquiry into the plots. The lords proceeded, during this session, to manifest great dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the queen's ministers, and expressed their strong disapprobation of the condition and management of the navy. These contentions induced the queen to prorogue the parliament, with the view of terminating some of the causes of faction and collision. The expedient was, however, attended with only partial success. The spirit which had so generally actuated the parliament was more conspicuous in the convocation, which still continued its sittings. The two houses displayed the same hostility to each other, as had characterized the two houses of parliament, and, in consequence, nothing of importance could be effected. Various articles of reformation were agreed to by the lower house, and sent to the upper, but they were totally rejected; and every remonstrance that followed only served to show the impossibility of reconciling the different and hostile parties. The only measure in which they united was an address of thanks to the queen for granting the first-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small benefices.

At this period the Scottish parliament and nation were split into various and hostile factions upon the questions of the union, and the settlement of the succession. The national spirit of independence was excited to the highest pitch, and after severe debates and alarming symptoms of popular and universal commotion, a bill was passed, securing the rights of the Scottish nation to name a successor to the throne, when it might become vacant independently of the English court. They also addressed the queen, praying that the evidence and papers relating to the late conspiracy, might be transmitted for their examination in the next session. These proceedings in Scotland gave general dissatisfaction in England, as they seemed to threaten the future separation and independence of the two kingdoms, an event which could only be contemplated with apprehension and alarm by the prudent friends of both nations. Lord Godolphin was charged by the tories with being the cause of these unpopular proceedings, and upon him, therefore, fell the whole burden of the odium which they excited in England. His enemies determined to employ the present favourable opportunity to over-

throw him. But he enjoyed, besides the support of a strong party, the friendship of the duke of Marlborough, which effectually shielded him from the fury and malignity of his adversaries. But we must now advert to the affairs of the allies at this period. It is not easy to trace, in our limited summary, even all the leading events of this memorable era. We can merely glance at those in which England was more immediately concerned. Austria had been greatly annoyed both by the Hungarians and Bavarians. The city of Vienna itself was considered in the most imminent danger, should these enemies but once agree to act in concert. It was in this critical state of affairs that the emperor, on the advice of Prince Eugene, was induced to implore the assistance of her Britannic majesty. Marlborough seconded the claim, and was soon despatched to take the command of the allied troops. He contrived to prosecute his scheme of operation with great secrecy by means of a double plan, one view of which he imparted to the states-general for their approbation, and the other he confided only to a few chosen friends. His movements were entirely mistaken by the French, and, in consequence, they moved their troops in such a direction as to meet him on his expected progress into France along the Moselle. But he had in his intention the relief of the emperor. Having met Prince Eugene and Prince Louis of Baden, these three celebrated generals concerted their plan of operations. The allied army, under their joint command, was moved within sight of the enemy's intrenchments at Dillingen on the first of July, 1704. The next day Marlborough gave them battle, and, after a severe contest, completely routed them. By this victory the confederates gained most important advantages, and the elector of Bavaria was compelled to secure the remains of his army under the walls of the city of Augsburgh. Thither the duke immediately followed him; but though he found him too advantageously posted to afford any hope of success in attacking him, yet the duke, by compelling him to take shelter under the fortifications of that city, and encamping himself around Friedburgh, had effectually cut off all communication between the elector and his own dominions. In this situation Marlborough offered his terms of peace, provided he would desert the French and join the imperial interest. The negotiation was urged on by the elector's subjects, who entreated him to spare them and his country, now lying completely at the mercy of the allies. He was on the point of signing a treaty with the duke, when he drew back upon hearing that the king of France had despatched a large army to his relief. This induced the allied generals to cover the country with desolation as far as Munich. Upwards of 300 towns, villages, and castles, were destroyed. These proceedings enraged the elector to the highest degree, and he determined to come to no terms, observing that they had obliged him to draw the sword, and now he threw away the scabbard. Upon the removal of the allies towards Ingoldstadt, which they had determined to besiege, the elector formed a junction with Tallard, and passed the Danube at Lauingen, with the intention of immediately attacking Prince Eugene. But the next day he made a movement, which completely frustrated their design. The allied generals now determined that Prince Louis of Baden should proceed to the siege of Ingoldstadt, and that the duke and Prince Eugene should observe the movements of the French and Bavarians. Accordingly, Prince

Louis withdrew towards Ingoldstadt, and the duke and Prince Eugene proceeded to examine the position of the enemy. They found that he had taken up an advantageous position on a hill near Hochstadt, having his right covered by the village of Blenheim and the Danube, his front by a small river with steep banks and marshy bottom, and his left by the village of Lutzen. The French and Bavarians numbered about 60,000 men, the allies about 55,000. The generals of the allied army resolved to attack the enemy, notwithstanding the very great advantages he possessed. After a hard fought battle, the allied army proved on all sides victorious. The French and Bavarians left 10,000 dead on the field, 13,000 were made prisoners, a vast number of the cavalry perished in the Danube, and Tallard was taken prisoner, with many other officers of distinction. Altogether, this is considered one of the most complete and splendid victories ever gained. It saved the house of Austria from that ruin with which it was threatened, and entirely changed the aspect of French affairs. The allied generals now agreed that it would be desirable to recall the prince of Baden from the siege of Ingoldstadt, and unite the whole of their forces, with the view of driving the French entirely out of Germany. The campaign closed with the reduction of several strong and important fortresses and towns. Marlborough and Prince Eugene would have pursued their successes by following the retreating enemy into his own territory; and considering the universal consternation which Marlborough's name had produced, there is little doubt but he might have spread desolation and terror to a vast extent. But the prince of Baden had by this time become jealous of the duke's military renown; and besides, as a bigoted papist, he secretly hated the heretical conqueror, and repined to behold the protestant states headed by a general of such matchless prowess. He, therefore, strenuously insisted upon the siege and reduction of various large and strong fortresses. These plans being at length agreed to and carried into effect, the campaign closed; the duke of Marlborough was made prince of the empire, and returned to England but a short time before Christmas. These successes on the Danube were attended about the same time with several naval victories of great importance to the cause of the confederates.

Sir George Rooke having conveyed the young King Charles to Lisbon, sent part of his squadron upon a cruize, in which they met and took three Spanish ships of war. Shortly after, being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, they went in quest of the French fleet; but not finding it they resolved to attack Gibraltar, which they found was not well-garrisoned. The place, though deemed impregnable, was taken with comparatively little difficulty. After this unexpected good fortune, the admirals again went in search of the French fleet. On the 13th of August it was discovered formed into line of battle off Malaga. The English fleet consisted of fifty-three ships of the line, besides frigates; the French of fifty-two, and twenty four galleys. But the French was greatly superior in the number of guns, in weight of metal, and in men. Their galleys also proved of immense importance to them. The battle was commenced with great spirit on both sides, and continued one whole day without the loss of a single ship on either side. But at length the French gave way, and though the English admiral endeavoured, for two successive days, to renew the engagement, yet the

French admiral continued to bear away to the leeward, and at length totally disappeared. The English fleet could not keep sail with him, as his fleet was fresh from the harbour of Brest, and many of the English vessels had been long at sea and were become foul. Besides this disadvantage, several had expended their whole stock of ammunition and were in no situation to renew the engagement. The French king, to prevent the discouraging effect of this defeat upon the spirits of his people, published throughout France a false and partial representation, in which he claimed the victory. The French Academy even went so far as to cause a medal to be struck commemorating the event. But instead of transmitting to posterity the glory of their navy, it has served only to perpetuate the memory of their baseness and servility.

The reduction of Gibraltar was an event which filled the Spaniards with vexation and dismay. A considerable army was speedily despatched by Philip to retake it. The prince of Hesse had been left governor by the English admirals, and he defended it with uncommon bravery and skill. The siege continued for four months, when the general Villadarias, finding that he had made no progress, abandoned the enterprise. Upon the meeting of the British parliament after these important successes which had attended her majesty's arms both by sea and land, both houses voted addresses of congratulation. It was a remarkable indication of the party feeling which still so extensively prevailed in the two houses, that the lords mentioned nothing but the successes of the duke of Marlborough, while the commons in their address affected to view the naval victories of Rooke and the battle of Blenheim as events of equal glory and importance. Notwithstanding the animosities and party feelings thus displayed, liberal supplies were readily granted, and every encouragement given to the queen and her ministry to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

The present session was remarkable for another abortive attempt to carry the bill against occasional conformity. In the commons it was first attempted to be tacked to a money bill, but this was rejected. It was then brought in alone and passed by a small majority. When it was sent up to the lords the queen happened to be present, and being desirous of hearing what could be said on both sides of the measure, the subject was immediately discussed, and the bill rejected by a respectable majority. The attention of the parliament was now much occupied with the position in which the kingdom of Scotland was placed in relation to England by the measures of the last session of the Scottish parliament. These matters terminated in a resolution that a bill should be brought in for effectually securing the kingdom of England against the dangers that might arise from the several acts lately passed by the Scottish parliament. A bill to this effect was passed in the lords and sent down to the commons, but after being read it was ordered to lie on the table, while they proceeded with one of their own, which was designed to take effect at the ensuing Christmas. Upon transmission of this bill to the lords, it was hoped and expected by the enemies to the Hanoverian succession, that the lords would retaliate on the commons by treating this bill in the same contemptuous manner as theirs had been by the commons. But happily in this instance patriotism triumphed over party feelings, and the bill sent up by the commons was passed without amendment, greatly to the mortification of those friends to the

exiled family who had hoped to see this collision between the two houses end in the rejection of both the bills for securing the Hanoverian succession.

The present session of parliament was remarkable for the splendid munificence with which it rewarded the duke of Marlborough's services. The queen proposed that the honour and manor of Woodstock and hundred of Wotton, should be granted by the crown to the duke. A bill was accordingly passed, enabling her majesty to alienate the interest of the crown in these manors. She then proceeded to clear them of all incumbrances, and finally ordered a magnificent palace to be built at her expense, and the whole conferred on the duke and his heirs for ever. By this time the Mareschal Tallard, with a number of other French generals taken at the battle of Blenheim, were brought to England and conveyed to Lichfield and Nottingham. Their arrival excited fresh expressions of national enthusiasm and rejoicing. The generals were, however, treated with every mark of respect due to brave but fallen enemies.

The remaining part of the parliamentary session of 1704 was occupied with a very violent controversy respecting an election at Aylesbury, in which some public officers had impeded several of the electors in the exercise of their elective rights. The commons wished to have the whole matter investigated at their bar. The lords insisted that the cause should be left to the courts of justice. But the queen interposed, and terminated all their discussions by proroguing the parliament.

These occurrences, with the favour shown by the duke of Marlborough to the whigs, contributed greatly to lessen the influence of the tory ministry, and to induce the queen to manifest a preference for their opponents. The duke of Buckingham was deprived of the privy-seal, and the office conferred on the duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of great influence among the whig party. The earl of Montague was created duke, and Lords Cholmondley and Peterborough put upon the privy-council. Several other promotions of whig nobles manifested the decline of the tory interest. Various alterations in the Scottish ministry manifested a similar tendency. The duke of Queensberry resumed the management of affairs under the denomination of lord privy-seal, and the young duke of Argyle, a nobleman of promising talents and of an aspiring mind, was made royal commissioner. He possessed great influence over the presbyterian party, and was in all respects well qualified for the important station assigned him. But the parliament of Scotland, which assembled in 1704–5, was divided into three parties, all resolutely set to defeat each other's counsels. The cavaliers were powerful, and defeated the attempts made to settle the succession or promote the union. In this parliament the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun made a conspicuous figure by the bold and patriotic principles which he advocated. He was strenuous for the statute of limitation and violently opposed to English influence. His political principles savoured strongly of a republican bias, but at the same time manifested a truly heroic hatred of tyranny and oppression. He proved himself the unflinching defender both of the honour and of the liberties of his country, though he appears little to have understood its true interests in resisting so strenuously the design of its more perfect union with England. It might have been a dictate of chivalrous patriotism to struggle

for its independence, but assuredly it was no part either of sound policy or of true wisdom, to keep separate either its crown or its politics from those of England. After a sharp contest, it was conceded to the court to nominate the commissioners for maturing the treaty of union. But this was chiefly effected through the defection of the duke of Hamilton, who had hitherto led the cavaliers, and whose secession fell like a thunderclap upon his followers. An important step was now taken towards the settlement of the treaty by the abandonment of those feuds which had long divided the councils of Scotland.

In Ireland little of importance transpired in this year (1705) except a sharp contention between the house of commons and the lower house of convocation respecting tithes. The duke of Ormond, then governor, perceiving the violence of the parties daily increasing against each other, came to the resolution to dissolve the parliament; after which he left the administration of affairs in the hands of the lord-chancellor, Cox, and the commander-in-chief, Lord Cutts, and embarked for England.

The preparations of the allies were now advancing for the opening of the campaign of 1705. The duke of Marlborough had chosen the Moselle as the principal line of action, and in conformity with his plans Triers was fixed upon as his military depot. Early in March the duke arrived in Holland, and having obtained the requisite troops from the states, directed the march of his army across the Maese towards the Moselle. While he was making these preparations the emperor died at Vienna, and was succeeded by his son Joseph, king of the Romans, a prince remarkable for imbecility, gentleness of disposition, and bigotry to the Roman catholic religion.

It had been arranged that Prince Louis of Baden should act in concert with the duke. In the first movement the duke made with the intention of besieging Saar-Louis, the prince failed him, as some thought through treachery, but more probably through jealousy of his high military reputation; and in consequence of this miscarriage he was obliged to retreat. Meanwhile the French made the best of their superiority in the Netherlands, by the siege and reduction of Huy. They were advancing in their conquests when Marlborough hastened his march to check them, and to retrieve the disappointment he had suffered on the Moselle. He speedily recovered Huy, and determined to attack the French lines. This he did with such intrepidity and skill, that they were compelled to retreat, leaving many prisoners. The season being now far advanced, the duke quitted the camp and went to Vienna, where he was received with the highest marks of respect. His plans had succeeded beyond the expectation of all parties, and in every place the confederates testified their lively gratitude for the eminent services he had rendered to the common cause. Upon the Upper Rhine Villars had obtained considerable success against the allies, when Prince Louis of Baden took the command of the imperialists and drove the French across the river again. He might have pursued his successes still farther against them, but his jealousy of Marlborough constantly produced a coldness and apathy in the cause of the allies. In Italy some battles were fought; but nothing decisive on either side took place. The duke of Savoy took almost all his important towns and fortresses, with the exception of Turin and Coni, and his army was reduced to twelve thousand men, whom he contrived to support with the utmost difficulty.

Yet he remained faithful to the common cause amidst all his difficulties, and manfully resisted every inducement which was employed to make him attach himself to French interests.

The arms of the confederate powers were at this period also generally prosperous at sea. Philip of Spain was determined upon the recovery of Gibraltar, and sent a large force to attack it by land, while a strong squadron blockaded it by sea. The place was for some time hard pressed on both sides. But the prince of Hesse, who commanded it, made his situation known to Sir John Leake, the English admiral at Lisbon, by whom relief was immediately afforded. De Pointis, the French admiral, hearing of the approach of an English squadron, hauled out of the bay with the utmost expedition; but he was overtaken by the English when he had reached Malaga bay. There one of his ships was taken, and the rest running on shore were destroyed. Sir George Byng also fell in with and took a number of valuable prizes returning from the West Indies, with many privateers and other vessels.

The most remarkable and splendid achievement of this whole season was the reduction of Barcelona. It was planned by the earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. They formed a combined Dutch and English fleet, consisting of forty-eight ships of the line, having a body of about five thousand troops. King Charles being then at Lisbon, and being wearied of his stay in Portugal, resolved to accompany the expedition. He was assured that the province of Catalonia and kingdom of Valencia were ready to acknowledge him. Accordingly the expedition sailed, and having anchored in the bay of Altea, a manifesto was published by the earl of Peterborough, which was well-received by the people of the country. They then seized some small places, and disembarked their troops in the bay of Barcelona. The attack of so strong a place seemed altogether hopeless. Nevertheless these enterprising commanders determined to make a grand effort. It so happened, that after the outworks were taken by storm, a ball or shell struck the magazine in the body of the fort, and presently the whole exploded, together with the governor and the ablest officers of the garrison. This so overwhelmed the soldiers with affright, that they yielded without farther resistance. Thus a place of great importance and of great strength, possessing too a powerful garrison, was taken in a comparatively short space, and even beyond the expectations of the assailants. The capture of the town soon followed, and King Charles entered in triumph. When these victories were known, the whole of Catalonia, with the exception of a single place, declared for Charles. The earl of Peterborough continued to advance the cause of King Charles into Valencia, and took several places of great importance. He contrived to raise several regiments both of horse and foot among the Spaniards themselves, and by artful management defeated the counsels of those generals who were employed against him.

The only drawback to the various successes of this season was the loss of the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, with three ships of war, all captured by the French. But the French lost their admiral, Count de St Paul, in the engagement. This loss was so severely felt by the king of France, that when the news reached him, he said, "Very well; I wish the ships were safe in any English port, provided the Count de St Paul could be restored to life."

The close of the year was occupied at home with the election of a new parliament, in which the interest of the whigs generally prevailed, and Lord Godolphin, who had hitherto remained neutral, influenced no doubt by the example of his friend the duke of Marlborough, declared himself of their party. The queen's ministry was hereby rendered much more decidedly popular than it had ever been, and the two houses were brought into a better state of agreement than had been witnessed for some years. Notwithstanding, various matters relating to the succession were brought forward, which served to keep alive a large measure of animosity and party-feeling. The tories, in particular, set up the cry of 'The church in danger!' and the queen went to the house to hear the subject debated by their lordships. Much was made by the tory party of a recent publication entitled 'The Memorial,' which was said to contain a demonstration of the danger to which the church was exposed. Lord Wharton wittily observed, that he had read the Memorial, but all he could learn from it was, that the duke of Buckingham, and the earls of Rochester and Nottingham were *out of place*. The issue of the debate was a resolution that the church was not in danger, and that whoever published such a statement was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. The house of commons concurred in this opinion, and the queen, with her privy-council, issued a proclamation offering a reward for the apprehension of the author and publisher of the libel entitled 'The Memorial,' who was stated to be one David Edwards, a professed papist. The harmony of the parliament was now strikingly contrasted with the discord of the convocation, which served only to bring discredit on the clergy. Such were the heats and animosities between the two houses, that the queen was obliged to interpose, and signify her resolution to maintain her supremacy and the due subordination of the presbyters to the bishops. She assured them of her favour and protection if they acted agreeably to her declaration, but concluded by directing the archbishop to prorogue the convocation to such a period as might appear most convenient. This communication confounded the lower house; but they soon recovered their spirits, and continued to sit in defiance of her majesty's directions.

The year 1706 was signalized by the meeting of the English and Scottish commissioners to settle the terms of the treaty of union. This business, when gone into by both parties with a sincere wish to bring it to a successful termination, was found more easy than had been imagined. The commissioners met on the 16th of April, and on the 22d of July the terms were agreed to and signed. It was a most important transaction, eagerly desired by the English ministry; and though at the time far from acceptable to the Scottish nation, yet its results have amply proved the wisdom of the measure, as well as the equity of the principles by which all its stipulations were regulated.

While this business was maturing at home, the king of France was preparing to open the next campaign with fresh vigour. The successes which had attended the arms of the allies in the last season had prepared for him fresh work and in various quarters. He had now to direct his attention particularly to Catalonia and to Italy. He hoped by the reduction of Barcelona and Turin speedily to put an end to the war in these places, and thereby be able to direct more energy to Germany and the Low Countries. The French generals foresaw that the chief scene of

conflict would be the latter country, and that their most formidable opponent would be again the duke of Marlborough. They therefore formed the plan of attacking him before he could be joined by the Danish and Prussian troops. The duke soon detected their intentions and displayed no reluctance to give them battle. The village of Ramillies was the place at which he found them, and which lay near the centre of their line. Here, with inferior numbers, he resolved to attack them, though they enjoyed every advantage from position and a choice of ground. The battle was long and bloody. But Marlborough's skill, courage, and perseverance, overcame all resistance. He first broke their centre, and then their wings, driving the whole army before him. They were pursued four leagues from the field of battle with terrible slaughter, within a short distance of Louvaine. This was altogether a most complete and splendid victory, and one of the most renowned Marlborough ever won. It was attended by the complete expulsion of the French from Brabant. The whole French army were smitten by it with a panic, and could not be rallied to meet the English and Dutch. Indeed Paris was filled with consternation, and though Louis affected to treat it with calmness and indifference, it seriously affected his health, and his physicians found it necessary to prescribe frequent bleeding. The court was filled with gloom. A large portion of the French nobility had either fallen in the battle or were taken prisoners. Many of the most distinguished officers of the army were lost to the service, and there remained no hope of further efforts in the Low Countries for a long time to come. But in Catalonia affairs seemed to promise some compensation for these disasters. A most strenuous effort was made to recover Barcelona, and the first movements of King Philip were highly promising. A powerful army under his own command, and a large squadron in the bay, began the siege of the place. King Charles defended it with spirit, but was reduced to great straits, and must ultimately have yielded, had not Sir John Leake sailed from Lisbon with a strong squadron. At his approach the French admiral set sail for Toulon, and King Philip was compelled to abandon the siege with precipitation. On the side of Portugal, the earl of Galway, with an army of twenty thousand men, took Alcantara, and proceeded towards Placentia. After Philip was constrained to raise the siege of Barcelona, the earl of Galway was encouraged to lead on his Portuguese army towards Madrid. Had the young King Charles but co-operated vigorously at this juncture, the French influence might have been subdued. But while the earl of Galway was pressing towards the capital, Charles remained inactive at Barcelona, and allowed his rival to recover his spirits and call in reinforcements to his aid. Madrid yielded to the earl of Galway, and when Charles saw his success he advanced by Saragossa to sustain him. Philip had now collected an army sufficient to cope with the earl of Galway, and was expecting further reinforcements. But the two armies were indisposed to engage until farther strengthened. Charles at this period lost the services of the gallant earl of Peterborough by manifesting his partiality for the prince of Lichtenstein. There is no doubt that the impression already produced in favour of Charles's claim to the kingdom had been owing to the enterprising spirit and heroic courage of the earl, and had he been permitted to remain at the head of the military movements, and to co-operate vigorously with

the earl of Galway, Spain would soon have been won. But when he saw that Charles bestowed his confidence on Lichtenstein rather than on himself, he embarked on board an English ship of war and sailed for Genoa. This was a severe loss to the cause of Charles. The English fleet, however, rendered him important service by taking Carthagena and Alicant. Charles was now acknowledged king of Spain in Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia.

The French proceedings in Italy were carried on with much vigour, though not with much better success than in Flanders. They had begun the siege of Turin with immense preparation, and prosecuted it with the most determined vigour. But the duke of Savoy, still faithful to the allies, quitted his capital to place himself at the head of his cavalry and endeavour to form a junction with Prince Eugene, who was informed of his perilous situation. After surmounting amazing difficulties, the prince accomplished this junction, and, with the duke of Savoy, immediately advanced towards the besieging army. The duke of Orleans proposed to march out of the entrenchments and give battle, but the mareschal Marsin produced the king's order commanding the duke to follow the mareschal's advice. The French therefore kept within their trenches. The confederates advanced to force the trenches, and after a most severe struggle, in which they had been nearly overcome, Prince Eugene, sword in hand, led his troops into the very centre of their entrenchments, the duke of Savoy did the same at another point, and in a short time the French were thrown into the utmost confusion. Defeated at every point, and driven before the confederates, they crossed the Po with precipitation, while the brave duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph, and Prince Eugene took possession of their whole camp. The French Mareschal Marsin was wounded in the battle, and fell into the hands of the duke of Savoy, but died in a few hours after. Five thousand French fell in the battle, and seven thousand were taken prisoners. An immense quantity of artillery and military stores of all kinds were taken in the camp, with no fewer than ten thousand horses. The booty taken by the allies was valued at three millions of livres. This was one of the most fatal strokes the French interests had yet experienced, and it was the more severe, as Louis had calculated so confidently on the easy reduction of Turin and humiliation of the obstinate duke. For some time the full amount of the disaster was concealed from the French king. Madame de Maintenon undertook to disclose a part, but declared that she durst not let him know the whole. He was informed that the duke of Orleans, hearing of the approach of Prince Eugene, had raised the siege of Turin.

But the result of this splendid achievement of the confederates was the expulsion of the French from the whole of Piedmont and Italy, with the exception of two or three unimportant posts where they were blocked up. The duke of Orleans, now left alone in the command of the army, retreated towards Dauphine. The only circumstance that tended in any degree to alleviate the bitterness of these disasters, occurred in the Mantuan territories, where the prince of Hesse was surprised by the French general, Count Medavi-grancey, and compelled to retreat after losing 2000 men. But the affair was attended with no further advantage on the part of the French troops. To add to all the misfortunes which, during the campaign of 1706, the French arms

suffered, a project was set on foot by the Marquess de Guiscard for an invasion of France by a British army. He had abandoned his country on account of some family disgust, and had become a zealous partizan of the confederates. His project was favourably received by the British cabinet, and himself intrusted with the command of a regiment of dragoons. The project spread the utmost alarm throughout France. A body of men amounting to 11,000, under the command of Earl Rivers, with a considerable train of artillery, was embarked with the utmost speed. But when the expedition had sailed, and was forced into Torbay by contrary winds, the commanders held a council of war, and pronounced the scheme chimerical. Their decision being transmitted with speed to London, they were directed to land the marquess and his officers, and proceed immediately to Lisbon to concert measures for succouring the earl of Galway, who was now hard pressed by the king of Spain. They accordingly hastened to Alicant, and by their timely assistance checked the advance of Philip, and entered into arrangements for opening the next campaign, it being now the middle of winter.

While the season checked military proceedings, Louis employed his utmost efforts to avert the ruin and desolation which were threatening him on all sides. Though humbled to a position fitted to excite the pity of his enemies, yet his ambition had been so boundless, and his perfidy so open, that all Europe rejoiced to behold his power completely broken and his schemes utterly frustrated. He procured the good offices of the elector of Bavaria, to write to Marlborough and the states, offering proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch by secret proposals, and engaged the pope to intercede with several of the confederates. He offered to cede Spain and the West Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to King Charles, to yield the Dutch a barrier in the Netherlands, and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the injuries he had sustained. Though he really desired peace with the confederates, yet he sedulously endeavoured to move them by the consideration of their individual interests, to enter into separate negotiations with him. He circulated reports of the secret terms concluded with some, with the view of inducing others to consent to his proposals. Thus he continued practising the most artful and deceitful tricks to betray those into his power by cunning, whom he could no longer meet in the field of battle. By means of these disgraceful manœuvres, he induced the emperor to close with his secret proposals for evacuating the Milanese territory, and by this means he gained the service of a considerable body of his troops who were thus set at liberty to act against the armies of the confederates in the Netherlands or in Spain.

England and the states were little disposed to listen to the overtures of Louis. The duke of Marlborough not only derived all his glory, but great wealth, from the war, and he was decidedly averse to its discontinuance. The British cabinet and the queen required indemnification for the vast sums expended in the war, and several of the leading characters in the states had found their personal interests so much befriended by the successful military operations conducted by the duke of Marlborough, that they too refused to listen to terms of peace, unless on terms which the king of France had no means of fulfilling.

When the temper of the duke of Marlborough and the disposition of the queen and her cabinet to continue the war was discovered by the public, it caused no little dissatisfaction. The tories began openly to accuse the duke with what was but too evident, a mercenary and selfish spirit which sought his own interest at the expense of the welfare of his country. The people had long been heavily oppressed with taxes for the continuance of war, which might now be honourably and advantageously terminated; and they became indignant at the thought of its continuance merely to gratify the ambition or the avarice of the duke. These opinions continued to gain ground, and to excite no little restlessness and dissatisfaction throughout the country.

But the assembling of the Scottish parliament now brought forward the subject of the union. The treaty concluded between the commissioners had been kept a profound secret till the whole business could be laid before the parliament. No sooner was the purport of this treaty known than it excited the utmost indignation among nearly all classes in Scotland. The party who had long entertained hopes of bringing in the pretender, the nobles who saw themselves deprived of their seats in parliament, and the merchants who deemed that their commerce was to be sacrificed to England while their nation was to be oppressed with taxes, all exclaimed against the terms and conditions of a treaty which obliterated their independence, and robbed them of their crown.

The usual cry in such cases of the danger to their church, was sounded throughout the land. The presbyterian clergy took the alarm, and already painted the horrors of episcopal government and the suppression of their national form of worship. The best and most religious of all parties became infected with the general panic, and denounced the union as ignominious and ruinous. All private animosities seemed to subside while they contemplated the common danger, and the bitterest foes joined hands in the patriotic, and, as it was deemed, the holy cause of resisting this union.

In parliament the opposition was led by the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the marquess of Annandale. A protest was entered by nineteen peers and forty-six commoners, against the principle of incorporation. Every article was severely contested, and protests of numerous bodies of the members entered against each. The earl of Belhaven enumerated the evils to follow the consummation of the union in so pathetic a speech, that it drew tears from the audience, and was long after considered as a prophecy of the misfortunes of the kingdom. These violent and passionate contentions in the house of parliament, ridiculous as they must now appear to every reasonable and candid mind, served to inflame the nation to the utmost pitch of phrenzy and revenge. The more staunch and rigid of the presbyterians, called Cameronians, proceeded the length of preparing for open war. They formed themselves into regiments, provided arms and ammunition, and actually assembled in public under arms. They called upon the duke of Hamilton to head them, and assembled at Dumfries, where they publicly burnt the articles of the union. After this they resolved to march to Edinburgh, and dissolve the parliament. The duke of Athol undertook to secure the connexion between the western and northern parts of the kingdom by means of the Highlanders. By combining with the cavaliers, a formidable body of people was thus roused to arms.

But while these tumultuous bodies were looking out for that assistance which they had been led to expect from the duke of Hamilton, he suddenly altered his mind, and sent messengers throughout the country, begging the people to defer all active operations until they should receive further directions. The cavaliers immediately charged him with treachery to the national cause, but he ably vindicated his advice on the score of prudence, by showing that an English army was near the border, and that any number of troops would, if needed, be soon transported from Holland.

The violence of the Cameronians was almost equalled even in Edinburgh and Glasgow. It was with the utmost difficulty, and not without the aid of the military, that the persons of commissioners, and the members of parliament favourable to the union, could be protected. Sir Patrick Johnston, the provost of Edinburgh, was besieged in his house, and would have been torn in pieces by the infuriated populace, had not the guards dispersed the rioters. The utmost precaution was requisite both night and day to secure the parliament in their sittings, and to preserve the capital from open insurrection against the government. The privy-council, however, acted with much firmness and prudence, and maintained a tolerable degree of order.

Meanwhile the nobles, favourable to the plan of the union, proceeded with great prudence and moderation. They argued from day to day against the objections which had been stated; and when once the violence of the public rage would allow them a patient hearing, they made considerable impression upon the public mind by the force and justness of their statements. The violent opposition of the clergy was subdued by the introduction of an article securing the exclusive presbyterianism of the established church. They soothed the mercantile companies with assurances of indemnification for the losses they had sustained; they contrived to awaken the consciences of the Cameronians to the sinfulness of the coalition into which they had precipitated themselves with episcopalians and papists, and alarmed them with the probability of a popish pretender to the throne; and they finally crowned their efforts by the appeal of promises and of bribes to a number of nobles who had hitherto seen nothing but mischief and misery in the measures of the court. The queen lent £20,000 to the Scottish treasury, and this was so skilfully distributed by the ministry, that in a short time the treaty of union carried a majority of votes in parliament, and much of the opposition to it out of doors began to subside.

An act was at length passed for approving and ratifying all the articles of the treaty of union with some trivial alterations. Sixteen peers and forty-five commoners were chosen, according to the treaty, to represent the Scottish parliament. The commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, having succeeded in bringing this important business to so happy, and, at one time, so unexpected a consummation, adjourned the parliament, and proceeded immediately to London. So important was the service deemed which he had rendered, that he was met, when he approached near town, by forty noblemen in their carriages, and four hundred gentlemen. The next day he waited upon the queen to inform her officially of the conclusion of the treaty. The execution and history of the treaty of union form altogether a very singular page in history. The fact of its being carried against the sense of almost a

whole people, and in the face of a formidable rebellion is almost unparalleled. The Scots believed universally that it was a scheme to ruin their country, and a large proportion of the English anticipated from it nothing but convulsion. It is remarkable that any ministry should have planned and resolved to carry it in the face of such general opposition: it is still more remarkable that such direful consequences should have been prognosticated as its results; and it is most remarkable of all that, when once effected, all the difficulties and objections seemed gradually to disappear—not one of the calamities predicted of it ever took place, and neither of the parties concerned in it has found reason for any thing but satisfaction in its results. It is certain that the difficulties to be surmounted in its execution were unforeseen by those who patronized it, and equally certain that the advantages with which it has been followed never were anticipated by those who opposed it.

The English parliament—which assembled while the union was pending in Scotland—as soon as the decision of the Scottish parliament was known, became agitated by the most violent efforts of the tories and the cavaliers to defeat the measure. Here again the most disastrous results were prognosticated, and the total destruction of the constitution, both in church and state, was foretold as the inevitable result of the measure. Some members of both houses were highly indignant that the treaty had not first been submitted to the English parliament for discussion. The spirit of party rose to a great height, but it was unavailing. The whig ministry were both strong and skilful, and they so conducted the business in both houses as to secure a large majority to the act of ratification. When the act was brought into the commons by Sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, it was so constructed as to leave no matter for debate. The whole of the articles of union were thrown into the preamble, and the act consisted of one clause, simply approving and confirming the law already passed in Scotland. Thus the whole business of the English parliament was concentrated on the single question of approving or disapproving of the act passed by the Scottish parliament. The act of union took effect on the 1st of May, 1707.

While these domestic affairs were proceeding, the king of France anxiously pursued his plans for bringing about a peace. But he was in no situation to demand it, or even to obtain favourable terms from the confederates. The situation of his kingdom was deplorable in the highest degree. The continuance of the war, together with his repeated disasters, had exhausted the treasury, and seriously diminished the population. The lands lay uncultivated; the manufactures were ruined, and multitudes were famishing for bread. In this situation he endeavoured to support his treasury by creating what were called mint-bills, in imitation of the bank notes of England; but he had the mortification of seeing them sold at a discount of 35 per cent. The distress to which he had reduced his people by his ambition was now visible in every part of his fine country. Never was monarch more completely mortified and humbled; and never did the projects of ambition more completely bring their own punishment and reproof. He saw the allies every where successful; all their plans achieved; all their armies victorious. This unhappy and perfidious prince stood now

on the very brink of destruction, and would in all probability have sunk, had the confederates been united in their councils, or had it been for their interest generally to crush him. But he was saved by their jealousies.

Having sent reinforcements from Italy to Spain, his affairs in that quarter assumed a somewhat brighter aspect; but this arose principally from the imprudence of the young King Charles, who, contrary to the advice of the earl of Peterborough, determined upon offensive operations. The consequence was a severe defeat of the English, Dutch, and Portuguese troops. Indeed, to such a state of distress were they reduced, that they might all have been cut off or taken prisoners, had the victory of the French been followed up as it ought, and as it probably would have been, had not the duke of Orleans arrived in the camp soon after the victory, and taken the command upon himself. By this defeat King Charles lost all his former conquests except Catalonia. There he was compelled to take up his winter-quarters, while the earl of Galway embarked for Lisbon.

The dazzling enterprise of attacking Toulon now engaged the attention of the confederates. The duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene were the generals engaged in it, while the English and Dutch fleets were employed to land an army of 30,000 men. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with Sir John Norris, effected the difficult service of passing the entrance of the Var on the 11th of July, 1707. This was effected to the utter consternation of the French, who deemed their works impregnable. Having passed the fortifications, the troops were landed, and marched directly towards Toulon. This was the great naval arsenal of France. The best part of the fleet lay there, with immense stores of artillery and ammunition. The report that the confederates had landed, and were near Toulon, filled the whole of France with consternation. It was deemed incredible that the enemy could be in the very heart of their country. The king and his people now exerted themselves as for a last effort. The nobility offered their plate and jewels, summoned their dependents, and roused the whole country. Troops were ordered to march from all parts of the kingdom to save Toulon. The garrison made a resolute and brave resistance; and, after remaining a short time, the allies perceived the utter impossibility of reducing the place before the arrival of the troops, which were advancing, and the people who were arming all around them. They, therefore, re-embarked their troops under cover of the night, and while the fleet maintained a terrible bombardment. When all were safely on board they set sail for England, leaving the duke of Savoy to retreat to his own country, which he did without molestation. When the English squadron had arrived off their own coast, they were overtaken by a heavy storm in which the admiral's ship struck upon the rocks of Scilly, and every soul on board perished. The same fate befell several others. Another naval misfortune befell England in the loss of the West India fleet and convoy, and not long after in that of the Russian company's fleet, consisting of fifteen ships. These disasters were attributed to the baseness of some persons connected with the admiralty, by whom such intelligence was conveyed to France as enabled them to take advantage of the merchant-fleets by overpowering the convoys.

About this period the affairs of the allies on the Upper Rhine were

far from prosperous. The prince of Baden was dead, and the German army so weak and ill-disciplined, that it was found insufficient to defend the lines of Bahl against the Mareschal de Villars, who broke through it, and reduced Rastadt, defeated a body of horse, laid the dutchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, took Stutgard and Schorndorf, routed a German army entrenched at Lorch, and took Janus their general prisoner. The imperial army was under the necessity of retiring towards Hailbron, and the command of it intrusted to the elector of Hanover, who restored discipline, and conducted its movements with prudence and skill.

The duke of Marlborough assembled the allied army about the middle of May near Brussels; but the campaign was passed without a single engagement of importance. Having approached the French camp which was at Gemblours, strongly fortified, the duke resolved to attack them; but they retreated from post to post until they were secured under the cannon of Tournay. Nothing could induce them to give the duke battle. The season was now so far advanced that the allied army was sent into winter-quarters about the end of October, 1707.

Upon the arrival of the duke in England he found a considerable change in the aspect of political affairs. His dutchess, who had maintained an extraordinary influence over the mind of the queen, was now in a great measure supplanted by a Mrs Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had raised from indigence and obscurity. It was evident that the queen had yielded herself to the insinuating influence of this woman, and that she was the tool of the high-church and tory politicians. The dutchess of Marlborough had always opposed the tory party, and repressed the queen's propensity to their principles; but the new confidant stimulated and encouraged her majesty's prejudices in their favour. The dutchess was rapidly losing favour, and her rival as rapidly gaining it. Mrs Masham was the political agent or auxiliary of Mr Secretary Harley, Henry St John, and Lord Bolingbroke, who were all endeavouring to rally and revive the broken interest of the tories. They found a most important and valuable coadjutor in Mrs Masham; for under her influence the queen began to manifest indications of those political propensities which had long been kept in check by the commanding influence of the dutchess of Marlborough. The leaders of the tories gave out that the queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the whigs, —that she was, and had always been a friend to the high-church and tory party,—and that she was determined to act upon her own principles. The first certain indications of the change that was threatening the country appeared in the choice of Dr Blackall and Sir W. Dawes to fill two vacant bishoprics, though they had not hesitated openly to condemn the revolution.

The change in the queen's mind, or at least in her measures, may be traced to the growing unpopularity of her whig ministry, as well as to the plotting and intriguing of the tories with Mrs Masham. For it is quite certain that both Scotland and England had much cause to be dissatisfied with the continuation of the national burdens, when there was manifestly no longer any necessity for carrying on the war. They had cheerfully submitted to taxation while France was imperious and ambitious, and their sufferings were alleviated by the splendid successes which attended their armies, and the eclat which their country and their

generals had acquired; but now the end of these privations and efforts were attained. France was humbled, and the war was needless, or even worse. It was beginning to prove disastrous. The battle of Almanza in Spain, the failure of the expedition against Toulon, the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and the various naval disasters of this year, as well as the defeat of the Germans on the Upper Rhine, all seemed ominous indications that the career of glory and of triumph was not to be uninterrupted, and that the time was now come for putting an end to the war. Many minor causes of complaint were dwelt upon by the tory faction, and some matters violently exaggerated, especially the treatment of the Scots in the affair of the union, and in the distribution of the *equivalent* to that kingdom, in which the most shameful partiality and abuse were alleged against the ministry.

The growth of these discontents once more encouraged the hopes, and stimulated the exertions of the Jacobites. A fresh correspondence was opened with the court of St Germains, and various projects were set on foot for promoting a new revolution. Many of the more rigid whigs entered into the counsels of the Jacobites, and sedulously propagated the opinion that the independence, commerce, and liberties of the country could be retrieved only by the restoration of the exiled family. They even proceeded so far as to celebrate publicly the birth-day of the pretender in various parts of the kingdom. Indubitable indications appeared of extensive disaffection, and nothing was wanting but a favourable occasion to awaken throughout the country the spirit of revolt. Ireland, however, continued quiet, and manifested under the government of the earl of Pembroke a disposition sufficiently submissive and pliable to the will of the queen and her ministry.

On the 23d of October, 1707, the first united parliament of Great Britain assembled. Loud complaints were made of the mismanagement of affairs in Spain, and of the naval disasters. The city of London petitioned upon the subject of their trade and commerce, and alleged that they had sustained great losses through the neglect of the admiralty. These complaints, however, produced little effect, as all the parties implicated were allowed to vindicate themselves, and no satisfaction could be obtained by the injured parties. But an important discovery was made, which brought the character of Mr Harley under serious suspicion. One of the inferior clerks in his office was detected in a secret correspondence with the French minister Chamillard. When his practices were detected he made an ample confession, and was sentenced to suffer death for high treason. Several other persons, and among them the secretary to the duke of Savoy's minister, were detected in similar treasonable practices. A commission of the lords' house investigated these cases, and reported to the queen that secrets of state had been communicated by these persons to the French court, and that it was owing to the secret correspondence they had kept up with the governors of Calais and Boulogne, that the French admirals were informed of the sailing of our fleets, strength of our convoys, &c. They farther stated, that all the state papers in the office of Mr Secretary Harley had long been accessible to the lowest of the clerks, and that Gregg, the impeached clerk, had the perusal of letters, papers, &c.—that he was known in Scotland, from whence he came, as a spy, and was proved to be in the pay of the French minister. Gregg was executed at Tyburn soon after, but so-

lemnly exculpated Harley from any participation in his treasonable correspondence. Nevertheless, Harley's character suffered upon the examination of two other traitors, Valiere and Bara, who had acted as smugglers to the coast of France under the protection of Harley.

When these facts came out, the duke of Marlborough and the lord-treasurer Godolphin wrote to the queen remonstrating against Harley's continuance in office, and tendering their resignations should he be continued. They had observed the connexion between Mrs Masham and Harley, and fully understood the influence which the secretary thereby had gained over the queen. The duke and Godolphin were summoned to meet her majesty at the council, where they remonstrated personally. The queen endeavoured to pacify and remove their resentment against Harley, but they remained firm and withdrew. Upon their withdrawment Harley endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, but the duke of Somerset maintained that they could not discuss the matter in the absence of the general and the treasurer. In consequence, the council broke up, and the queen now saw that she must either abandon Harley or be abandoned by her ablest ministers. The next day she sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should be immediately dismissed. His disgrace was followed by the resignation of Sir Simon Harcourt the attorney-general, Sir T. Mansell comptroller of the household, and Mr St John.

But the public attention was now aroused by an alarm of invasion from France on behalf of the pretender. Colonel Hook had received credentials from the court of St Germains, and had arrived in Scotland for the purpose of ascertaining the strength and disposition of the pretender's party. He was, however, a person in no way qualified for such an undertaking, and, in consequence, he caused jealousy and misunderstanding. Having attached himself to that portion only of the pretender's friends who were for receiving him unconditionally, he returned to France under very mistaken views of the temper of the Scots. The favourable report he made induced King Louis to resolve upon an expedition for the avowed purpose of establishing the prince on the throne of his ancestors. There can be no doubt that the zeal of the king of France was prompted by the hope of causing a diversion from the Netherlands, and of preventing England from sending reinforcements to Spain. The armament was assembled at Dunkirk, and the prince equipped in a sumptuous manner. The pope also contributed to the expedition. At parting, Louis presented the prince, who had assumed the title of Chevalier de St George, with a sword studded with valuable diamonds, and repeated what he had formerly said to the pretender's father on embarking for Ireland, "He hoped he should never see him again." The queen of England being made acquainted with these preparations, made all the necessary arrangements. A large fleet was equipped with extraordinary expedition, and appeared before Dunkirk at the very time when the French supposed that there was no fleet in any of the English ports. The appearance of Sir John Leake's squadron off Dunkirk put a stop to the embarkation, but upon communication with Louis it was ordered to proceed, and the expedition to sail with the first fair wind. The British admiral being forced from his station by stress of weather, the French set sail. As soon as it was known, Sir George Byng pursued them, and was close in their rear as

they entered the Frith of Forth. The enemy discovering how nearly he was pursued, changed his course and made sail for the north. But Byng came up with one of his vessels, boarded, and took it. The pretender urged upon his commanders the plan of landing him at Inverness, and this would probably have been attempted, but the wind changing directly in their teeth, the French admiral, Fourbin, remonstrated on the impossibility of succeeding while the English fleet were chasing them. The resolution was therefore taken of making sail again for Dunkirk, where they arrived after a month's voyage and with the loss of the Salisbury. At this juncture an attempt was made to destroy the credit of the bank of England by a *run*. But the merchants, and many of the nobility, came forward spiritedly to the succour of the bank, and enabled it to meet all the demands both of the disaffected and the timorous. Many of the Scottish nobility, suspected of correspondence with the pretender, were arrested and brought to London, where they were for some time confined to the Tower, but afterwards admitted to bail. A number of Scottish and English gentry and nobles had been taken in the Salisbury. One of these, Lord Griffin, was attainted of high treason committed in the reign of William. He was condemned to death, but reprieved from month to month, till at length he died in prison.

The celebrated Robert Walpole, a gentleman who had already displayed his abilities in the house of commons, now first succeeded to office upon the resignation of Henry St John, as secretary-at-war.

We must not here pass over a singular affair which distinguishes this period of British history, although it may scarcely seem to merit distinct notice. As a fact, however, which history records, we must not pass it by. It was the rise of the sect called the French prophets. Three Camisars or protestants from the Cevennois, made their escape from France and came to London. They commenced their labours among their own countrymen with the most violent gesticulations, absurd effusions, and frantic convulsions. Having formed a sect, and gained English adherents, they became known by the name of the French prophets. They were patronised by Sir John Bulkley and one John Lacy. The French refugees resident in London were greatly scandalized by their doctrines, and authorized the bishop of London to inquire into their tenets. They were hereupon pronounced impostors. But they continued their ravings, and produced much excitement in London and Westminster. They publicly reviled the bishops and ministers of the established church, and denounced the most terrible judgments against the city of London and the whole English nation. Their predictions were published and widely circulated. At length they were prosecuted by the French churches as impostors and disturbers of the public peace. They were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks, and stand twice on a scaffold with a label on their breasts indicating their offence. This sentence was executed at Charing-cross and the Royal Exchange. For a time they produced a great stir, but at length they rendered themselves perfectly contemptible by their bungling attempts at imposition.

The failure of the expedition on behalf of the pretender was borne lightly by the king of France, who displayed great firmness under his misfortunes, and made incredible efforts towards improving the advan-

tages of the last campaign. Considering the impoverished state of his finances, it excited the astonishment of all the confederates to observe the preparations he was making. A large French army was assembled in the Netherlands ready to meet the allies. The duke of Burgundy, the duke of Berry, the Chevalier de St George, and Vendome were at the head of it. The duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene took the field with all possible expedition, but their army was inferior in number to the French. Notwithstanding, the duke could not bring them to an engagement. They endeavoured to out-manœuvre him; they crossed and recrossed rivers; encamped and decamped with the most astonishing rapidity; but in all their movements they were so skilfully met, so vigilantly observed, that they could gain no advantage.

At length he pursued them so successfully, that they were constrained to form their whole army and give the duke battle. For some time the French generals were divided in counsel, whether to fight or retreat. But while they hesitated, Marlborough made efficient disposition of his army which had to cross the Scheld. Had they been decided, and attacked him when only half his army had crossed, they might have beaten, or at least repulsed all his troops in detail. But they allowed him to bring all his men over the river before they had formed their decision. Two such armies had not, for many years, met. But the French exceeded the allies by twelve thousand. Notwithstanding their superiority, and the extraordinary valour [illegible] s and men, their right was forced back by [illegible] and Count Tilly; and being attacked in the rear by Count Oxenstiern and the prince of Orange, they were thrown into confusion, and no efforts of their commanders could restore order, or maintain the battle. They were only saved from entire destruction by the darkness of the night, which rendered it impossible to distinguish friends from foes.

The French generals seeing their troops flying in all directions, gathered a few squadrons and battalions to cover their retreat, and but for this precaution the whole army must have been destroyed. This battle was fought near Oudenarde, and the French retreated through Ghent, and encamped at Lovendegen. The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was above twelve thousand. After a short repose the allies sent detachments through the province of Picardy, and spread the utmost terror even to Paris itself.

The allied generals elated with their success, now engaged in a project which, for a time, exposed them to the scorn of their enemies. The town of Lisle was the strongest in Flanders. It was well-garrisoned with twenty-one battalions, commanded by Boufflers, and abundant stores of all kinds. Notwithstanding, the duke and Prince Eugene determined to reduce it. They were so situated, however, that their enemies had cut off all communication between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-Fan-Ghent. They were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which the siege was commenced. The duke of Burgundy and Vendome, joined by the duke of Berwick, resolved to relieve the place by attacking the besiegers. But Marlborough covered the siege while Prince Eugene and the prince of Orange carried it on. Thus the French, who had the utmost dread of Marlborough, were kept from making any attack upon

the besieging army. After incredible efforts on both sides, the town was taken, and when the besiegers had raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, they made Boufflers an offer of honourable terms if he would surrender before the opening of the batteries, otherwise he and his garrison would be made prisoners of war. He chose to avail himself of this advantage, foreseeing that if he did not, the latter alternative was all that remained to him. The French generals seeing the fate of this place withdrew, and never suspecting that the allied generals would design any other movement at this late period of the season, they distributed their army into winter-quarters, and retired to Paris. But the confederates determined to extend their efforts to another enterprize. On the 20th of December they invested the city of Ghent on all sides, and in ten days the Count de la Motte desired to capitulate. In a few days he marched out with his garrison and six British battalions took possession. Upon this the French garrisons at Bruges and several other places fled, and resigned them to the allies.

These unexpected disasters in the Netherlands overwhelmed the French monarch with confusion and dismay. On the side of Dauphine the duke of Savoy had gained a barrier, which secured his own frontiers, and opened a way for him into the French provinces. He had so severely pressed the French general, Villars, that a strong detachment had been sent to his assistance from Rousillon, by which King Charles was much relieved in his movements in Spain.

A splendid affair was planned and executed against Sardinia and Minorca. The principal parties were General Stanhope, Admiral Leake, and the Marquess D'Alconzel. In a short time they brought the garrison to submission. This was effected by a very small body of troops. When the governor found by so small an armament the place had been taken, he was overwhelmed with mortification, and threw himself from a window, and was killed on the spot. The reduction of this place excited astonishment throughout all Europe.

The fleet of England which had lent assistance in the conquest of Minorca, was now of essential service in overawing the pope, who was endeavouring to form a league of the princes of Italy against the emperor. Sir John Leake received orders to bombard Civita Vecchia in resentment of the pope's countenance and assistance to the pretender. But the emperor and the duke of Savoy interposed, and requested permission to try negotiation. The pope, however, rejected the ambassador, and, flattered by the promised assistance and defence of the king of France, set the emperor and the duke of Savoy at defiance. The papal troops at this time surprised a small body of imperialists, and with the most savage barbarity cut them all in pieces. The duke of Savoy having ended his campaign with the French, ordered his troops, part of whom were imperialists, to march into the papal territories. They drove the army of his holiness before them, seized Bologna, and spread the utmost terror to Rome, which began to anticipate the horrors of being once more sacked by a German army.

This movement brought the pope to his senses. He consented to receive the envoy of the emperor, whom he had before refused. His courage was now dissipated, and his hopes of succour from France gone. He consented to disband his new levies, to give the imperial troops winter-quarters in the papal territories, to grant the investiture of Na-

ples to King Charles, and to allow, at all times, a free passage to the imperial troops through his dominions. Little occurred on the Upper Rhine during the season of 1708. The elector of Bavaria and Hanover were both too weak to make any important movements. The disputes between the emperor and the Hungarians still continued. Poland was delivered from the oppressions of the king of Sweden, by his determination to humble the czar of Muscovy, against whom he now marched.

During the whole of the year 1708, the English trade was well-protected by the convoys and cruizers, and little injury was sustained from French or Spanish privateers. In the West Indies, Commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coast of Carthagena: but he lost the fleet through the neglect of two of his own captains, who were subsequently tried, and dismissed the service.

On the 28th of October, 1708, died Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne. He was a prince rather of amiable than of shining qualities. After his decease, the earl of Pembroke was made lord-high-admiral, the earl of Wharton governor of Ireland, and Lord Somers president of the council. In spite of these promotions which contributed to confirm the whig ministry, the queen continued under the private influence of Harley, whom she constantly consulted on all affairs of state, though he now held no place in the administration. Notwithstanding the splendid successes that continued to attend the duke of Marlborough, yet she never restored him to her favour after his attack upon her favourite.

Towards the close of the year 1708, a new parliament assembled in which the whig interest still greatly preponderated. The parliament was opened by a commission to represent her majesty, as she could not appear in public so soon after the death of the prince of Denmark. After the routine business, consequent upon the opening of the session, various measures were brought forward regarding the election of Scottish representatives, and the naturalization of foreign protestants. The year 1709 was scarcely commenced when Louis, humbled to the lowest degree by his military disasters and his domestic sufferings, determined to make more earnest solicitation for peace. He first despatched the president Rouillé to the states of Holland with offers of a separate and secret treaty, in which they should have conceded to them a strong barrier on their frontier and various other matters. But the states refused all separate and private negotiation, and immediately communicated the proposals to the court of London and Vienna. The duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene met at the Hague early in the spring, and conferred with the grand pensionary Heinsius and others on the proposals of the French, which they agreed to reject. Further proposals were soon after made by Louis, which conceded almost every matter of national importance to the allies. He consented to the demolition of Dunkirk, which had been complained of as a nest of privateers and pirates; he agreed to abandon the pretender, and banish him from France, to acknowledge Queen Anne's title, to renounce his son's title to the Spanish monarchy, and to cede the barriers which the Dutch desired in the Netherlands, to arrange affairs with the emperor on the footing of the Ryswick treaty, and even to demolish the fortifications

of Strasburgh. But the ministers of the allied powers had become proud and insolent by their success, and now imposed terms which were partly dictated by a spirit of selfishness, and partly by revenge. Indeed, so insolent were they become, that nothing but the deepest distress could have so broken the spirit of the French monarch, as to allow of his listening for a moment to their proposals. It is impossible to behold the proud monarch that had once been the arbiter of European politics, and the mightiest prince in Christendom, now reduced to a situation in which he was compelled to bear the insults of ministers and ambassadors, without pitying his fallen greatness, and wondering at the strange reverses of human affairs.

It was but too evident, by the unreasonable demands of the Dutch and British ambassadors and generals, that they had private interests in wishing to defer the peace; otherwise when every thing that could be reasonably demanded had been conceded to them, they would have been glad to promote the interests of their respective countries by terminating so advantageously a war, which all parties felt to be sufficiently burdensome. The French king even despatched his secretary of state, the Marquess de Torcy, to the Hague in disguise, to endeavour by all means to bring about a peace. He soon discovered that the chief parties to be won were the duke of Marlborough and the Prince Eugene, who could turn the scale either way. He sagaciously discovered the mercenary propensity of the duke, and made secret offers of a large sum of money, which would undoubtedly have succeeded; but the duke's credit was waning at court, and his influence in England could be supported only by fresh victories. De Torcy, however, urged by the necessities of his master, agreed to the preliminaries on which the allied generals insisted. But when these were remitted to Louis, he was overwhelmed with grief and indignation. The proposals were cruel and arrogant in the extreme, and he rejected them at once. He next published to his people the proposals he had made to the allies, and the preliminaries they had submitted to him. This appeal roused the spirit of his people to the highest pitch. Though impoverished and dispirited by the war, they resolved rather to expend their last sous than see their monarch so degraded, their country so subdued. The people volunteered to serve without pay, and made efforts to support their sovereign, which were the wonder of the whole world. The ambassador was recalled, and the campaign opened immediately. The allies assembled a hundred and ten thousand troops forthwith in the neighbourhood of Lisle, and determined upon the siege of Tournay. The works proceeded with great vigour, and the place was defended with amazing skill and courage. Workmen on both sides were continually meeting in the subterranean passages, and carrying on deadly conflict. Mining and countermining were carried to their utmost extent. Whole battalions were blown into the air, or buried in the earth. The loss of men was immense on both sides. Notwithstanding, the siege was prosecuted with the most determined resolution. The city was first surrendered, and afterwards the citadel. They next turned their attention to Mons, which they resolved to carry with the utmost expedition. They despatched the prince of Hesse to attack the French lines, and thus divert attention from themselves. These lines were extended from Haisne to the Sombre. At the approach of the prince, the French

abandoned them. On the 7th of September Boufflers arrived in the camp, then at Quievrain, to act under Villars. The duke of Marlborough, receiving intelligence of the march of the French to meet the prince of Hesse, immediately went from Havre to support him. On the ninth the allies moved towards the French, and a cannonading commenced on both sides. The French numbered a hundred and twenty thousand; the allies nearly as many. The enemy, instead of proceeding at once to the attack, occupied themselves in fortifying their camp by triple entrenchments. Indeed they were so encompassed by lines, hedges, trees laid across, and fortifications, that they seemed impregnable. Marlborough allowed them to proceed two or three days with their entrenchments without molestation, because he was bringing up eighteen battalions more from the siege of Tournay.

On the eleventh, the confederates took the advantage of a dense fog, and erected batteries on each wing and in the centre, and shortly after the battle began. It was contested most severely on both sides. The French fought with an obstinacy inspired by despair. But nothing could withstand the intrepidity of the Dutch and British. They drove them from all their entrenchments, and compelled them to retreat towards Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The field, with the artillery and many standards, were left in the possession of the allies. Villars was dangerously wounded, and Boufflers had to conduct the retreat, which he did with much skill and order. This victory cost the allies a larger number of men than any of their former victories. It is believed they lost twenty thousand, and the French, though beaten, not above half that number. It was evident that this battle was fought by the duke rather for his own glory than the advantage of the common cause. He had little to gain by it, except the undisturbed prosecution of the siege of Tournay, and the support of his sinking credit in England. The former of these objects was no doubt expedited by it, for the city soon after surrendered, and the duke's character as a general could scarcely rise higher than it was before the engagement. In the opinion of many well-qualified judges, this battle rather tended to his discredit, as nothing could be more rash and improvident than to attack an army so strongly entrenched, and to make so great a sacrifice for the mere sake of driving the enemy from the ground they occupied. It is some excuse of the duke, that he was for hazarding the attack before the French had entrenched themselves, but Prince Eugene urged the delay till the reenforcements could arrive; and the great loss of life has been attributed to the impetuosity of the prince of Orange, whose aim was to signalize himself by acts of extraordinary enterprise and courage.

The affairs of the confederates were less prosperous in Spain and Portugal. The pope, however, was brought solemnly to acknowledge Charles king of Spain, Sicily, and Naples, but not until he was threatened by the emperor that an imperial army should take up their winter-quarters in his state. The events of the summer of 1709 added little to the French interest. They had made prodigious exertions, but accomplished very little. Peace was still most needful to recruit his exhausted country. He opened communication again with the states, and withdrew his troops from Spain, as a demonstration of his willingness to oblige the allies: though it was thought he was under the necessity of recalling them to defend France itself. Philip, however, protested against all

that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice, and declared his determination to expel Charles from Spain. Philip is said to have tampered with the duke of Marlborough to favour his interest, while De Torcy did the same on behalf of the king of France. But Marlborough resisted all solicitation, and, fond as he was of money, nothing could induce him to betray the cause of the allies.

The memorial forwarded by Louis to the confederate powers at the Hague, placed the proposals for peace on a different footing from those formerly made. But to these the states and the duke would not consent, but came to a resolution that it was necessary to prosecute the war with vigour. All the confederates were addressed to this effect. When the English parliament met, they readily assented to the queen's wishes for prosecuting the war to the entire reduction of the power of France; and as a proof of the heartiness with which they entered into the cause, they voted six millions for the service of the ensuing year.

The close of the year 1709 was distinguished by the extraordinary case of Dr Henry Sacheverel, a clergyman of Southwark, who preached and published two sermons against revolution principles, the protestant succession, and the existing government. His case was brought before the house of commons by Mr Dolben, son of the late archbishop of York. This furious bigot was known as an enemy of toleration, a friend of passive obedience and non-resistance. The objectionable passages being read in the house, they were voted libellous and scandalous. The author was summoned to their bar. He acknowledged the sermons, but said he had been encouraged to print them by the lord-mayor of London and Sir Samuel Gerrard. Sir Samuel, being a member of the house, denied the charge. Dr Sacheverel was ordered to withdraw, and the house then voted that he should be impeached by Mr Dolben before the house of lords. Dr Sacheverel was immediately taken into custody. When they had done this, they voted their approbation of Mr Ben. Hoadly, who had ably defended the principles of the revolution, and voted an address to the queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr Hoadly for the very important and timely services he had rendered both to church and state. The queen returned a civil answer, but took no farther notice of the recommendation.

Dr Sacheverel petitioned to be admitted to bail, but it was refused; and the temper of the commons seemed more violent than could be justified on such an occasion. The tory party seized the opportunity, as a favourable one, for decrying their political opponents the whigs. They immediately raised the cry of the church in danger. The ministry and the dissenters, they affirmed, were combining to destroy the church, and the prosecution of Sacheverel was a proof of it. The clergy too, generally inclining to the tory politics, fell in with the outcry, and began to preach up the doctrines of Sacheverel. Every means was employed to inflame the popular feelings, and produce a reaction against the ministry and the house of commons. Sacheverel was held up as a confessor to the true church, and ready to become a martyr in its cause. The discontents and ferments thus excited on behalf of the church, were considerably increased by the distress which was felt from a great scarcity of provision.

The trial produced an extraordinary sensation throughout the country. The cause of Sacheverel was espoused in the most extraordinary

manner by the infuriated populace, who first began by paying him respect as he went to and fro during the trial; next they beset the queen as she went to the parliament-house, saying, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for Dr Sacheverel." Then they proceeded to attack the dissenting meeting-houses and the private dwellings of the most eminent dissenters. The rioters were proceeding to the bank when the military were called in. It was subsequently found necessary to keep strong guards around the parliament-house during the whole remainder of this trial. The commons sent an address to the queen, stating that these tumults were set on foot by papists, non-jurors, enemies to her person and government, and soliciting that she would take proper precautions to suppress the riots and secure the existing government. The queen promised to attend to their recommendations, and several persons were taken into custody, tried, and condemned for high treason, but not executed. The tumults were suppressed; but the nation continued in a strong ferment. The chaplains of the queen, and the queen herself, privately favoured Sacheverel. The doctrines he inculcated were but too palatable to royalty. But the lords' house was a scene of violent debate and contention. At length the peers voted him guilty by a majority of seventeen, and passed sentence of suspension from his office for three years, and his sermons to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in the presence of the lord-mayor, and sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The lords likewise voted at the same time that the executioner should commit to the same fire the decree passed by the convocation of the university of Oxford, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible rights of princes. The lenity of the sentence pronounced upon Sacheverel was deemed a victory by the friends of his principles, and they commemorated it accordingly by illuminations and bonfires. On the 5th of April, 1710, the queen adjourned the parliament. The spring of the year was improved by King Louis to renew his solicitations for peace. He again implored the states-general to give their assent to proposals for a meeting of plenipotentiaries. At length, the whole of the terms proposed by the allies, with a single exception, were conceded, and he obtained leave to send the Mareschal D'Uxelles and the Abbé Polignac to treat with the other plenipotentiaries. But so haughty were the Dutch, that they would not suffer his ambassadors to enter Holland. They fixed upon Gertruydenburgh as the place of meeting. Marlborough, although no longer in the queen's favour, was despatched to join the various representatives of the allied powers. After above four months spent in useless negotiation, in which the ambassadors of the allied powers set no bounds to their insolence, but treated the French plenipotentiaries with the utmost contempt and scorn, the hope of a reasonable adjustment was given up by the French. Louis resolved to try the chances of another campaign rather than submit to the unjust and cruel demands which were forced upon him. He thought there might be some favourable turn in the affairs of the English ministry on the further decline of the duke of Marlborough, that might give him the prospect of bringing the confederates to more reasonable terms.

Preparations for opening the campaign were proceeding while the conference lasted, and as soon as it had terminated, Prince Eugene and

the duke proceeded directly to Tournay, in order to assemble their army. In a few days they advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, and attacked the lines which the French had been all the winter preparing to cover Douay and other frontier towns. These were soon in the possession of the duke. As soon as this was effected, Prince Eugene commenced the siege of Douay. Mareschal Villars was at the head of the French army, which, considering the distressed state of France, was large and well-appointed. Indeed it was recruited, in a great measure, from the starving and distressed population, who could find no other means of support. The mareschal having drawn his forces together, passed the Scheldt, and encamped at Bouchain, announcing his determination to give the confederates battle. He had no sooner observed their disposition for his attack than he drew back, and entirely altered his plans. He deemed it preferable to harass them while engaged in the siege of Douay, as thereby he supposed he should protract the siege, or even compel them to abandon it. The place was strong and well-defended by Albergotti, who made frequent sallies, and interrupted the works of the besiegers. But notwithstanding the loss they suffered by these attacks, and the constant alarms to which they were subjected by the neighbourhood of the whole French army, they proceeded with the most determined resolution, and in about fifty days from the opening of the trenches, the governor was forced to capitulate. After the reduction of Douay they turned their attention to Bethune, and in six weeks that also fell into their hands. During this period Villars remained strongly entrenched, watching the proceedings of the allies without being able to render the slightest assistance to the besieged towns. Once he quitted his entrenchment with the intention of giving them battle, or of compelling them to raise the siege of Bethune; but he was soon glad to retire again behind his defences, leaving the allies to pursue their course of conquest almost without opposition. Having taken Aire and St Venant, they closed the campaign, and distributed their army into winter-quarters.

On the Rhine neither party made any important movement. Piedmont also remained quiet. The duke of Savoy being out of humour with the emperor, the command of the forces was intrusted to Thaun, who endeavoured to pass the Alps; but the duke of Berwick had so effectually guarded the passes of the mountains, that the imperial-general could make no progress. Spain, however, was the scene of some brilliant and important affairs. General Stanhope had the command of King Charles's cavalry, and he determined upon attacking the whole Spanish cavalry stationed at Almennara. The general charged at the head of his troops, and with his own hand slew the general of Philip's guards. The attack was irresistible and fatal. The Spanish horse were entirely routed. Nine battalions escaped under cover of night, and the whole Spanish army retreated to Lerida. They were immediately pursued by General Staremberg to Saragossa, where they rallied, and drew up to give him battle. An engagement ensued, in which they were totally routed. Five thousand fell in battle, seven thousand were taken prisoners, with the whole of their artillery and baggage.

Philip with the wreck of his army retired to Madrid, and Charles entered Saragossa in triumph. Had he followed the advice of General Stanhope he might have effected the subjugation of the whole kingdom.

He advised, as the very first step, to secure Pampeluna, as the only pass by which reinforcements could be sent by the French king to his grandson. But Charles thought more of securing Madrid, and therefore determined to march thither. When he arrived he found the city deserted by all the grandees, and the people generally throughout Castile favourable to his rival. By this piece of folly he lost the most favourable opportunity he had ever enjoyed of gaining the kingdom he desired. His enemy soon availed himself of this imprudence by drawing reinforcements from France and the assistance of Vendome, one of the very ablest and most popular of the French generals. His presence in Spain retrieved the cause of Philip. The allies were obliged to retire, and General Stanhope presently found himself surrounded by a large army, with scanty means of defence. At the head of about two thousand men, he was obliged to capitulate after a vigorous but vain resistance. Count Staremberg marched to his assistance, but arrived too late. He, however, engaged the enemy. The result of this battle was doubtful. Staremberg retained the field. The enemy lost six thousand men; but the general was too weak to retain his possession of the field and of the artillery which he had taken. He retreated to Saragossa, and thence to Catalonia. But the Duke de Vendome pursued him, and at last compelled him to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. Thus in about three months Philip recovered the possession of the whole of Spain, with the exception of a single province, and that at a period when his cause was on the very brink of ruin, and when one single movement on the part of his competitor might have driven him and his army entirely out of Spain.

In England the aspect of politics continued to change through the summer of 1710. The intrigues of the tories against the whigs gained ground both upon the queen and the nation. The trial of Sacheverel had produced a deep disgust, and roused all the anti-revolution parties into activity. Addresses were got up from all parts of the kingdom on behalf of tory principles in church and state, and the opposite were excited to forward counter-petitions and addresses, extolling the revolution, and praising the conduct of the parliament and the ministry. This might all have subsided without materially affecting public interests or the public peace, but the queen began to show decidedly and openly those tendencies to arbitrary power and intolerance which the present temper of the nation seemed to have ripened into maturity. The most decided indications she gave were directed to the mortification of the duke of Marlborough. She wrote to the duke, directing him to give the command of a regiment, recently commanded by the earl of Essex, to a young officer of the name of Hill, brother to Mrs Masham, who had supplanted the dutchess of Marlborough. The duke remonstrated, but the queen took no further notice than to advise him to consult his friends. The lord-treasurer, Godolphin, enforced Marlborough's remonstrance, but finding that it had no effect he retired in disgust. These proceedings excited some clamour in the house of commons, who gave the queen to understand that she would soon have to encounter some votes which would be unpalateable. She therefore took the alarm, and desired Marlborough to confer the command of the regiment according to his own inclinations. Before the intimation reached him, he had written again requesting permission to retire from business. But

she dreaded such a retaliation, and insisted upon his attending the council. The dutchess of Marlborough seized the present opportunity for endeavouring to reinstate herself in the queen's favour. She gained an interview, at which she argued, supplicated, wept. But all her efforts were fruitless. The queen heard her with indifference, and only replied by referring to a letter of the dutchess's—"You desired no answer; and you shall have none." Although the queen was reluctant to part with the services of Marlborough, yet so little did she care to oblige him, that his son-in-law, Lord Sunderland, was dismissed from his office of secretary-of-state. Farther changes followed, and at length every whig minister was removed—the duke alone remained in her majesty's council, and he would have retired but for the importunity of his friends, who pleaded the interest of the nation as an argument above all party interests. To complete the triumph of the tories, the queen dissolved the parliament.

In the new elections the trial of Sacheverel was employed as a popular subject of declamation against the whig interest, and the populace were excited by the cry of "The church and Dr Sacheverel!" This had a powerful influence upon the return of high-church and tory candidates. The queen had now a parliament entirely to her satisfaction, and ready to obey her will. Marlborough returned from the continent, had a short audience with the queen, and consented to retain the command of the army. But it was deeply humbling to his pride to find that he was no longer the admiration of the British parliament. Instead of votes of thanks, he had now to encounter hatred and censure. He was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private companies. Even his courage was impeached; and this illustrious general, who had raised the glory of Britain above all competition, who had effectually humbled the proudest and most powerful monarch of Europe, who had secured the liberties of his country and of all the protestant nations of the continent, was reviled as the most undeserving of mankind. So unstable is the favour of the world, and so deep the mortification to which even its greatest favourites are exposed! After the meeting of parliament the most rancorous spirit against the late ministry began to appear; every disaster was attributed to their mismanagement. The late affairs in Spain were subjected to a severe and prejudiced examination by the lords, and every means employed to throw odium upon the management of the late ministers. The commons also inquired into the affairs of the navy, and were unsparing of their censures upon various subjects. They passed an act designed to keep trading persons out of the house of commons, and to confine the representation to the landowners. They repealed the bill for the naturalization of foreigners, and passed a third act for permitting the importation of French wines in neutral bottoms.

Harley, whose character some had doubted on account of his unwillingness to second the more violent of the tories, rose to the head of the ministry in consequence of an attempt made upon his life by Guiscard, a traitor, at the council-table. This attempted assassination by a man who had committed high-treason in attempting to carry on a correspondence with France, satisfied all parties that Harley was innocent of any connexion with such practices, of which he had formerly been suspected. He immediately became popular with the two houses. They addressed the queen upon the occasion, declaring their belief that it was

Mr Harley's zeal in her majesty's service which had exposed him to the hatred of the papists. Upon the death of the earl of Rochester, which took place soon after, he was made prime minister; and to complete his advancement, he was made earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

The emperor of Austria died of the small-pox in the beginning of 1711, and his brother immediately endeavoured to secure his election as head of the empire. This event, therefore, gave a new turn to European politics, and favoured the disposition of the ministry and the queen to abandon the claim of Charles upon the Spanish monarchy. Parliament was exceedingly anxious to testify their zeal for the church, and in consequence ordered fifty new churches to be built in the suburbs of London and Westminster. Much of their attention was directed to the public accounts, in which they professed to find great deficits, and from which they endeavoured to derive matter of impeachment against the late ministry. By getting up charges of this description, they greatly inflamed the animosity of the nation against those who had lately been honoured as the most glorious of patriots and heroes. But the object of all these movements on the part of the new ministry was to put an end to the war, which required the continuance of the public burdens, and the entire extinction of Marlborough's influence, which must remain as long as a continental war was required. On the 12th of June the queen prorogued the parliament.

These political changes produced a corresponding change in the convocation. The bishops had befriended the late administration, and now the queen transferred her favour to the lower house. Atterbury was chosen prolocutor of that house on account of his attachment to tory politics, and his known friendship with the prime minister. The queen gave them license to inquire into the state of morals and religion, and Atterbury undertook to draw up a report. He did so, but it became a remonstrance, containing the severest strictures on the late administration, and condemning the whole conduct of affairs since the revolution. Another statement was prepared by the bishops, couched in more sober and moderate terms. Some notice was taken in both the houses of the growth of Arianism, and the queen signified her wish that the bishops should take up the prosecution of Mr Whiston, who had been expelled from a professorship at Cambridge on account of his Arianism. But the upper house of convocation hesitated as to their power to try heresy. The judges being consulted, the majority decided in favour of the power of the convocation. But new scruples and difficulties arising, the bishops contented themselves with merely examining Whiston's book, and passing a censure against it without proceeding against his person. A copy of the sentence was transmitted to the queen, and there the matter rested.

The spring of 1711 rendered it necessary for Marlborough to appear again at the head of the allied army. Before he departed he obtained assurances from the queen that the pay should be regularly transmitted. He then made the best of his way to the Hague, again to serve his country, notwithstanding the base and ungrateful treatment he had recently experienced. Villars had drawn together the French troops in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras; and the duke collected his between Lisle and Douay. He was soon after joined by Prince Eugene The lines of the French army were arranged with much skill,

and defended with such formidable outworks, that when Villars surveyed them he pronounced them to be impregnable, and the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough, deeming that the English general could never force them. But he soon found to his cost that Marlborough was not to be stayed by them. The duke manœuvred so successfully that in a very short time, and without the loss of a single man, he brought his whole army within those lines. This stroke of genius was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars, who had deemed his lines impregnable, became the laughing-stock of his own officers. The deputies of the states counselled the duke to give battle immediately to Villars; but his greater skill induced him to give his army rest after the extraordinary exertions they had made. He directed his attention to the siege of Bouchain; an enterprise deemed utterly impracticable on account of the place being situated in the midst of a morass. It was provoking enough to his enemies in England to hear that he had broke through the French lines, and they endeavoured to lessen the splendour of the achievement. But when they heard that he attempted the hopeless enterprise of reducing Bouchain, they felt certain of his failure, and sure of a triumph in his disgrace. But, contrary to all prognostications, he carried the place in spite of all the resistance of the besieged, and all the annoyance he sustained by the presence of the French army, which endeavoured to thwart all his proceedings. When the news arrived that the place had surrendered, and that the garrison were made prisoners, they then affirmed that the credit of the victory was due to Prince Eugene, though he had contributed little or nothing to the success of the duke. This was, however, his last achievement, and it was pronounced by competent judges to be the greatest and most wonderful of all that he had performed during his whole life. When the breaches of Bouchain were repaired, the armies separated, and the allies took up their winter-quarters in the frontier towns, that they might be ready to take the field early in the ensuing campaign. They were now in possession of the Maese nearly as far as the Sombre, of the Schëldt from Tournay, and of the Lys as far as navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and the greater part of Hainault. They were masters of the Scarpe; and now, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a passage into the very heart of France. All these conquests had been effected by the duke of Marlborough, whom his own countrymen were endeavouring to traduce and revile in the most scandalous manner. Nothing could parallel the odium that was cast upon his name, and no instance can be found of a general who was surrounded with the glory of so many great achievements, and at the very zenith of his fame, despised, reviled, and even persecuted, with the utmost baseness by the rulers of his own country, at the very moment when he was dreaded by all the enemies of that country, and esteemed by all nations as the greatest general of his own or any previous age. After finishing the campaign, he took his leave of the states-general and returned to England, where he arrived in the middle of November, 1711.

Before the duke's return to England, his enemy, the duke of Argyle, was intrusted with the command of the army in Spain. He landed at Barcelona in May, and carried with him assurances of effectual support both by men and money, from the English cabinet. But though all

the hopes of the English ministry depended upon his success, they supported him so inefficiently, that before his troops could take the field he had to borrow money upon his own credit. Had he been seconded by those who sent him out, there is every probability that he would have been able completely to subdue the French general, Vendome. But after struggling for some time with difficulties, and gaining some advantages, he returned to England chagrined and disappointed. In the autumn of this year, King Charles, leaving his queen at Barcelona, came to Italy, arranged the existing differences with the duke of Savoy, and was ultimately chosen emperor.

The English ministry were now much occupied with the plan of an expedition against Quebec and Placentia. The object was to expel the French and monopolize the commerce of North America. This project originated with one Colonel Nicholson. The proposal was entertained, and Brigadier Hill, brother of Mrs Masham, was intrusted with the command of five thousand troops. Sir Hovenden Walker accompanied with a strong squadron of ships. These were joined at New England by about four thousand men. But after encountering a severe storm, which destroyed eight of the transports and eight hundred of the troops, the expedition found their undertaking impracticable, and resolved to return to England. Such was the issue of an expedition intrusted to an officer without experience, merely because he was related to a favourite of the queen. This occurrence, among the first projects of the new tory ministry, brought no small disgrace upon all the parties concerned. But they were all still strong in royal favour, and they had little to fear from the folly and inexperience they had evinced.

In Ireland, the two houses of parliament were divided in their attachment; the lords holding with the court and the tory administration, while the commons strenuously supported the principles of the revolution and the late ministry. The two houses continued through the session in a state of warfare with each other. In Scotland the anti-revolution party went even beyond their friends in England. They made no scruple of declaring themselves attached to the pretender. Public demonstrations of attachment were given by many of the nobility. A remarkable instance occurred in the case of the dutchess of Gordon, who presented the Faculty of Advocates with a medal representing the Chevalier de St George, and on the reverse the British islands, with the motto *Reddita*. After some debate, it was voted by a majority of sixty-three against twelve, that the dutchess should be thanked for having presented them with a medal of their sovereign lord the king, and expressing their hope that her grace would soon have an opportunity of presenting them with another medal upon the restoration of the king and royal family, and at the termination of rebellion, tyranny, and whiggery. This was rather too bold a demonstration even for the court, and the ministry and the lord-advocate were ordered to inquire into the particulars. The parties shrunk from their principles, alleged that it was all acted by a small portion of the body, and threw the whole blame on two individuals. The court was satisfied; but the Hanoverian resident presented a memorial to the queen, praying that Dundas and his associates might be prosecuted. But the affair was hushed up by removing the lord-advocate from his office, on pretence of his remissness in prosecuting the offenders.

The tory ministry were now engaged in carrying on a separate negotiation with the court of France, by which they hoped at once to mortify the Dutch and the duke of Marlborough, with all who had supported him in the war. Considerable risk attended any private negotiation: they therefore merely hinted, that if the French king would renew the negotiations with the Dutch, they would take care to send such plenipotentiaries as would enforce the desirableness of peace. But the king of France declining to treat first with the Dutch, a memorial was sent from Versailles to London, which was immediately communicated to Holland. But the Dutch were now anxious that the negotiations should take place in Holland. Louis, however, declined their offer on the recommendation of the English ministry. Mr Gaultier, with Mr Prior, was sent to Versailles to explain generally the demands of Queen Anne. This being done, a French minister was sent to London to treat with commissioners appointed by the queen. When these were arranged, the earl of Strafford was despatched with them to Holland. After the departure of M. Menager, the French minister, the preliminaries were next communicated to Count Gallas, the emperor's minister in London. He was so enraged at them, that he caused a translation of them to be inserted in one of the daily papers with the view of inflaming the public mind against the ministry. This was so offensive to the queen, that he was obliged to leave the kingdom.

The Dutch were highly offended by the preliminaries, and attempted to remonstrate, but all in vain. The queen had gone too far with France, and she was now under the necessity of intimating to the states that she should consider their refusal as an unwillingness to oblige herself, and any delay as equal to a refusal. Intimidated by these intimations they presently submitted. But Charles, the new emperor, endeavoured to stir up the electors and princes of the empire to persist in their adherence to the grand alliance. The preliminaries, as already agreed upon at London, were not agreeable to all the tory party. They thought them much too favourable to France, and the consequence was a union of some of that party with the whigs, who now employed all their influence in ridiculing and exposing the proceedings of the ministry. A remonstrance was even proposed against the preliminaries in parliament; but the court interposed, and prorogued the parliament till December, when the assistance of the Scottish members to support the ministry was fully anticipated. Upon the re-opening of the houses, the most violent debates ensued. Every attempt was made to reflect upon the duke; but he defended himself ably, and the lords passed a vote, by a small majority, reflecting upon the measures which had been taken towards the attainment of peace, particularly in reference to Spain. The commons, however, continued firm to the ministry and the queen. A committee of public accounts made a discovery that the duke of Marlborough had been annually in the receipt of a present from the contractors of bread for the army. The queen declared in council that she would dismiss him from all his employments, in order that this matter might be thoroughly sifted. She accordingly wrote him a letter with her own hand, in which she complained of the treatment she had received. She did not enter upon particulars, but it was supposed she alluded to the dutchess, to the conduct of the late whig ministry, and to their conduct since she had dismissed them, in endea-

vouring to thwart her measures. The duke replied to her charges, and vindicated himself from the aspersions cast upon his character. The situation of ladies of the bed-chamber, held by two of his daughters, was resigned by them. The cause of the ministry required strengthening in the house of lords, and they therefore resorted to the expedient of creating twelve new peers at once. Upon their admission an order was sent by the lord-keeper for an adjournment of the lords; but it was resisted as unconstitutional to adjourn one house while the other remained sitting. A violent debate ensued, but the measure of the court was carried by the votes of the newly created peers.

While these contentions were going on among the two great political parties, Prince Eugene arrived in London with a scheme from the emperor for the revival and prosecution of the war. But though his business was so distasteful to the ministers, respect for his high station and great talents constrained them to receive him with every demonstration of suitable respect. He was admitted to an interview with the queen. She ordered the lord-treasurer and Mr St John to confer with him upon the business of his mission. But his expressions of extraordinary respect for the duke of Marlborough mortified them exceedingly. The lord-treasurer entertaining him one day at dinner, expressed the delight he felt in seeing in his house *the greatest captain of the age.* The prince is said to have replied, "If I am, it is owing to your lordship;" alluding to the disgrace of Marlborough, whom the earl's intrigues had deprived of all his employments.

The reception Prince Eugene met with from the nobility of all parties was highly gratifying both to him and to the friends of the duke; though attempts were made by the enemies of the latter to insult and scandalize the prince. The queen, however, treated him with marks of peculiar respect, and on her birth-day presented him with a sword worth five thousand pounds. She was not ignorant of the motives that had suggested his mission, and though she was perfectly aware that his presence in England greatly tended to patronize the party whom she hated, and to honour the duke, whom she had discarded, yet she was constrained to dissemble her vexation and suffer the triumph of the enemies to her ministry.

To effect some diversion of the public feeling, the ministry set on foot a commission of inquiry against Walpole, and pronounced him guilty of corruption and bribery. He was in consequence committed to the tower and expelled the house. They next made an attack upon the duke of Marlborough. But though he ably defended himself, proving that what he had received, which did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, had been granted him by the queen's warrant, and that he had employed it in the service of the army in procuring intelligence, by which means he had always saved himself from being surprised by the enemy,—notwithstanding, the queen ordered him to be prosecuted by the attorney-general for money received under her own warrant. Though the duke's conduct in this matter tarnished his high reputation, yet the queen's baseness in now prosecuting him was beyond parallel. The ministry next directed their measures against the Dutch, and passed some bitter reflections upon their conduct. They attacked the barrier-treaty, which had been conducted by Lord Townsend, complained that by it the Dutch were allowed to interfere in British counsels, and that

the said treaty was destructive to the trade of Great Britain. They next resolved that England had been overcharged no less than nineteen millions during the war, and that Lord Townsend had no authority to conclude several articles in the barrier-treaty. The Dutch were greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and sent a letter to the queen explaining the necessity for a barrier, both to secure the interests of the provinces and of England. They also prepared a memorial vindicating their proceedings, which was published in one of the English papers. This produced a great ferment. The house of commons pronounced it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon that house, and ordered the printer and publisher to be taken into custody.

The parliament proceeded still farther to undo all the liberal measures of the late government. In particular they repealed the naturalization bill; passed an act for tolerating episcopalians in Scotland, in defiance of a remonstrance from the general-assembly, that the integrity of the presbyterian church was an article of the union. They further restored the right of patronage which had been taken away when the discipline of the church was last established, and made certain other regulations highly offensive to the presbyterians. When the bill for compelling the Scottish judicatories to observe Christmas was read a third time, Sir David Dalrymple observed keenly, "Since the house is resolved to make no alteration in the body of this bill, I acquiesce; and only desire that it may be entitled a bill for establishing Jacobitism and immorality." The Scottish nation were chagrined and enraged to the highest degree by these proceedings.

Prince Eugene made a last effort upon the ministry and the queen, by presenting a memorial touching the conduct of the emperor during the war, and containing a proposal relative to the affairs of Spain. The queen communicated it to the house of commons, but it was treated with the most marked neglect, and the prince departed, highly displeased with the government, though delighted by the reception he had met with from the people of England.

In the month of January, 1712, the conference for the peace was commenced at Utrecht. The British plenipotentiaries were Robinson, bishop of Bristol, and the earl of Strafford. As all the powers represented at the conference held views adverse to those of England and France, there appeared little prospect of a successful issue of the discussions. The English plenipotentiaries were ignorant of the agreement concluded between the court of Versailles and Queen Anne. This secret negotiation had well nigh been destroyed by the unforeseen calamities which befell the French royal family. The dauphin had recently died of the small-pox, and his title had been conferred on his son, the duke of Burgundy, who was now cut off with his wife within six days of each other. Of their children, two only remained alive, viz. the duke of Bretagne, who followed his parents to the grave shortly after their death, in the sixth year of his age, and the duke of Anjou, at this time a sickly infant. The queen of England was greatly alarmed by these events, as they now left nothing between the monarchies of France and Spain but the life of this weakly child. She was, therefore, now resolved by all possible means to provide against the union of these two crowns. She therefore despatched the Abbé Gaultier to Paris, representing the danger to which the liberties of Europe would be exposed by the union of France and

Spain in the person of Philip. She therefore demanded that his title should be transferred to his brother the duke of Berry. Meanwhile the French deputies presented their proposals to the conference at Utrecht in writing. These, on reaching England, excited the utmost indignation and scorn. The house of peers immediately pronounced them arrogant and injurious to her majesty's interest. They agreed to an address, offering to support her in the prosecution of the war at all risks, rather than see her submit to such proposals. The conference proceeded with very ill omens. The allies supposed they were in a position to enforce their own terms, while France was rendered arrogant by the secret countenance of Queen Anne. She endeavoured by some concessions to bring the states-general to her views. But they adhered obstinately to their first chimerical preliminaries, and she was at length induced to say, that they had made such bad returns for all her condescension towards them, that she now looked upon herself as released from all engagements. The proceedings were, however, delayed both by France and England until Philip's renunciation should arrive. When that was received, a cessation of arms was to take place. But a severe contention arose, because the duke of Ormond, who had the command of the British troops, declined to co-operate in the attack upon Villars which Prince Eugene wished to commence. When the states remonstrated with the bishop of Bristol upon the conduct of the duke of Ormond, he replied, that since the states had not properly answered her majesty's advances, they ought not to be surprised if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures in order to obtain a peace for her own convenience. When the states further expressed their surprise at her majesty's conduct, the bishop replied, that considering their conduct towards her, she thought herself released from all alliances and engagements with them. These observations produced the utmost consternation among the ministers of the allied princes.

In the house of lords at home considerable excitement prevailed, and both parties became violent. The earl of Paulet openly insulted Marlborough in the house, and when he was called on by Lord Mohun on behalf of the duke for an explanation, the affair was communicated to the earl of Dartmouth, and by him to the queen, who placed two sentinels at the earl's gate, and sent a message to Marlborough desiring he would proceed no farther in the quarrel, and there the matter ended. Meanwhile all the material articles of the treaty were adjusted, Philip renounced his title to France, and preferred to remain on the throne of Spain. Dunkirk was to be delivered up, and the commerce of Great Britain to be secured. Upon this adjustment a suspension of arms prevailed in the Netherlands, and the duke of Ormond now acted in concert with the Mareschal de Villars.

On the 6th day of June, 1712, the queen communicated to parliament the articles of the peace, according to her promise, but at the same time gave them to understand, that her prerogative entitled her to conclude the peace without consulting them. When the terms of the treaty were all explained to the commons, they passed an address of thanks and of approbation, with which they went up to the queen in a body. But when the lords took the queen's address into consideration, the duke of Marlborough asserted that the measures pursued for a year past had been contrary to her majesty's engagements with her allies, that

they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all nations. The earl of Strafford said that the allies would not have shown such backwardness to conclude the peace, had they not been excited to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious house, who carried on a secret correspondence with them, and supported them with the hope of being seconded by a strong party in England. Lord Cowper defended the conduct of the duke. The house, however, thanked the queen, and expressed their approbation of the terms on which the peace was to be established. Several clauses were proposed by the whig peers, intending to make the allies guarantees for the protestant succession to the throne of England, but they were all rejected. In the month of June the queen closed the session, but the country was much agitated by the conflicting parties. The allies still continued their military operations, but at length the duke of Ormond signified to Prince Eugene that he could no longer continue to cover the Dutch troops employed in the siege of Quesnoy, as the French king had agreed to the several articles proposed by the queen of England; and that as soon as he should be possessed of Dunkirk, he had orders to march with the British troops, and all in British pay, to that place, and declare an armistice. This led to a declaration on the part of the allies, whose troops were in the pay of Britain, that their regiments should be continued under the command of Prince Eugene, half the pay to be defrayed by the Dutch and half by themselves. This measure embarrassed the queen's plenipotentiaries, and they implored the allies to agree to a suspension of arms for two months. Prince Eugene urged the allies to a continuance of the war, and made a bold irruption with a small body of troops into the heart of France, spreading terror even to the palace of Versailles, around which the French collected all the troops they could command, to defend the palace and their aged monarch. The duke of Ormond found that the troops belonging to the allies, though in the pay of England, would not obey his command; and, as Quesnoy had now fallen into the hands of Prince Eugene, the foreign troops were emboldened to refuse obedience to any but the generals of the allies. It became absolutely necessary to separate the English and foreign troops. Dunkirk was taken possession of by a body of troops sent from England, and the duke of Ormond removed the English army to Chateau Cambresis, and proclaimed an armistice for two months. This movement on the part of the British general greatly alarmed and exasperated the Dutch. In their vexation the governor of Bouchain refused to allow the British ambassador, Lord Strafford, to pass through that town. The governor of Douay made the same refusal to the army, though in that town they had deposited their stores, and kept their principal hospital. The same treatment was afterwards experienced at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle. The duke of Ormond, however, surprised and mortified the Dutch by a spirited movement towards Ghent and Bruges, both of which places he occupied in the name of the queen. The Dutch generals were so fairly outwitted by these motions, and by the promptitude of the British general, that they gladly offered apologies for the treatment the duke of Ormond had experienced.

The absence of the British troops was soon severely felt by the allies. Villars made an attack on a portion of their army encamped at Denain. Seventeen battalions were taken or killed, and the earl of Albemarle

and all the officers made prisoners. An immense quantity of stores, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy. This victory was obtained in the sight of Prince Eugene, who, though he had advanced to sustain them, could not cross the Scheldt to render them any assistance. Villars immediately invested, and finally took Marchiennes, where the allies had deposited the greater portion of their military stores. The French general pursued his victories still further, and in a short time took Douay, Bouchain, and Quesnoy, the allies not daring to bring him to an engagement. The only compensation they gained for these losses was the conquest of Fort Knocque. Notwithstanding these successes, the Dutch continued resolutely to refuse the armistice, and to deny the plenipotentiaries of Philip admission to the congress. While the allies continued thus obstinate, the treaty between France and England proceeded, and was ultimately concluded. The conferences at Utrecht were disturbed and interrupted by quarrels, and Lord Strafford and the Marquess de Borgo, minister for Savoy, insulted by the populace. After these impediments were removed, Queen Anne's ministers endeavoured to persuade the allies to engage in their measures. They sedulously plied the elector of Hanover and the king of Prussia, but in vain. The court of Portugal also remained deaf to the persuasions of Queen Anne's ambassadors until their solicitations were backed by an army of twenty thousand men, who speedily reduced that court to acquiescence. Philip of Spain ratified his renunciation of the throne of France, and the princes of that empire declared him incapable of succeeding to the crown. The English troops were removed from Spain and transported to Minorca.

But these movements abroad did not satisfy the friends of the revolution at home. They loudly expressed their dissatisfaction, and set apart the birth-day of King William as a day of general rejoicing. The opposite party openly opposed them, and the city of London was thrown into a state of tumult and riot. The duke of Hamilton—who was well known to be a favourer of the pretender—was made ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. Before he could proceed on his mission a quarrel took place between him and Lord Mohun, which ended in a duel fought in Hyde-park. Mohun was killed on the spot, and the duke died before he could be conveyed to his own house. This duel produced so much party-animosity, that the duke of Marlborough and his dutchess chose to withdraw to the continent. These severe contentions at home induced the queen to urge upon the allies the importance of terminating the conferences by acceding to her wishes. New promises were made to them, and after various inducements were tried they began to waver in their councils, and to admit the impossibility of successfully carrying on the war against France without the concurrence of England. At length, after they had suffered some alarms on the side of Sweden supported by the Turks, they acceded to Queen Anne's measures, and signed the barrier-treaty. The other allies found themselves now deserted and reduced to the necessity of imploring the queen's assistance to obtain for them the best terms she could. The emperor gave up the claim of the house of Austria to the Spanish monarchy, and Philip's ambassadors were now admitted formally as parties to the congress. The plenipotentiaries of Britain were now placed in the situation of arbitrators for the rest of the allied powers. Some diffi-

culties arose in the treaty between France and England, respecting their possessions in North America, but after long disputes, these were arranged, though, as it was thought, too little to the advantage of England. The emperor of Austria still demurred to some parts of the treaties, and demanded time for consideration. This was granted, but meanwhile the treaties were completed so far as Britain, Portugal, Savoy, Prussia, and the states-general were concerned. The queen of England informed the parliament of her proceedings, and received the thanks of both houses for having brought about a safe and honourable peace. It was publicly proclaimed at London on the 5th of May, 1712.

About the same period the Chevalier de St George conveyed a printed remonstrance and protest to the ministers of the allied powers at Utrecht, against all that might be determined to his prejudice. But the king of France had bound himself to abandon him, and to acknowledge the title of Queen Anne and the protestant succession. After the treaty had been concluded, the pretender repaired to Lorraine, and the parliament of England addressed the queen, imploring that she would urge the duke of Lorraine, and all the princes and states in amity with her, to exclude him from their dominions. Violent debates arose in parliament respecting the articles in the treaty relating to commerce, with which the British merchants were generally dissatisfied. It was said that the queen's ministers had, in this respect, sacrificed the interests of the country; and it was indeed but too evident that they hurried this part of the negotiation, and had betrayed considerable ignorance of British interests, or inattention to them. The Scottish portion of the parliament now made loud complaints of the violation of the treaty of union, and especially deprecated the subjection of their country to the malt-tax, which it was now deemed necessary to levy, to meet the heavy burdens of the nation. A motion was made for the repeal of the union, and powerfully supported; but at length the ministry triumphed in all their measures. One of the most remarkable occurrences of this period took place at the expiration of the term of Dr Sacheverel's suspension. It sufficiently indicated both the temper of the queen and the principles of her ministers. The Dr having passed the period of silence and suspension, was appointed by the house of commons to preach before them, which he accordingly did, and received their thanks for his sermon. The queen also promoted him to a rich living. This event greatly exasperated the friends of the revolution and the whig party, and had well nigh thrown the country into a state of riot and rebellion. A new parliament was called in 1713; but the elections had been so managed as to secure the predominance of the tory party. But the new parliament was prorogued several times, owing partly to the queen's illness and partly to the divisions that had arisen among her leading ministers. Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, formerly Mr St John, were rivals for power and fame. Bolingbroke gained the favour of Mrs Masham, and by that means a powerful ascendancy over the queen. This was employed to injure and overthrow his rival. The queen was sensibly affected by these contentions and animosities. Under these circumstances, Lord Oxford, finding his influence on the wane, talked of retiring from office. But meanwhile the queen was taken ill, and retired to Windsor. This revived all the hopes of the Jacobites, produced a sudden fall in the

public funds, and a run upon the bank. This alarm was greatly increased by the report of an armament preparing in France. But the queen recovered, and sent assurances to town that she would immediately open the parliament. The report was soon detected to be a mere party trick, and the excitement which had prevailed in the city a false alarm. The parliament was soon after opened, and the queen informed them of the conclusion of the treaty with Spain, by which King Philip acknowledged the queen and the protestant succession, and agreed to renounce the pretender. By this treaty also Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded to the possession of Great Britain, while the kingdom of Sicily was secured to the duke of Savoy. The parliament voted loyal and affectionate addresses to the queen; but still they were divided into hostile factions, which were headed by the leaders of the whigs and tories. Much excitement also prevailed through the country by means of pamphlets and other publications. In these were employed the pens of Addison, Steele, and Halifax, on the side of the whigs, while Swift maintained the cause of the tories. Sir Richard Steele was expelled the house for writing 'The Englishman,' and the 'Crisis.' Publications were issued, setting forth the title of the pretender, and many symptoms appeared of a disposition on the part both of the queen and her ministers, to favour his designs. Many of his warm and well-known friends were admitted into her service. The whigs and friends of the revolution were zealous and active in endeavouring to prepare against any danger that might arise. They held frequent consultations with Baron Schultz, the resident on behalf of the elector of Hanover, and maintained correspondence with the duke of Marlborough and the elector. The queen's health was in such a precarious state, that these measures seemed to be prudent on the part of all those who were friends to the protestant succession.

Many fears prevailed among the members of the house of lords as to secret favour shown to the pretender, and some lords withdrew their countenance from the ministry. Bolingbroke was charged with remitting money to the Highland clans, known to favour the pretender; and Lord Wharton had the boldness to propose a question to the house, whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration. A warm debate ensued, in which the ministry succeeded, though only by a small majority. It was now evident that their day of triumph was drawing to a close. At this period a bill was hurried through both houses levelled against the dissenters, entitled a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and to secure the church of England. It had received the queen's signature; but as she died before it took effect, it became nugatory.

The state of the ministry became every week more embarrassing. The treasurer and the secretary fell into open altercation, and such was the effect of these domestic contentions and difficulties, that the queen's spirits sunk under them. She was taken ill in the month of July, and expired on the 1st of August, 1714. The whig party foreseeing her death, had sent for Marlborough, who had embarked, and before her death a council was held of all parties at Kensington-palace. A letter was despatched to the elector of Hanover, and troops collected around London. The heralds were kept in waiting under an escort of cavalry, ready to proclaim the new king, and every proper precaution to guard

the sea-ports and to overawe the friends of the pretender. Much praise is due to the vigilance and zeal of those friends to the protestant succession, who stood ready prepared for this perilous occasion. Happily their measures frustrated all the schemes and hopes of the opposite party.

It remains for us to add to this long historical exposition of public affairs immediately subsequent to the revolution, a few remarks on the state of our literature during the period now under consideration. Although we are enabled to open our literary series with the splendid names of Dryden and Locke, yet are we necessitated to confess the miserably degraded state into which public taste had fallen, in the acknowledgment that such a man as Shadwell was deemed worthy to succeed Dryden in the laureateship. Never was a literary reputation more easily to be purchased and maintained than during the period which elapsed betwixt the death of Dryden and the full ascendancy of Pope. To have written a few verses, or rather tagged together a few jingling rhymes, was sufficient to establish one's claim to notice. "Here is a young fellow," says Swift, in his Journal to Stella, "has writ some sea-eclogues,—poems of mermen, resembling pastorals of shepherds; and they are very pretty, and the thought is new. Mermen are he-mermaids; Tritons, natives of the sea. His name is Diaper. I must do something for him and get him out of the way. I hate to have any new wits rise; yet, when they do rise, I would encourage them; but they tread on our heels, and thrust us off the stage." Probably there are not many of our readers who ever heard of Diaper and his sea-eclogues before, though no less a personage than Swift praised his poetry, and dreaded the eclipsing influence of his fame in his own day. Pope put an extinguisher on these "sprats and minnows of poetry."

Queen Anne's wits, as they are usually called, were a generation of infinitely better promise, though happily even they are no longer regarded by us as models of excellence. It was their great ambition to write elegantly and wittily; and in this they succeeded, but beyond this they ventured not. "Their laurels," says one of the most distinguished critics of the present age, "were won much more by good conduct and discipline, than by enterprizing boldness or native force; nor can it be regarded as any very great merit in those who had so little of the inspiration of genius, to have steered clear of the dangers to which that inspiration is liable. Speaking generally of that generation of authors, it may be said that, as poets, they had no force or greatness of fancy,—no pathos, and no enthusiasm;—and, as philosophers, no comprehensiveness, depth, or originality. They are sagacious, no doubt, neat, clear, and reasonable; but, for the most part, cold, timid, and superficial. They never meddle with the great scenes of nature, or the great passions of man, but content themselves with just and sarcastic representations of city life, and of the paltry passions and meaner vices that are bred in that lower element. Their chief care is to avoid being ridiculous in the eyes of the witty, and, above all, to eschew the ridicule of excessive sensibility or enthusiasm; to be witty and rational themselves with a good grace, and to give their countenance to no wisdom, and no morality, which passes the standards that are current in good company. Their inspiration, accordingly, is little more than a

sprightly sort of good sense; and they have scarcely any invention but what is subservient to the purposes of derision and satire. Little gleams of pleasantry and sparkles of wit glitter through their compositions; but no glow of feeling, no blaze of imagination, no flashes of genius, ever irradiate their substance. They never pass beyond 'the visible diurnal sphere,' or deal in any thing that can either lift us above our vulgar nature, or ennoble its reality. With these accomplishments, they may pass well enough for sensible and polite writers, but scarcely for men of genius; and it is certainly far more surprising, that persons of this description should have maintained themselves for near a century at the head of the literature of a country that had previously produced a Shakspeare, a Bacon, and a Taylor, than that, towards the end of that long period, doubts should have arisen as to the legitimacy of the title by which they laid claim to that high station. Both parts of the phenomenon, however, we dare say, had causes which better expounders might explain to the satisfaction of all the world. We see them but imperfectly, and have room only for an imperfect sketch of what we see.

"Our first literature consisted of saintly legends, and romances of chivalry, though Chaucer gave it a more national and popular character by his original descriptions of external nature, and the familiarity and gayety of his social humour. In the time of Elizabeth it received a copious infusion of classical images and ideas: but it was still intrinsically romantic, serious, and even somewhat lofty and enthusiastic. Authors were then so few in number, that they were looked upon with a sort of veneration, and considered as a kind of inspired persons; at least they were not yet so numerous as to be obliged to abuse each other, in order to obtain a share of distinction for themselves; and they neither affected a tone of derision in their writings, nor wrote in fear of derision from others. They were filled with their subjects, and dealt with them fearlessly in their own way; and the stamp of originality, force, and freedom, is consequently upon almost all their productions. In the reign of James I., our literature, with some few exceptions, touching rather the form than the substance of its merits, appears to us to have reached the greatest perfection to which it has yet attained, though it would probably have advanced still further in the succeeding reign, had not the great national dissensions which then arose turned the talent and energy of the people into other channels, first to the assertion of their civil rights, and afterwards to the discussion of their religious interests. The graces of literature suffered of course in those fierce contentions; and a deeper shade of austerity was thrown upon the intellectual chronicle of the nation. Her genius, however, though less captivating and adorned than in the happier days which preceded, was still active, fruitful, and commanding; and the period of the civil wars, besides the mighty minds that guided the public councils, and were absorbed in public cares, produced the giant powers of Taylor, and Hobbes, and Barrow, the muse of Milton, the learning of Coke, and the ingenuity of Cowley.

"The restoration introduced a French court, under circumstances more favourable for the effectual exercise of court influence than ever before existed in England: but this of itself would not have been sufficient to account for the sudden change in our literature which ensued.

It was seconded by causes of a more general operation. The restoration was undoubtedly a popular act;—and, indefensible as the conduct of the army and the civil leaders was on that occasion, there can be no question that the severities of Cromwell, and the extravagance of the sectaries, had made republican professions hateful, and religious ardour ridiculous, in the eyes of the people at large. All the eminent writers of the preceding period, however, had inclined to the party that was now overthrown; and their writings had not merely been accommodated to the character of the government under which they were produced, but were deeply imbued with its obnoxious principles, as those of their respective authors. When the restraints of authority were taken off, therefore, and it became profitable, as well as popular, to discredit the fallen party, it was natural that the leading authors should affect a style of levity and derision, as most opposite to that of their opponents, and best calculated for the purposes they had in view. The nation, too, was now for the first time essentially divided in point of character and principle, and a much greater proportion were capable both of writing in support of their own notions, and of being influenced by what was written. Add to all this, that there were real and serious defects in the style and manner of the former generation; and that the grace, and brevity, and vivacity of that gayer manner which was now introduced from France, were not only good and captivating in themselves, but had then all the charms of novelty and of contrast; and it will not be difficult to understand how it came to supplant that which had been established of old in the country,—and that so suddenly, that the same generation, among whom Milton had been formed to the severe sanctity of wisdom, and the noble independence of genius, lavished its loudest applauses on the obscenity and servility of such writers as Rochester and Wycherly.

"This change, however, like all sudden changes, was too fierce and violent to be long maintained at the same pitch; and when the wits and profligates of King Charles had sufficiently insulted the seriousness and virtue of their predecessors, there would probably have been a revulsion towards the accustomed taste of the nation, had not the party of the innovators been reinforced by champions of more temperance and judgment. The result seemed at one time suspended on the will of Dryden—in whose individual person the genius of the English and of the French school of literature may be said to have maintained a protracted struggle. But the evil principle prevailed. Carried by the original bent of his genius, and his familiarity with our older models to the cultivation of our native style, to which he might have imparted more steadiness and correctness—for in force and in sweetness it was already matchless—he was unluckily seduced by the attractions of fashion, and the dazzling of the dear wit and gay rhetoric in which it delighted, to lend his powerful aid to the new corruptions and refinements; and to prostitute his great gifts to the purposes of party rage or licentious ribaldry.

"The sobriety of the succeeding reigns allayed this fever of profanity; but no genius arose sufficiently powerful to break the spell that still withheld us from the use of our own peculiar gifts and faculties. On the contrary, it was the unfortunate ambition of the next generation of authors, to improve and perfect the new style, rather than to return to

the old one;—and it cannot be denied that they did improve it. They corrected its gross indecency—increased its precision and correctness—made its pleasantry and sarcasm more polished and elegant—and spread through the whole of its irony, its narration, and its reflection, a tone of clear and condensed good sense, which recommended itself to all who had, and all who had not any relish for higher beauties. This is the praise of Queen Anne's wits—and to this praise they are justly entitled. This was left for them to do—and they did it well. They were invited to it by the circumstances of their situation, and do not seem to have been possessed of any such bold or vigorous spirit, as either to neglect or to outgo the invitation. Coming into life immediately after the consummation of a bloodless revolution, effected much more by the cool sense, than the angry passions of the nation, they seem to have felt, that they were born in an age of reason, rather than of fancy; and that men's minds, though considerably divided and unsettled upon many points, were in a much better temper to relish judicious argument and cutting satire, than the glow of enthusiastic passion, or the richness of a luxuriant imagination. To these accordingly they made no pretensions; but, writing with infinite good sense, and great grace and vivacity, and, above all, writing for the first time in a tone that was peculiar to the upper ranks of society, and upon subjects that were almost exclusively interesting to them, they naturally figured, at least while the manner was new, as the most accomplished, fashionable, and perfect writers which the world had ever seen; and made the wild, luxuriant, and humble sweetness of our earlier authors appear rude and untutored in the comparison. Men grew ashamed of admiring, and afraid of imitating writers of so little skill and smartness; and the opinion became general, not only that their faults were intolerable, but that even their beauties were puerile and barbarous, and unworthy the serious regard of a polite and distinguishing age.

"These, and similar considerations, will go far to account for the celebrity which those authors acquired in their day; but it is not quite so easy to explain how they should have so long retained their ascendant. One cause undoubtedly was, the real excellence of their productions, in the style which they had adopted. It was hopeless to think of surpassing them in that style; and, recommended as it was, by the felicity of their execution, it required some courage to depart from it, and to recur to another, which seemed to have been so lately abandoned for its sake. The age which succeeded, too, was not the age of courage or adventure. There never was, on the whole, a quieter time than the reigns of the two first Georges, and the greater part of that which ensued. There were two little provincial rebellions indeed, and a fair proportion of foreign war; but there was nothing to stir the minds of the people at large, to rouse their passions, or excite their imaginations—nothing like the agitations of the reformation in the sixteenth century, or of the civil wars in the seventeenth. They went on, accordingly, minding their old business, and reading their old books, with great patience and stupidity: and certainly there never was so remarkable a dearth of original talent—so long an interruption of native genius—as during about sixty years in the middle of the last century."

END OF VOL. III.

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